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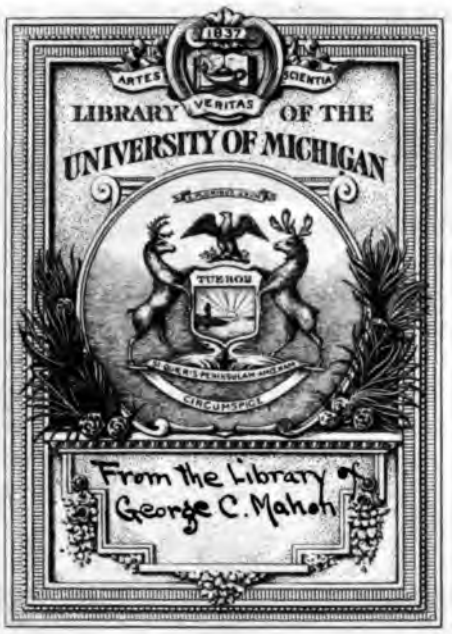
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PRESENTED TO THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND THE BANNATYNE CLUB BY W. REEVES D.D.

THE

LIFE OF ST. COLUMBA,

FOUNDER OF HY;

WRITTEN BY ADAMNAN,

NINTH ABBOT OF THAT MONASTERY.

THE TEXT PRINTED FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY; WITH THE VARIOUS READINGS OF SIX OTHER MANUSCRIPTS PRESERVED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF EUROPE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

COPIOUS NOTES AND DISSERTATIONS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE COLUMBIAN INSTITUTIONS IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

BY

WILLIAM REEVES, D.D., M.R.I.A.,

CURATE OF KILCONRIOLA, IN THE DIOCESE OF CONNOR.

DUBLIN:

Printed at the University Press,

FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

1857.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
BY M. H. GILL.

THE

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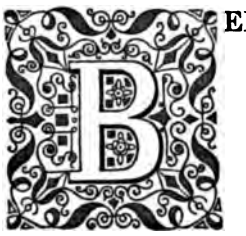
PREFACE.



EFORE St. Columba was long in the grave[a], it is likely that some member of the brotherhood set himself to collect his patron's acts, and to record such events of his life as were suited to the taste of the day, or were calculated to promote the veneration of his memory. In furtherance of this design, he probably turned his attention rather to the marvels[b] than the sober realities of the Saint's life, and consulted more for the excitement of admiration in a simple and credulous age, than for the supply of historical materials to meet the stern demands of remote posterity. When Adamnan, a century after St. Columba's death, in compliance with his brethren's urgent request[c], drew up the memoir which has immortalized both the subject and the writer, his information was derived, as he himself states[d], in part from written, in part from oral author-

[a] *Was long in the grave.*—Some of the most valuable pieces of biography in the western Church have been written by the disciples or immediate successors of the respective saints whose Lives are treated of: thus St. Martin's Life by Sulpicius Severus, St. Germanus's by Constantius, St. Columbanus's by Jonas, St. Cuthbert's by Bede. St. Patrick's Life, and with it the early history of the Irish Church, owes much of its complication and uncertainty to the length of interval which elapsed between his death, and the recording of his acts.

[b] *Marvels.*—The ancient records of the Irish Church consist of most dissimilar materials: there are, on the one hand, the *Genealogies*, which set forth the descent of the saint; the *Annals*, which, with scrupulous fidelity, record the year of his death; and the *Calendars*, which, with equal exactness, tell the day of the month on which it occurred, and name his church; and, on the other, the *Life*, which too often bids defiance to truth, reason, and decency, and, instead of history, presents a specimen of the meanest fiction. The early Bollandists printed many of these compositions, but subject to strong protest; the later editors have, in many cases, exercised their own discretion more summarily, and substituted *Acts* for *Lives*.

[c] *Request.*—"Fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens."—Pr. 1 (3).

[d] *Himself states.*—"Vel ex his quæ ante nos

ities. In the latter respect, he was quite near enough to the fountain-head, both in time and place, to draw from authentic sources, for in his boyhood[e] he had frequent opportunities of conversing with those who had seen St. Columba, and he was now writing almost on the very spot where his great predecessor had indited his last words, and surrounded by objects every one of which was fresh with the impress of some interesting association[f]. As regarded his documentary materials, he had before him the account of Cummene the Fair, whom he cites by name[g], and whose entire narrative he has transferred, almost verbatim[h], into his own compilation, where it is for the most part incorporated with the third book. He had also another memoir[i], on the authority of which he relates an occurrence not recorded in Cummene's pages. Besides these compositions, which were written in Latin, there existed in our author's day certain poems on the praises of Columba, in the Scotic tongue, among which was probably the celebrated *Amhra*[k], or panegyric, which was written by a contemporary of the Saint. Baithene Mor[l], who enjoyed St. Columba's friendship,

inserta paginis reperire potuimus, vel ex his quæ auditu ab expertis quibusdam fidelibus antiquis, sine ulla dubitatione narrantibus, diligentius sciscitantes didicimus."—Pr. 2 (8).

[e] *Boyhood.*—He was born in 624, and St. Columba died in 597. He states that, when a youth, he received from Ernene's own lips an account of certain appearances which that monk observed on the night of St. Columba's death, at which time his informant was an adult.—iii. 23 (238).

[f] *Association.*—As, the crosses which marked the interval between him and Ernanus, when the latter dropped dead, i. 45 (88); the cross which noted the spot where the old horse took leave of him, iii. 23 (231); the pillow of stone which marked his grave, *ib.* (234).

[g] *Cites by name.*—In his account of king Ædan's inauguration, iii. 5 (199).

[h] *Verbatim.*—See note [b], p. 190, note [a], p. 195. note [c], p. 196. The following references will show the chapters, as numbered in Mabillon's edition, and the corresponding places in Adamnan:—Cap. 1 in iii. 1 (190); cap. 2, with the name supplied, in iii. 2 (191); cap. 3, in iii. 4 (195); cap. 4, the first sentence, at the end of iii. 4 (196), the rest in ii. 1 (103); cap. 5, with additions, in iii. 5 (197); cap. 6, in iii. 6 (202); cap. 7, in iii. 11 (209); cap. 8, in iii. 12 (210); cap. 9, enlarged, in iii. 8 (205); cap. 10, names inserted, in iii. 15 (215); cap. 11, enlarged, in iii. 16 (216); cap. 12, with names inserted, in iii. 17 (219); cap. 13, extended, in iii. 18 (222); cap. 14, with the name of the place, in ii. 37 (153); cap. 15, in iii. 19 (223); cap. 16, in iii. 22 (227); cap. 17, first sentence, in the end of iii. 22 (228), and the rest in iii. 23 (228); cap. 18, in iii. 23 (229); cap. 19, in iii. 23 (230); cap. 20, in iii. 23 (233); cap. 21, in iii. 23 (233); cap. 22, in iii. 23 (234); cap. 23, in iii. 23 (239); cap. 24, in iii. 23 (240); cap. 25, with additions, in i. 1 (12–16), i. 8 (33); cap. 26, enlarged, in ii. 44 (174); cap. 27, greatly augmented, in i. 3 (25).

[i] *Another memoir.*—"Hanc prædictam visionem, non solum paginis inscriptam reperimus," &c.—iii. 23 (237).

[k] *Amhra.*—See the note on *Carmina*, p. 17.

[l] *Baithene Mor.*—He is to be distinguished from Baithene, son of Brendan, St. Columba's

is said to have commemorated some particulars of his life, and poems ascribed to Baithene are more than once referred to by O'Donnell[m]. Metrical compositions bearing the name of St. Mura[n] are also cited by the same compiler[o], who adduces them as his authority, in part, for the history of St. Columba's infancy. Thus furnished with record and tradition, and quickened, moreover, with zeal for the honour of a kinsman[p] after the flesh, the ninth abbot of Hy became the biographer of the first, and produced a work, which, though not ostensibly historical[q], and professing to treat of an individual, is, "the most authentic voucher[r] now remaining of several other important particulars of the sacred and civil history of the Scots and Picts"[s], and is pronounced by a writer[t] not over-given to eulogy to be "the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through the whole middle ages." Our author is indeed as free from the defects of hagiology as any ancient writer in this department of literature, but it must ever be subject of regret that he chose an individual instead of a society as his subject, and reckoned the history of his Church a secondary consideration to the reputation of his Patron. If Bede had contented himself with being the biographer of St. Cuthbert, instead of the historian of England, would he be now *par excellence* the Venerable? If Adamnan had extended to history the style and power of description which appear in his tract on the Holy Places,

successor. This Baithene was of the Cinel Enda, and was commemorated on the 19th of Feb. See note[g], p. 318; Colgan, Act. Sanct. p. 369; O'Donnell, iii. 20 (Tr. Th. p. 434 *b*).

[m] *O'Donnell.*—Vita S. Columbæ, i. 26 (Tr. Th. p. 393 *b*), 51 (398 *a*), iii. 41 (438 *a*).

[n] *St. Mura.*—He was a little junior to St. Columba, and died circ. 645. His church was Fathan, now Fahan, on the south-west side of Inishowen. He was not of St. Columba's race, but his church lay on the side of Loch Swilly opposite to the territory where that saint was born. See an article on St. Mura in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. i. p. 270.

[o] *Compiler.*—*Ib.* i. 21 (392 *b*), 25 (393 *a*), 30 (393 *b*). It is very probable that these poems which O'Donnell cites are included in the collection ascribed to St. Columba, MS. Laud 615, Bodleian Library. See note[a], p. 264.

[p] *Kinsman.*—See the Genealogical Table opposite p. 342.

[q] *Historical.*—The secondary importance attached to historical precision in the biography of ancient saints is very tantalizing. See note[a], p. 193.

[r] *Voucher.*—Colgan expresses a similar sentiment: "Hæc Acta tam accurate sunt conscripta, ut hystorias sacras et prophanas utriusque Scotiæ, ab anno quingentesimo usque ad septingentesimum mirum in modum illustrent: Et si aliquot alias vitas Sanctorum nostrorum ad singula sæcula, tam exacte conscriptas haberemus, spes magna foret, dolendam illam nostræ Antiquitatis jacturam haud difficulter posse reparari."—Trias Th. p. 372 *a*.

[s] *Picts.*—Innes, Civ. and Eccl. Hist. p. 145.

[t] *Writer.*—Pinkerton, Enquiry, Pref. vol. i. p. xlviii. (Edinb. 1814.)

with the experience, the feeling, and the piety, which characterize his Life of St. Columba, the voice of Christendom would have borrowed the word from his countryman[w], and irreversibly have coupled his name with the title of *Admirable.* Even in the limited sphere which he chose, he soon acquired, to use a modern expression, a European celebrity, and the numerous copies of his writings which are found scattered over the Continent[x] show in what esteem he was held abroad. It was therefore more rhetorical than just in a late historian[y] of the English Church, to create a *silent sister* beside the vocal Lindisfarne, and state that "splendid as is the fame of Iona, the names of almost all its literary men have perished." Surely Adamnan and Cummene are more than names, and if names be wanting, the *Chronicle of Hy*[z] is not so barren as to suggest the old lament—

"Omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte."

Adamnan's Life of St. Columba has obtained due publicity in print, yet has always appeared in such a form as to render it more a subject of research than of ordinary study. It was first printed by Henry Canisius[a], in the fifth volume of his *Antiquæ Lectiones*, on the authority of a manuscript preserved in the monastery of Windberg in Bavaria. Twenty years afterwards, Thomas Messingham[b], an Irish priest, reprinted the tract from Canisius, in his *Florileg-*

[w] *Countryman.*—In the MS. called *the Book of Fenagh*, our writer is called Adamnan adamra, 'the admirable Adamnan.'

[x] *Continent.*—Besides the MSS. of the Life which will presently be enumerated, copies of the tract *De Locis Sanctis* are reported to be preserved at the Vatican, and at Corbey, both of which Mabillon used; at the monastery of S. Germanus a Pratis, sæc. viii. (O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. vol. i. Ep. Nuncup. p. 142); at Bern, one sæc. ix., and another sæc. x. (Appendix A, Report, Record Comm. pp. 31, 46); at Rheinau, sæc. xi. (*ib.* p. 201); at Saltzburg, sæc. ix. vel x. (*ib.* p. 203).

[y] *Historian.*—Carwithen, Hist. of the Church of England, chap. 1 (vol. i. p. 6, Lond. 1829). In the second edition, however, a note was appended, at the instance of the present writer, qualifying that statement of Carwithen (vol. i. p. 5, Oxford, 1849).

[z] *Chronicle of Hy.*—See pp. 369–413 of the present work.

[a] *Canisius.*—Under the following title: *Sancti Adamnani Scoti Libri tres, de Sancto Columba Scoto, Presbytero et Confessore, qui circa annum Domini 565 floruit, Nunc primum editi ex membranis M.S. Monasterii Windbergensis in Bavaria.* —Antiquæ Lectiones, tom. v. pp. 559–621, 4to, Ingolst. 1604.

[b] *Messingham.*—*Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, seu Vitæ et Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, &c., collegit et publicabat Thomas Messinghamus, Sacerdos Hibernus, S. R. E. Protonotarius, nec non Seminarii Hibernorum Parisiis Moderator, fol. Parisiis*, 1624. The title of the Life is, *Vita Sancti Columbæ Presbyteri et Confessoris, auctore Sancto Adam-*

ium, adding titles to the chapters, and appending a few marginal glosses, together with *testimonies* of Adamnan, at the beginning, and of St. Columba, at the end, of the Life.

About the same time, Stephen White[c], a learned Jesuit, a native of Clonmel, discovered, while in search of Irish manuscripts on the Continent, a venerable copy of Adamnan in the Benedictine monastery of Reichenau, and the transcript which he made supplied the text of the fourth Life of St. Columba in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga[d], published in 1647. The editor of the work prefixes numbers to the chapters, which are not in the original, and errs wherever White has made an omission or alteration in the text, but in other respects is remarkably faithful. The notes display considerable learning and vast acquaintance with the ecclesiastical records of his country, but his conjec-

nano Abbate. Ex tomo 4. antiquæ lectionis Henrici Canisii, &c., accompanied by an engraving of the saint, habited in his cowl, having a mitre lying at his feet, and underneath, the motto *Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut Columbæ, et volabo, et requiescam?*—pp. 141–184.

[c] *White.*—His *Apologia pro Hibernia adversus Cambri calumnias* was printed in 1849 by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, from a MS. preserved in Brussels. White lent his copy of the Reichenau MS. to Ussher previously to 1639, who occasionally refers to it; thus, speaking of Vitus's identification of Ieṇnan and *Ferreolus* (237), he adds: "Ita enim habebat antiquissimum quo ille usus est, ex Benedictino Augiæ Divitis in Suevia cœnobio petitum, exemplar" (Wks. vi. p. 541). Elsewhere he cites it as *Augiens. MS.* (*ib.* p. 245, and iv. p. 456), or *Vet. MS.* (vi. pp. 523, 526, 527, 530). White furnished Ussher with many other fruits of his Continental searches, which the Archbishop acknowledges (Wks. vi. pp. 269, 274); and a folio MS. of Ussher's, containing these communications of White's, was lately sold by Mr. Kerslake of Bristol. The long extract from the anonymous Life of St. Columba which Ussher has printed, "ut a Stephano Vito humanissime communicatum accepimus" (Wks. vi. p. 466), is most probably from White's own pen. The Archbishop in another place records a literary performance, "a Stephano Vito viro antiquitatum, non Hiberniæ solum suæ sed aliarum etiam gentium scientissimo" (Wks. v. p. 458). It is refreshing to witness the literary friendship which existed in this case between men of different communions, and in an age when party feeling ran high; a tie which, in like manner, bound Ussher to Sirmondus and David Roth. There is less satisfaction at finding Ward, in the same page of his Rumold, passing from the "doctissimus polyhistor Stephanus Vitus" to "Jacobus Usserius hodiernus Armachanæ Sedis Pseudo-primas, sacrarum antiquitatum Britannicarum vir peritior (quod dolendum planè) quam sequacior" (p. 180).

[d] *Trias Thaumaturga.*—The title of this equally rare and valuable work, so frequently referred to in the following pages, is *Triadis Thaumaturgae, seu Divorum Patricii Columbæ et Brigidæ, trium Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ, sanctorum Insulae, communium Patronorum Acta, &c. Studio R. P. F. Ioannis Colgani, Lovanii*, 1647, fol. pp. 336–372; and *Notæ*, pp. 372–386. The title of this portion of the volume is *Quarta Vita S. Columbæ Abbatis, Scotorum & Pictorum Apostoli, & utriusque Scotiæ Patroni. Authore S. Adamnano Abbate, ex Membranis Augiæ Divitis in Germania.*

tural emendations are often peculiarly unhappy, and his constant endeavour to find a place in the Irish Calendar for Adamnan's worthies sometimes tempts him into misspent labour.

Stephen White furnished a copy to the Bollandists[e] also, from which the text was again printed, in 1698, under the editorial care of Francis Baert, but in a less faithful form than the previous one. The editor took many liberties with the copy, changing the division of the chapters, introducing new titles, displacing the original ones, and occasionally altering the text. The notes which he has added are principally from Colgan, and are neither as rich nor erudite as his materials might have led one to expect.

The next publication of the Life was the reprint of Canisius's Lectiones in Basnage's Thesaurus[f], in the first volume of which it is reproduced in its earlier defective form.

Lastly, it appeared, in 1789, in Pinkerton's Collection[g], a work of much smaller dimensions, and which might have had a wide circulation but for a whim of the editor, who limited the impression to a hundred copies[h]. The text of Adamnan in this work professes to follow a manuscript preserved in

[e] *Bollandists.*—Acta Sanctorum, Junii, tom. ii. die nona Junii, with the sub-title *De Sancto Columba, Presbytero Abbate in Iona Scotiæ insula*, pp. 180–236; and the special heading, *Vita Prolixior, Auctore S. Adamnano Abbate, Ex membranis Augiæ Divitis in Germania*, pp. 197 *a*–236 *a*.

[f] *Basnage's Thesaurus.*—The title is, *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum, sive Henrici Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ ad Sæculorum ordinem digestæ, variisque opusculis auctæ, quibus Præfationes historicas, Animadversiones criticas, et Notas in singulos Auctores adjecit Jacobus Basnage, Amstelædami*, 1725 (and the same with *Antverpiæ* in the title of some copies), iv. tomi, fol. Adamnan appears in tom. i. pp. 674–709.

[g] *Pinkerton's Collection.*—Under the title, *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniæ nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus Insulis. Quasdam edidit ex MSS. quasdam collegit Johannes Pinkerton qui et variantes lectiones et notas pauculas adjecit.* Londini, 1789. The sub-title is, *Vita Columbæ Autore Adomnano, tribus libris conscripta*, pp. 47–187. On the title of the book is a small map of *Hyona nunc Icolmkill*, and on the blank space of p. 466 is pasted a small India-paper sketch entitled *Monasterium Hyonense ab occidente.* Opposite the title is a map of *Scotia vel Hibernia medii ævi*, which is reproduced on a new plate in the second volume of his Enquiry. This map is full of errors: it makes Connacht, *Ciannacht;* it places Cork in *Corcabascin*, *Mis mons* in the middle of Dalriada, *Culedreben* in the middle of Tyrone, *Ailech* south of Dromore, *Cova* in Cavan, *Dairmagh* on the Shannon, and turns the Suir into the *Slichen!* The ? which accompanies *Cova* in the earlier is omitted in the later map.

[h] *A hundred copies.*—The List of Subscribers has fifty-eight names, and at the end is the note: "Eighty Subscriptions at Twenty Shillings each. Twenty more copies have been thrown off; but they shall be presented to foreign literati, and great libraries at home and abroad; and can never come into sale here" (p. xv.)

the British Museum; but the editor, who made the text of Canisius the basis of his collation, has very often neglected his professed exemplar, and fallen in with the old readings of the Windberg, instead of the British, manuscript. On the whole, the text is certainly an improvement on that in the Canisian family, but is greatly inferior to Colgan's, with which the editor seems to have been unacquainted[i], for he supplies the deficiency at the commencement of the British manuscript from Canisius's meagre authority, and, when he might have drawn from Colgan's rich store, he adds a few foot notes, which do more to prove the editorial incompetency of the commentator than to illustrate the text of his author.

All who have compared the text of Adamnan as given by Canisius or his copyists, with that in Colgan, the Bollandists, or Pinkerton, have observed a great difference in their length. Ussher noticed the brevity of Canisius's compared with the Cotton and Reichenau MSS.[k]; so did Colgan and Pinkerton; and Dr. Lanigan[l] has gone so far as to state it to be his opinion that the shorter text was the genuine production of Adamnan, and that the longer one owed its difference to a later hand. In deciding, therefore, between the recensions, the question is one of abridgment or interpolation. A strong presumption in favour of the longer text arises from the fact that it is found in the oldest and most respectable manuscript, as well as in two others of totally in-

[i] *Unacquainted.*—This is demonstrable from his notice of the printed editions of Adamnan, one of the most remarkable specimens of bibliography in existence: "Ejusdem, ab Adomnano. Vita hæc celeberrima extat in Canisii Lect. Ant. Surii Vitis Sanct. Mabillon Sæc. Ben. in Triade Sanctorum Hiberniæ, Stephani Vici; in Florilegio Messinghami; in Vitis Patrum Occidentis Benedicti Ganoni, Lugduni, 1625, fol. p. 420. Amplior, et emendatior, in Actis Sanctorum Bollandianis, Antv. 1643-1786 50 tom. fol. Tomo ii. Mensis Junii, p. 197, an. 1698, edito, cum notis Francisci Baertii Et hîc omnium amplissima, et integerrima, ita ut de novo edita videretur, ex MS. in Bibl. Reg. Mus. Brit. Cent. xii. 8 D. ix." Who could believe that a writer of such pretensions as Pinkerton would present his chosen *centuria* with such trash, and in a learned language too? They would have smiled to know (probably some of them did know, for Edward Gibbon, Bishop Percy, Thorkelin, and Tyrwhitt are on the list), that neither Surius nor Mabillon ever printed a line of this work of Adamnan; that the Trias was the work of John Colgan, not of Stephen White; that Francis Baert was not the editor of the 2nd June vol. of the Acta Sanctorum, but only one of four who parted the labour among them; that no such writers as *Vicus* or *Ganon* are known to sanctology; and that Gonon gave only a short abstract "ex illa prolixa [Vita] quam scripsit Adamannus." Had Pinkerton consulted Colgan and the Bollandists he might easily have produced a better book.

[k] *Cotton and Reichenau MSS.*—The supplemental matter in these he calls *ἀνέκδοτα Adamnani* (Wks. vi. 236).

[l] *Lanigan.*—See pp. 12, 98 of this work.

dependent authority, one of which professes to follow a Scotch transcript. To which may be added, that Fordun[m] and O'Donnell[n] used and received the longer text, as is proved by their citing passages which do not exist in the shorter. The style of Adamnan is apparent in these extra portions, and the arrangement of the chapters in the longer text agrees better with the character of his other work. This view is confirmed by the consideration that the shorter text owes its peculiar character, as least as far as regards the absence of titles and the fewness of proper names, to an assignable cause, namely, the convenience of congregational reading, as expressed in St. Benedict's Rule[o]: "Ideo omni tempore, sive jejunii sive prandii, mox ut surrexerint a cœna, sedeant omnes in unum, et legat unus Collationes, vel Vitas Patrum, aut certe aliquid quod ædificet audientes" (cap. 42). It is reasonable to suppose that the interruption of the narrative by titles, or the incumbering of it with proper names, would be avoided as opposed to the purpose of edification; hence, considering the longer memoir to be the genuine one, it is easy to imagine the creation of an abbreviated text, and this revision becoming the favourite one for conventual reading.

But the shorter text possesses internal evidence that such a reduction has taken place. The second Preface declares the author's intention[p] to give at the outset of his memoir a summary of the wonders contained in it, which was to serve as a foretaste for those whose eagerness to learn something of the Saint would not wait for the patient perusal of the whole. Now, this promise is fulfilled[q] in the first chapter of the longer text, but is left unaccomplished in the shorter. Again, the fortieth chapter of the first book places St. Columba "in Scotiensium paulo superius memorata regione," and then goes on to speak of Trioit, a place now known as Trevet, in the county of Meath. In the longer

[m] *Fordun.*—In Scotichr. iii. 38, he cites i. 9 from the fuller copy; so in cap. 41, from i. 10; in cap. 42, he borrows from i. 1, the whole passage about Oswald, which is wanting in the shorter copies, and introduces it thus: "Quem Beda Cædwallam, quem et Adamnanus Cathlonem in sua chronica appellat." In cap. 49 he refers to it again. He probably used the text of the Cotton MS. Tiberius D. iii. Brit. Mus.

[n] *O'Donnell.*—He cites the account of Oswald, and the statement about the poems on St. Columba from i. 1, as Adamnan's, in Vit. iii. 66, 67 (Tr. Th. pp. 443, 444); ii. 44, in like manner, in cap. 68 (*ib.* p. 444 *a*); ii. 45, in capp. 69, 70, 71 (*ib.* 444 *b*), all of which are wanting in the shorter text.

[o] *Rule.*—Cap. 42, under the title, *Ut post Completorium nemo loquatur.*

[p] *Intention.*—"De miraculis ejus succincte quædam, quasi legentibus avide prægustanda, ponam."—p. 7.

[q] *Fulfilled.*—"Virtutum documenta, secundum nostram præmissam superius promissiunculam, breviter sunt demonstranda."—p. 11.

text the chapter but one preceding relates St. Columba's doings in the *Campus Breg*, the old name of East Meath, and thus the reference above mentioned is easy and intelligible. But in the shorter text, where the said passage also occurs, six of the antecedent chapters, as given in the longer, are omitted, and the place which is last mentioned is Skye, and further back, for several chapters, the scene is laid in Hy. It is evident, therefore, that the true correlative to *supra memorata* does not exist in the shorter text, and, as a necessary consequence, that it is mutilated[r]. Moreover, as regards the tituli, they form an integral part of each chapter, for the names which occur in them are often not repeated, though referred to, in the substance of the chapter, so that their removal, as in the Bollandist edition, from their proper places to the beginning of the books, that they may not break the thread of the story, illustrates the principle upon which they were entirely omitted in the manuscripts; and occasionally renders the insertion of some words in the text necessary, in order to complete the construction. Thus, in i. 49 (92), all the copies have *supra memorata munitione*, but there is no antecedent mention of a *munitio* except in the titulus, which speaks *De bello in munitione Cethirni*, the absence of which evidently bears witness against the integrity of the shorter text, and, in the Bollandists, demanded a note of explanation[s]. The very title of Canisius's manuscript, *Incipit prima Præfatio Apologiaque Adamnani Abbatis sancti scriptoris*, indicates a later hand; as the Bollandist editor observes[t], "quis enim seipsum sanctum vocet?" Accordingly, in giving the preference to the Reichenau manuscript, he comes to the conclusion that the "Windbergense MS. videatur ex hoc desumptum, pluribus rebus, tædio forsitan vocum barbaricarum, vel librarii incuria, prætermissis"[u].

Of the seven manuscripts which furnish the various readings in the present work, three contain the longer, and four the shorter text: these shall now be considered under the several signatures which are employed to represent them.

I. Codex A., a manuscript of the beginning of the eighth century, formerly belonging to Reichenau, but now preserved in the public library of Schaffhausen. Its age is indicated by various criteria:—1. The writing is of that

[r] *Mutilated.*—See note [a], p. 76.

[s] *Explanation.*—The omission is at p. 211 *b*, and there is a reference to note [t], p. 212 *b*, which says: "De *memorata munitione* refertur ad titulum Capitis, qui sic habet," &c.

[t] *Observes.*—Junii, tom. ii. note [d], p. 198 *a*, 190 *b*. See Schœll, Eccles. Brit. Scotor. Hist. Font., p. 61, where the writer evinces a very superficial acquaintance with his subject.

[u] *Prætermissis.*—Act. SS. Jun. tom. ii. p. 190 *b*.

peculiar heavy hand which is found in the oldest Irish manuscripts, not indeed as round as that of the Books of Kells or Durrow, but possessing many features in common, and claiming priority to the Book of Armagh, the date of which is fixed to the year 807. 2. The Greek character which appears in the text, as shown in the following facsimile of the colophon of the second book—

and more at length in the Lord's Prayer, which is written on the last page of the manuscript, in semi-uncials, without accents or breathings. 3. The parchment, which is made of young goat-skin, and evidences by its colour and condition extreme age. 4. The remarkable colophon of the scribe, which, taken in connexion with other evidence, is of the greatest weight. It is in rubric on page 136 *a*, and records the name *Dorbbeneus* (242), one of extreme rarity in Irish records, and of which the present writer knows no examples but the two which are mentioned in the Annals, in connexion with Hy. One of these is the entry at A.D. 724, which records the death of Faelcu, son of Dorbene (381, 382), and the other that which records the death of Dorbene, who was elected to the chair of St. Columba at Hy in A.D. 713, and died the same year (381). The former Dorbene was probably a layman, and anterior to Adamnan; the latter was probably only half a generation junior to Adamnan, whom he survived but nine years. To ascribe the manuscript to this individual is to claim a very early date for it, and it may be objected that it was written by another person of this name, or copied by a later hand from the autograph of this Dorbene. The former exception is not probable, the name being almost unique, and found so pointedly connected with the Columbian society; the latter is less probable, as the colophon in Irish manuscripts is always peculiar to the actual scribe, and likely to be omitted in transcription, as is the case of the later manuscripts of the same recension preserved in the British Museum. 5. The judgments of those who have examined it. Colgan, on White's report, says[u]: "Exemplar illud Codicis Augiensis tam vetustum et tanta fide et integritate exaratum est, ut nisi Codex ipse esset in Germania repertus, non aliud videretur ab eo, quod S. Dorbeneus Abbas Hiensis, S. Adamnani discipulus, ipso Adamnano adhuc vivente, vel paulo post ejus mortem, sua manu scripsit."

[u] *Colgan says.*—Trias Thaumaturga, p. 372 *a*.

Codex A

In nomine ihu xpi

Incipit prefatio

Omnipotenti nostri patronum xpo supplicante uirtutum discriptionis fratrum flagitationibus obsecundante uoluntas. In primis cancellos lectionis quoque ammonere procurabo ut si clementia dictis adhibeant compositis. Res magis quam uerba philosophiae sunt. Quae ut extimo in culta latione festinu chispiant ne sui pronuntiationibus. Sed et hoc lectionibus ammonibus dignum putauimus ipsa de beatae memoriae uiro plura sucho breuitatis etiam memoria digna ab his sunt praetermissa et quasi parca deplumimus ob euitandum sarcinum lectionum sunt conscriptae. Et hoc ut an breuior quisque haec lectitans forte an notabit quod minima de

Colgan's cause of hesitation was very unreasonable, because the same would apply to any copy, in any age, as the Bollandist editor reasonably observes[w]: "Verum, ut liber in Germania inventus sit, non admodum me movet, quo minus credam ipsum esse Dorbenei autographum: cur enim idem ille codex, ob hæreticorum persecutiones aliaque ex causa, in Germaniam transferri minus potuit, quam ejus ecgraphum? patet vero factum esse alterutrum." Among the writings of Father Mauritius Van der Meer[x], preserved in the monastery of Rheinau, of which he was a member, is the memorandum: "Adamanni drey Bücher vom S. Columba, etc. *Anmerk.* Das eigentliche Msc. vom viii. Saeculo (welches vormals in die Reichenau gehört), befindet sich dermalen in der Bürger-bibliothek zu Schaffhausen." This learned monk died in 1795, so that it may be concluded the manuscript had passed from Reichenau before that date, and anterior to the suppression of the monastery in 1799. Further, among the archives of the Schaffhausen library is the following notice of the manuscript[y], in the handwriting of the same Van der Meer: "Hoc ipsum MSS. credi posset authographum Dorbbenei; subscriptio enim illa in rubro vix ab alio descriptore addita fuisset; characteres quoque antiquitatem sapiunt sæculi octavi: nec obstat, quod in Germania repertum fuerit; eadem enim facilitate, qua apographum ex Hibernia afferri debuisset, poterat etiam authographum per monachos Hibernos, in his partibus olim frequentes, afferri. Verum simile omnino MSS. cum rubro quoque S. Dorbbenei annexo, refertur extitisse in Monasterio Augiæ Divitis, ex quo descripsit hanc vitam ante medium sæculi elapsi P. Stephanus Vitus S. J. ac typis mandarunt Colganus in Triade Thaumaturga à pag. 336, et Bolandus tom. 2 Junii die 9. In omnibus convenit cum MSS. Scaffusiano, si excipias indicem capitulorum post præfaciones rubro descriptorum, in quo plurima discrepancia reperitur. Aut igitur dicendum, supra memoratum P. Stephanum eosdem titulos in indice commutasse (quod tamen vix crediderim) atque adeo esse unum et idem utriusque loci MSS. aut sæpius eandem vitam jam sæculo octavo cum eadem nota Dorbbenei fuisse descriptam." It *is* the identical manuscript, and White *did* alter the index: at least the editors did. 6. There are occasional corrections of the orthography in a different and later hand, the date of which Dr. Keller fixes[z] at 800-820,

[w] *Bollandist observes.*—Junii, tom. ii. p. 190 *b*.

[x] *Van der Meer.*—Miscellanea, tom. v. p. 356.

[y] *Notice of the manuscript.*—It was obligingly copied by the librarian, the Rev. J. J. Metzger, and communicated to the editor by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, of Zurich.

[z] *Keller fixes.*—In a communication to the editor he writes: "As I know the handwriting

Plate . 2 .

1
De transitu ad
dnm sci nostri
patrom columbe
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
ad omnano

10. *Accents.*—On dative and ablative plural, throughout, humanís, locís, misís, uicinís; sé; on proper names[e], ābāe, aīdō, duīnī, fāchtnī, mōcūmīn.

As regards the writing, there are three hands discernible; the first that of the substance of the manuscript, which is very uniform, and never departs from the steady boldness of the letter, except where a new pen produces an increase of sharpness and smoothness of stroke. A second hand, possibly from the same writer, but with a different ink and pen, and in a smaller, rounder letter, appears on p. 108 *a*, beginning at the words *Cummeneus Albus in libro*[f], &c. in iii. 5 (199), to the end of the chapter. The third hand is the later and inferior one which has made the corrections in the orthography in different places. As regards ornament, capitals[g], some of them of considerable size, are liberally used: the books open with very large letters, and the initials of the chapters are proportionably distinguished. In every column, where a new clause commences, the first letter is daubed with red or yellow paint. There is a total absence, however, of interlacing or artistic work, and the capitals are illuminated by the simple process of dotting the substance of the stroke with yellow, or its margins with red, and filling up the hollow with red or yellow. The *capitulationes* at the commencement, the *tituli* of the chapters, and the colophon of the scribe, are all written in rubric, which is in general very fresh and beautiful[h]. Over the signs of abbreviation, also, there is commonly added a similar stroke in red. The ordinary ink is generally very dark[i], but it varies, in some places being as black as jet, in other places turned brown[k]. The book itself is in quarto, and consists of 68 leaves, each measuring 10⅞ by 8⅞ inches.

[e] *Proper names.*—The same system of accentuation exists in the Latin tracts at the beginning of the Book of Armagh, except that the accents are more numerous, sometimes accompanying every letter in a proper name, sometimes only the vowels. By this means the proper names, in the absence of capitals, can be discerned at a glance.

[f] *Libro.*—See the facsimile in Plate II., No. 15.

[g] *Capitals.*—See Plate II., where fig. 2 represents the opening of Pref. 2 (4), fig. unnumbered, of iii. 23 (228); fig. 4, of Pref. 1 (3); fig. 8, of i. 1 (11); fig. 12, of ii. 2 (105); fig. 14, of ii. 46 (182).

[h] *Beautiful.*—See the titulus of iii. 23 (228), in Plate II. fig. 1.

[i] *Dark.*—Dr. Keller's observation on this subject is very just: "In den ältern irischen Msc. ist eine dicke Tinte benutzt worden, die sich durch ihre Schwärze und Dauerhaftigkeit in hohem Grade auszeichnet. Sie widersteht oft den auf Eisen prüfenden Reagenzien und scheint nicht aus den Stoffen, die man gewöhnlich dazu anwendet, bereitet worden zu sein." —*Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten, &c.*, in Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, Sieb. Band (1851), p. 70.

[k] *Brown.*—The Book of Armagh affords an interesting example of ink on the colour of

The writing is in double columns. The pages are generally marked across with horizontal ruled lines drawn by a sharp instrument[l], and the columns are defined by perpendicular lines of the same kind, always leaving the column on the left narrower than that on the right. The volume is probably in the original binding: the sides are beech-wood, greatly worm-eaten, covered with calf-skin; the sewing of the back is very rude and curious, and the front was formerly secured by clasps.

A very remarkable feature of this manuscript is the copy of the Lord's Prayer, written on the last page, if not by the same hand, at least by one of the same age and school. It exhibits the Greek character adopted by the Irish, in its mediuscular or semi-uncial state, and in orthography fully comes up to Kuster's critique[m] on the Irish MS. of the Pauline Epistles, called the *Codex Boernerianus*: "Librarium nactus est valde imperitum et oscitantem." It exhibits in a marked manner the same disregard of quantity which is observable in the Greek letters and in the Book of Armagh, and in the old metrical Latin of the Irish; as well as in the words ΠΗΡΙCΤΗΡΑ for *περιστερα*[n], and CHKVNΔVC for *secundus*, in the body of the manuscript. The following represents its orthography and division in ordinary letters:—*Πατηρ ημων ο ει εν τοις υρανοις αγιασθητω το υνομα σου: ηλθατω ηβασιλεια σου. γενηθητω το θελημα σου. ως ενουρανω και επιγ ης. τον αρτον ημων τον επι ουσιον δος ημιν σημερον. και α φες ημιν τα οφι ληματα ημων. ως και ημις*

which 1000 years has made but little change. In the 25th of St. Matthew, at the top of fol. 48 *bb*, there are two lines where the ink is extremely pale, probably owing to some diluent used by the writer, for there is an error at the place.

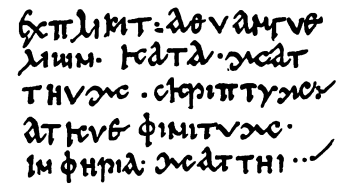
[l] *Sharp instrument.*—This kind of ruling is common in Irish MSS. See Rettig's account of the ruling of the Codex Sangallensis, Prolegom. p. x. (Turici, 1836). In the Book of Armagh the ruling of the Gospels, which are written with great delicacy, does not catch the eye; but in the Epistles it is very distinct, and the little incisions along the outer marginal lines, marking out the spaces for the horizontal lines, are very plain, especially on the first leaf of the quaternio, showing that one process served for the whole fasciculus. There is, in connexion with the ruling, this remarkable feature in the second part of the Book of Armagh, that the writing *hangs from*, instead of *resting on*, the line. This was a peculiarity of Oriental writing, and was adopted by the Irish for convenience, inasmuch as the upper part of many of their letters, as ꝑ, ꝺ, ꝓ, ꝛ, ꝛ, coincided better with a horizontal line than the lower. The two volumes of Doomsday in the Chapter House at Westminster afford a medieval illustration of the marginal spacing, and the ruling with a pointed instrument.

[m] *Kuster's critique.*—Nov. Test. Græc. præf. p. 9 (Lipsiæ, 1723).

[n] *Περιστερα.*—See note [g], p. 5. The use of H for E in this word helped the later copyists of the Life to turn Π into N, P into Π, C into O, and P into T, and thus make *νηπιοτητα*. So

Πατηρ ημων ο ει εν τοις
ουρανοις· αγιασθητω το ονομα
σου· ελθατω η βασιλεια σου·
γενηθητω το θελημα σου· ως
εν ουρανω και επι γης· τον αρτον
ημων τον επιουσιον δος ημιν
σημερον· και αφες ημιν τα οφι
λημματα ημων· ως και ημεις
αφιομεν τοις οφιλεταις ημων·
και μη εις ενεγκης ημας εις
πειρασμον· αλλα ρυσαι ημας
απο του πονηρου·

αφιομεν τοις αφιλη ταις ημων. καιμ η εις ενεγκης ημας εις πιρασμων. αλλα ρυ σαι ημ ας απο του πονερου. The capricious subdivision of the words is strikingly exemplified in old Irish writing, otherwise one could suppose that when Greek writing had lately emerged from the continuity of uncial style, the scribe, copying from such a text, might have been occasionally embarrassed by the want of severalty in the words of his exemplar. The Lord's Prayer in the Codex Sangallensis is in a smaller form than this, but it bears a wonderful affinity to it in the shape of the letter; and even in orthography, for, though not so reckless, it has *ελθατω, αφιομεν,* and *η δυναμεις.* The accompanying facsimile (Plate III.) shows some curious particulars in the form of the letters. The B is in a transition state between Greek and Irish; the Δ, as is more fully shown in the colophon of the second book, is on its way to an Irish ᴅ; in like manner the Λ is passing to the λ, and evidences a disposition to omit the light stroke on the left, and leave it an Irish ᒪ. The M is written in two ways, the latter of which, like two C's *dos a dos*, with a vinculum, appears in the Book of Armagh[o], as is shown in the annexed facsimile of the colophon to the Gospel of St. Matthew[p]. Matthaei, not aware of the common use of the former, writes[q], concerning its occurrence in the Codex Boernerianus, "facile confunduntur λλ. cum μ.; μ. cum ν." The N is evidently allied in form to the Irish N; the P is intermediate between P and R, and the Greek influence is shown in the Irish capital by the tendency to suppress the curl of the letter; the C for Σ is universally employed in all the Hiberno-Greek MSS.; the ϹϹ is a transition from Υ to Y, and is used in Hiberno-Latin writing for Υ, and causes the word *eulogiam* to appear as *eylogiam* in the Life (p. 121). On the whole, this specimen of Hiberno-Greek[r], though worthless in a linguistic point of view, is very valu-



in the verse cited by Mabillon (Annal. Bened. tom. iii. p. 677 *a*):

Qui studiis radians, et APHTIC germine vernans.

[o] *Book of Armagh.*—At present in the editor's possession. See note [c], p. 354, *infra.*

[p] *St. Matthew.*—Fol. 52 *b a.* The above woodcut is borrowed, by permission, from the Proceedings of the R. Irish Acad. vol. iii. p. 318.

[q] *Matthaei writes.*—Epist. Pauli xiii. Cod. Gr. Boernerianus, Animadv. p. 114 (Misen. 1791).

[r] *Hiberno-Greek.*—The most copious and accessible authority on this head is the *Antiquissimus Quatuor Evangeliorum Canonicorum Codex Sangallensis* of H. C. M. Rettig (Turici, 1836). This admirable work contains 395 lithograph pages in facsimile of the St. Gall MS. See also the two facsimiles at fols. 23, 86, of Matthaei's Codex Boernerianus.

able in the history of Irish writing, as it shows how the Greek and Roman letters, as written by the Irish, mutually affected one another, and *gave the Irish alphabet, especially in capitals, that peculiar character which distinguishes it from all others*[s].

The history of the manuscript is interesting. It was undoubtedly written in the west; and was probably taken to Germany in the early part of the ninth century. The corrections of the Irish orthography, and the peculiar hand of the corrector, indicate a foreign revision, and at the period mentioned. The monastery of Augia Dives, or Reichenau[t], where the book was found at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was an ancient monastery much frequented by the Irish, and its abbot, from 842 to 849, was the celebrated Walafridus Strabus, who had been previously Dean of St. Gall, another monastery of Irish connexion. At the beginning of the ninth century a strong tide of Irish pilgrims set in towards Germany[u]; possibly caused by the Norse invasions of the west; and it is likely that the breaking up of Hy, at the same time, and by the same influence, caused many members of the Columbian society to fall in with the movement. There undoubtedly was some such communication between Ireland and eastern Germany soon after 825, whereby Walafridus Strabus, who records the martyrdom of St. Blaithmac, was made acquainted with the particulars of that tragical event[v]. St. Fintan, the patron

[s] *All others.*—The peculiarity of the Hiberno-Greek letter in the Cod. Boerner. drew from the experienced Matthaei the confession: "Ad tria millia Codicum Graecorum in variis regionibus tractaui, nullum tamen huic similem" (xiii. Epist. Pauli, Animadvers. p. 113).

[t] *Reichenau.*—That is, 'Rich meadow,' latinized *Augia Dives.* It is a fertile island in the inferior part of the Lake of Constance, containing three parishes with three old churches, *Ober*, *Mittel*, and *Unter Zell.* The steeple of the conventual church, a structure of extreme age, was lately whitewashed, and deprived of its external ornaments, by way of renovation. The *Necrologium* of Reichenau was published by Keller some years since, and the *Liber Confraternitatum Augiæ Divitis*, the latter part of which contains the names of strangers who visited Reichenau from the middle of the eighth to the twelfth centuries, including Icelanders, is reported to be still in existence. The valuable relics of the library were carried away by the monks at the suppression in 1799, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Government (Baden).

[u] *Germany.*—The observation of Walafridus Strabus, in his Life of St. Gall, is very much to the purpose: "Nuper quoque de natione Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa est, quidam advenientes," &c.—ii. 46 (Messingham, Florileg. p. 293 *a*). This was written before 842.

[v] *Tragical event.*—It is a remarkable circumstance to find an occurrence which so deeply affected St. Columba's society very briefly noticed in domestic records, and to be obliged to travel to eastern Germany for further particulars. See p. 389, *infra*.

saint of Augia Rheni, or Rheinau[w], had made his way to Germany about twenty-five years before, and his Life, which was written a short time after his decease, though existing in Germany[x], proves the writer to have been an Irishman, and acquainted with Irish occurrences, for it contains some sentences in the Irish language, and speaks of a monk then living in Fore, to whom the saint had related the visions which he had at Rheinau. And, that it was not unusual to carry books abroad, appears by the many Irish manuscripts which are preserved on the Continent, and, especially, from the donations which Dungal[y] made to St. Columbanus's monastery of Bobio, and Bishop Marcus[z] to that of St. Gall. The discovery of the manuscript of Adamnan at Reichenau by White, and the communication of his copy to Ussher, Colgan, and the Bollandists, have been already mentioned[a]. When or by whom it was removed from that monastery is not known, but that it found its way to Schaffhausen[b] before the suppression in 1799 has been shown above. Dr. Ferdinand Keller, who has the credit of bringing it to light again, thus writes, Jan. 1851: "The present *proprietor* of the MS. of S. Columba is the Town-library (public library) of Schaffhausen. Here I found this codex in 1845 at the bottom of a

[w] *Rheinau.*—That is, 'Meadow of the Rhine;' in Latin, *Augia Rheni.* It is situate on a picturesque island of the Rhine, not far from the cataract beside Schaffhausen.

[x] *Germany.*—Published by Goldastus in his *Rerum Alamannicarum Scriptores*, p. 318 (Francof. 1606). The saint, who was a native of Leinster, is called *Findan* in the Life.

[y] *Dungal.*—The catalogue of the books which this Irishman gave to the monastery of Bobio has been published from an ancient MS. by Muratori (Antiq. Ital. Dissert. 43, tom. iii. col. 821). The memorandum prefixed to the catalogue states that they were the books "quos Dungalus præcipuus Scottorum obtulit beatissimo Columbano," that is, to his monastery, for the founder of Bobio was now 200 years dead. A manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, formerly in the Bobio collection, has these lines:

"Sancte Columba, tibi Scotto tuus incola Dungal
Tradidit hunc Librum, quo Fratrum corda beentur."

Ib. col. 826. Dungal's catalogue mentions "Librum quendam Scotaicæ linguæ." *Ib.* col. 821 (Mediol. 1740).

[z] *Marcus.*—In 841, Marcus, an Irish bishop, and his sister's son, Moengal (latinized Marcellus), returning from a pilgrimage to Rome, visited St. Gall, and were induced to make it in future their home. Marcus bequeathed his books to the monastery, and Moengal became director of the inner school, and teacher of those boys who wore the cloister dress, and were, for the most part, while yet children, devoted to the monastic life. See Keller, *ut supra*, p. 63.

[a] *Mentioned.*—See pp. ix., x., *supra;* Acta Sanctorum, Junii, ii. p. 190 *a*.

[b] *Schaffhausen.*—The identity of the MS. now existing there with that formerly seen at Reichenau, is put beyond the shadow of a doubt by two memoranda on the first page, which, though partially erased, admit of being read: one at the top of p. 1, col. *a*, *Liber Augiæ Divitis;* the other at the foot of the page, *Lib' augie maioris.*

high book-chest, where it lay pêle-mêle with some other MSS. and old books totally neglected, bearing neither title nor number." It was twice borrowed by Dr. Keller, and on the latter occasion, in 1851, he made a valuable collection of facsimiles from it, and through Mr Morf, a person of considerable learning and experience in manuscripts, secured a most minute collation of the text with the printed edition in the Bollandists, the results of which, with the greatest kindness and liberality, he placed at the service of the present editor.

II. Codex B. A vellum MS. of the middle of the fifteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, *Bibl. Reg.* 8 D. ix. The text agrees in its main features with that of A. It has, however, *capitulationes* for the second and third books, which do not exist in A, and a paragraph in the middle of the second book (ii. 20). These have been introduced into the present work (pp. 100, 188, 131). It also contains a recital of the names of St. Columba's twelve disciples, and of his immediate kinsmen. This appendage, which comes without a break immediately after the text in the manuscript, is not an integral part of the work; but as it is evidently very ancient and trustworthy, it forms the subject of Additional Note A (pp. 245–247) in the present work. The manuscript wants about a quaternio at the beginning, and commences abruptly in the middle of i. 3 (25). This defect is of old standing, for the name *Lumley*, written at the foot of the first page, is the signature of John, Lord Lumley[c], who died in 1609. Otherwise, the manuscript is in unexceptionable preservation; the vellum clean, and the writing distinct. The capitals are large and massive, in red and blue alternately; those at the beginning of sections or paragraphs smaller, but coloured in like manner: the tituli are in rubric. As to orthography, it never uses *œ* or *æ*, and rarely *ae*; it generally has *c* instead of *t* in such words as *tercius;* aspirates initial vowels, as *heremus*, *hostium;* doubles medial consonants, as *occeanus;* obeys assimilation, as *illacrimans;* has no *y*; is indistinct in the combination of minims, in the letters *i*, *m*, *n*, *u*; generally reads the name *iona;* has no capitals as initials of proper names; and, though using various forms of stops, has no fixed rule of punctuation.

It is in a large 8vo vol. consisting of 144 fols. or 288 pages. The contents of the volume are, *S. Columbæ Vita*, fol. 1 *a* to 70 *a*; *Regula Augustini*, 71 *a* to 78 *a*; *Flores magistri Hugonis de Sancto Victore et fratris Nicholai*

[c] *Lord Lumley.*—His manuscripts and printed books were purchased for Prince Henry by James I., and added to the Royal collection at the palace of St. James, where the Prince resided. See Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 127 (Dublin, 1760).

Triveti super Regula beati Augustini, fol. 79 *a* to 144 *b*. The leaf measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the page $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. There are generally 24 lines to the page. The age of the manuscript has been greatly overrated. Pinkerton, in his Vitæ Antiquæ[d], states it to be *Cent. xii.*, and is followed by Dr. Petrie (215). In his *Enquiry*[e], Pinkerton lowers the date one century, and describes it as "written in the thirteenth century."

III. Codex C. The Canisian text, which was published in 1604, "ex membranis m. s. Monasterii Windbergensis in Bauaria." It seems to be the manuscript which is mentioned, under the head *Windberg* in the Appendix A[f] to the Report of the English Record Commissioners, as *S. Adamnanus Scotus de S. Columba Scoto*. In its printed state, this is the most unsatisfactory text[g] of all the copies: it is very likely, however, that justice has not been done to it in the transcription. It belongs to the shorter recension. In the introduction to the Life, Canisius says: "Notandum est quod codex MS. Rebdorffensis expresse in titulo libri vocat Sanctum;" and Messingham[h] cites him as his authority for the statement: "Codex MS. Rebdorfensis ubique vocat Adamnanum, vel Adomnanum." But this is another name[i] for the Windberg MS., and the town of Rebdorf is situate in the south-east of Franconia, a little west of Eichstadt[j], on the north bank of the Altmuhl, a tributary of the Danube. Canisius's residence and place of publication, Ingolstadt[k], is not far off on the south-east.

IV. Codex D. The second tract (fol. 39 *aa* to 51 *ba*), in a large vellum manuscript of the thirteenth century, preserved in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, vulgarly, though erroneously, called the *Book of Kilkenny*[l], and marked

[d] *Vitæ Antiquæ.*—In the note *Lectori*, p. vii.

[e] *Enquiry.*—Vol. i. p. 61. At p. 315, however, he wavers: "The invaluable MS. in the King's Library, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century."

[f] *Appendix A.*—Supplement, p. 80.

[g] *Unsatisfactory text.*—Stephanus Vitus, in the preface to his collation of the Cod. Augiensis, describes the Life in Canisius as "tres libros, verum passim incuria librariorum depravatos, obscuratos, hæsitantes, hiantes, truncatos, et memorabilium rerum multarum narrationis omissione fœdum in modum deformatos." —Abp. Ussher's MS. Copy, penes John C. Nicholl, of Merthyr Mawr, Bridgend, Esq.

[h] *Messingham.*—Florileg. Sanctor. Hib. p. 142.

[i] *Another name.*—Thus, the Vit. S. Kiliani in the fourth volume of the Antiquæ Lectiones, is printed: "Ex membranis MS. *monasterii Windbergensis et Rebdorfensis.*"

[j] *Eichstadt.*—This is the *Aichstadium*, in the Dominican convent of which Canisius found his original of Cogitosus' Life of St. Brigid.

[k] *Ingolstadt.*—This town also, through Gretser, first gave Adamnan's tract *De Locis Sanctis* to the public. The literary offerings of this part of Bavaria were a small instalment in discharge of the old debt Franconia owed to Ireland for her missionary services.

[l] *Book of Kilkenny.*—This name, by which it

v. 3, 4. This volume contains the lives of twenty-eight saints[m], all Irish, except St. Anthony. It is written in double columns. The chapters are not numbered by the original hand, and are only distinguished by large red initials. Its text is of the shorter recension, but differs from the other MSS. of the same family in occasionally departing from the usual order of the chapters, and by reducing Adamnan's involved constructions to the more natural order of the words. It generally substitutes *Hybernia*[n] for *Scotia*, *Hybernienses* for *Scotienses;* and, when it comes to an Irish name, departs from the usual monastic hand, and writes the word in the native character[o]. It is almost certain that this is the manuscript which Ussher speaks of when, citing Adamnan, he writes[p]: "De Scotia (sive ut MS. meus eodem sensu habet, Hibernia) ad Britanniam;" and again[q]: "Moctheum enim, in MS. quo usus sum codice, ibi nominatum invenio: pro quo Mauetius in libris Adamnani editis."

V. Codex F. A vellum manuscript in 4to. sæc. x., consisting of fifty leaves. It formerly belonged to the church of Freisingen, situate at the junction of the Moosach and Isar, in Bavaria; under the number 141, and is now in the Royal Library of Munich, 6341. It is the most respectable manuscript of the shorter recension, and often exhibits the proper names in a very correct form. It was collated for this edition in 1853, by Professor Conrad Hofmann of Munich, and the facsimile in Plate IV. No. 1, was made by Mr. Schenk of that city. The memorandum at top of the first page, *Iste liber est sancte*

has been frequently referred to, was given to it by the late Mr. Downes, who conjectured that some Lives published by Colgan from a *Codex Kilkenniensis* were taken from it; but a slight comparison shows that it is *not* Colgan's original. *Codex Armachanus* is more likely to be its correct designation.

[m] *Twenty-eight Saints.*—Namely:

1. S. Antonius, 33.
2. S. Columba, 39 *a*.
3. S. Edanus, 51 *b*.
4. S. Brendanus, 56 *b*.
5. S. Comgenus, 64 *b*.
6. S. Molyng, 70 *b*.
7. S. Fintanus, 74 *a*.
8. S. Senanus, 76 *b*.
9. S. Mocoemog, 80 *b*.
10. S. Fynanus, 84 *b*.
11. S. Ruadanus, 86 *a*.
12. S. Cronanus, 88 *b*.
13. S. Comgallus, 90 *b*.
14. S. Carthagus, 94 *a*.
15. S. Declanus, 101 *b*.
16. S. Kyaranus, 106 *b*.
17. S. Yta, 109 *b*.
18. S. Molua, 112 *b*.
19. S. Laurencius, 116.
20. S. Cainnicus, 124.
21. S. Munna, 127.
22. S. Colmanus, 129 *b*.
23. S. Barrus, 132 *b*.
24. S. Edus, 134.
25. S. Ailbeus, 135.
26. S. Abbanus, 138 *b*.
27. S. Kiaranus, 144 *b*.
28. S. Malachias, 148.

Besides No. 2, Nos. 4, 20, 21 have been liberally consulted for the present work. Cod. E. 3, 11, of Trinity College Library, is a collection of Irish Lives bearing a great resemblance to this, but greatly inferior in value on account of its numerous chasms. The Lives of Colman Ela, Barr, and Albeus, contained in it, are occasionally referred to in this work.

[n] *Hybernia.*—See pp. 9, 25, 52, 76, 81, 90, 103, 111, 207, *infra*. Cod. D is the only manuscript of Adamnan which takes this liberty.

[o] *Native character.*—See pp. 81, 94, 105, 113, 121, 198, 200, 218, 237, 238.

[p] *He writes.*—Works, vol. vi. p. 236. Conf. *Var. Lect.* p. 9, *infra*.

[q] *Again.*—*Ib.* p. 415. See *Var. Lect.* p. 6, *inf.*

Plate 4.

Codex P.

ste lib. ē. sce marie sci corbi frisinig

EATI NOS

TRI PATRONI

xpo suffragante uitam discriptu

rus fratrum flagitationibus obse

cundare uolens. Inprimis eandem

lecturos quosq; ammonere procura

bo. utfidem dictis adhibeant compertis. & res magis quā

uerba perpendant. quę uaestimo. Inculta & rudia ēē ui

dentur. Meminerintq; regnū dī non Ineloquentiae ex

Codex S.

INCIPIT PRIMA PRAEFATIO

APOLIGIAQ: ADOMNANI ABBA

TIS SCI SCRIPTORIS. VITE SCI COLVMBAE.

EATI NOSTRI PATRO

ni. xpo suffragante uitam discrip

turus fratrū flagitationib: obse

cundare uolens: Inprimis eandem

lecturos quosq; ammonere procurabo.

ut fidē dictis adhibeant compertis et

Marie et sancti Corb. Frisingensis, records the name of St. Corbinianus[r], the founder of the see, who lived in the year 710.

VI. Codex S. A small quarto manuscript on vellum, of the early part of the ninth century, preserved in the Library of St. Gall, No. 555. It consists of 83 folios, and contains the text of the shorter recension. The writing, which is represented in Plate IV. No. 2, is poor, and, as Dean Greith states, "literis Carolinis sæc. ix. scriptus, mendis et nævis scatet, ideoque plurimis in locis correctus apparet." On the last page is the figure of St. Columba, of which a facsimile is given in Plate V. The catalogue of the library of St. Gall, which was written in the ninth century, and is still preserved, mentions a *Vita sancti Columbæ in Cod. i.;* and in a much later catalogue, that of Weidmann, formerly librarian of St. Gall, that *Vita* is reported to be still in existence. Haenel says of it: "Vita S. Columbæ cod. membranaceus, pulchre scriptus. In fine imago S. Columbæ. Reperitur in catalogo Bibliothecæ sæc. ix." (Catalogi Libror. MSS. &c., col. 697, Lips. 1830). For the various readings of this manuscript, the editor is indebted to the Very Rev. Charles Greith, Dean of St. Gall.

VII. Codex Cottonianus. This copy of the Life is contained in a large folio volume, which formerly belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, and is now to be found in the British Museum, under the mark *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, D. iii.* It is a vellum manuscript in double columns, written in a fine large hand, of the latter part of the twelfth century. It contained, according to Smith[s], sixty-eight tracts, principally Lives of Saints; and, among these, the forty-seventh was *Vita Sancti Columbe episcopi.* With other manuscripts of the Cotton Library, it suffered considerable damage in the fire of 1731, and from that time until 1852 was unemployed, being reported in the Catalogue[t] as "A folio volume on vellum, burnt to a crust, which is preserved in a case." However, by the direction of Sir Frederick Madden[u], and under his judicious superintendence, the leaves which had been consolidated were disengaged, flattened, and inlaid, and the volume once more made available for reference. Unfortunately, the editor was not aware of the existence of this manuscript at the time that he was collating the other copies, so that its

[r] *St Corbinianus.*—See Acta Sanctorum, at Sept. 8 (Sept., tom. iii. p. 261).

[s] *Smith.*—Catalogus, Libror. MSS. Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, p. 27 *a* (Oxon. 1696).

[t] *Catalogue.*—By Planta, Lond. 1802, p. 39 *b*.

[u] *Sir Frederick Madden.*—The reduction of some eighty "crusts" to good literary pabulum is one of the many proofs of diligence and

readings do not appear under the text. But the omission is repaired in some measure by the discovery that Cod. B is in general a faithful representative of this manuscript. On becoming aware of its present condition, the editor took the opportunity, while the present sheet was at the press, of going over to London to collate the newly revived authority, and the result will be found at p. 456, seqq., of the present work.

The volume contains the same number of leaves[w] that it did before the fire, though they are all more or less damaged at the top, while those near the beginning and end have been nearly destroyed. The Life of St. Columba occupies from fol. 192 *ab* to 217 *aa* of the present numbering. There are some chasms in the volume not caused by the fire, and which are not noticed in the pagination, namely, between fols. 194, 195, where the text of Lib. i. from end of cap. 2 to end of 22 is wanting; and between fols. 196, 197, where the text of Lib. i. from middle of cap. 36 to end of 49 is likewise wanting. This deficiency subtracts much more matter from the tract than the fire has done. However, even in its doubly mutilated condition, this copy is extremely valuable, and ranks next to Cod. A in correctness and historical importance. It contains the text of the full recension, with the *capitula* and *tituli;* and so closely resembles B, that the latter may be confidently pronounced to have been copied from a common Scotch original[x]. The names of St. Columba's disciples and kinsmen[y], as in B, but somewhat more accurately given, succeed the Life, in the form of an ordinary chapter, and this again by an epilogue consisting of twenty-five Leonine hexameters[z]. Abp. Ussher, who consulted this manuscript, and cites it on four occasions, has printed eleven of these verses[a]. Father Innes also transcribed them, and partly promised "a full copy" to be inserted in the Appendix to his History. However, they never appeared, and they now are printed for the first time at full length, some chasms in the early lines being supplied in brackets from the portion published by Ussher:

skill which the learned Keeper has evinced in the service of his department.

[w] *Same number of leaves.*—This is proved by Mr. Wanley's MS. notes to the old Report on the Library.

[x] *Common original.*—In all the marked instances of variation between A and B, this manuscript agrees with B. It is demonstrable, however, that B was not copied from this identical manuscript, for it occasionally supplies words which the incuria of the scribe has let slip in the Codex Cottonianus.

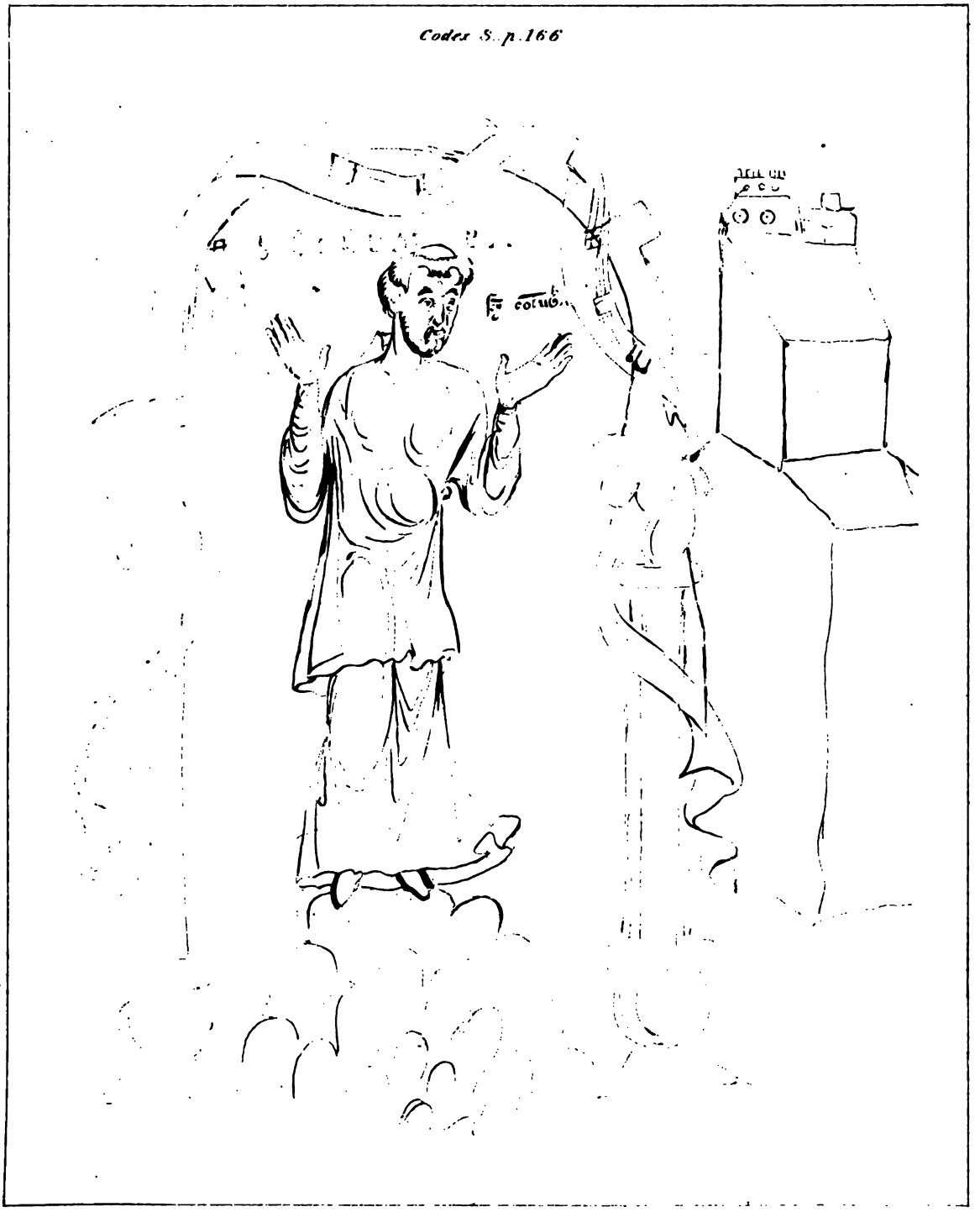
[y] *Disciples and kinsmen.*—It was from the Cotton MS., not B (as stated in p. 245), that Abp. Ussher published their names.

[z] *Hexameters.*—Fol. 217 *aa*, line 8.

[a] *Eleven verses.*—Brit. Eccl. Ant. cap. 15 (Wks. vol. vi. pp. 230, 239).

Plate. 5.

Codex S. p. 166



UNIV. OF MICH.

"Sancte Columba pater, quem fudit Hibernia [ma]ter,
Quem Christi numen dedit [ecclesie for]e lumen.
Que tibi scripta d[amus, tibi si]nt accepta rogamus.
Na[m licet indig]ne, tua scripsimus acta [benigne]:
Scripsimus et vitam virtu[tis ab arce po]litam.
Te petimus per eum . . . . s dante per evum,
In tua de*votos servi*tia protege totos.
. . . . . us pro cunctis funde precatus:
Auge virtutem, fer opem, servaque salutem,
Regis Alexandri, qui causa te venerandi
Jusserat ecce tuos pingi scribendo triumphos.
Huic assiste pater quos spiritus *per*volat ater,
Ut nichil in pejus temptatio transferat ejus;
Ut bonus accedat cui se rex et sua credat.
Rex actus regis fac formet ab ordine legis.
Malo servatur cum rex a lege regatur.
Protege Reginam, ne sentiat ipsa ruinam.
Insula pontificum sibi te cognoscat amicum.
Plebem cum clero rege Christo principe vero,
Omnes sancte juva pater et patrone Columba.
Ensis Scottorum sis et munimen eorum;
Auxiliumque boni, prece, fer servo Simeoni,
Hec qui verba precum tibi scribere duxerat æquum;
Willelmoque, Iona[b] sacer, affer celica dona,
Hunc librum clare qui dignum duxit arare."

Father Innes drew no further inference from this curious record than what he vaguely states[c] in the following passage, where he treats of the Cotton manuscript: "It appears to have been transcribed from a former copy, written in Ycolmkill, by order of one of our King Alexanders, by a monk called Simeon, under the direction of William, Abbot of Ycolmkill." The manuscript in question is of the date of about 1180, and is evidently a repertory of lives, copied in close succession, with reference to the order of the Calendar[d], from independent authorities. Hence the original, from which it

[b] *Iona.*—Ussher cites the lines for the sake of this word, as illustrative of the Hebrew appellation. See note [f], p. 5, *infra*. Innes erroneously understands it of the island.

[c] *Innes states.*—Civil and Eccles. History of Scotland, p. 144 (Spalding Club, Aberd. 1853). He allows the age of above 400 years to the MS.; but he might safely have added another century. He (or his editor) has erred in giving Tiberius D. viii. as the press mark of the volume. It is, and has always been, D. iii.

[d] *Order of the Calendar.*—The Lives range

borrowed these lines, was of a prior date. Now as Alexander II. reigned from 1214 to 1249, it is evident that he cannot be intended; Alexander I., therefore, whose reign was from 1107 to 1124, is the subject of the metrical colophon.

The applicability of the 10th and 11th verses to this sovereign is confirmed by Fordun, who, having stated the circumstances which led to the foundation of Inch Colum by Alexander I. (p. 298, *infra*), adds[e]: "Tum etiam quia Sanctum Columbam semper a juventute speciali venerabatur honore; tum insuper, quia parentes ipsius per aliquot annos infœcundi, sobolis solatio erant destituti, donec devotione supplici Sanctum Columbam implorantes, gloriose consecuti sunt quod tam anhelo desiderio diu quaesierunt." What is even more to the point, Fordun, in the preceding chapter, says of the same king, "Erat itaque in construendis ecclesiis, et reliquiis Sanctorum perquirendis, in vestibus sacerdotalibus *librisque sacris conficiendis et ordinandis* studiosissimus." The *regina* mentioned in the 17th verse was Alexander's queen, Sibilla[f], who died at Loch Tay, 3 Id. Jul. 1122. Alexander's mother, St. Margaret, was a great benefactor of Hy[g]; and his brother had been abbot of St. Columba's monastery of Dunkeld. The *Willelmus* of the 24th verse was probably the Wilhelmus, Bishop of the Isles, who, according to the Chronicle of Man[h], succeeded Roolwer, and on whose death in 1114, Hamond, or Wymund, was consecrated to the see. This would limit the composition of these lines to the interval between Alexander's accession in 1107, and Bishop William's death in 1114.

The following are the principal peculiarities of this manuscript: It invariably calls Hy, *ioua insula*[i]; but when in the 24th hexameter it uses the Hebrew name of St. Columba, it writes *iona:* It uses no capitals with proper names: It often prefixes *s* to initial *c*, as *scelerius* for *celerius:* It uses *e* for *æ* and *œ:* It writes *περιστερά*, ΠΗΡΥCΤΗΡΑ: It uses the adjective

generally under the days of May and June, and the volume seems to have been one of a great manuscript series of Acta Sanctorum for the whole year.

[e] *Fordun adds.*—Scotichron. lib. v. cap. 37.

[f] *Sibilla.*—See Fordun, Scotichron. v. 40, vi. 1.

[g] *Benefactor of Hy.*—See p. 410, *infra.*

[h] *Chronicle of Man.*—Johnstone, Antiqq. Celto-Norman. p. 43. This is Keith's authority for the early names under the Bishops of the Isles, p. 296 (Edinb. 1824). The Chronicon places Hamondus "in diebus Godredi Crouan," but this must be an error for Godred Olaveson. The former died in 1095, but Hamondus was not consecrated till 1114.

[i] *Ioua insula.*—This is the universal form in all the old MSS. B is the first to read *iona*. See pp. 258, 413, *infra.*

Scotius for *Scoticus;* and in the inflections of the word sometimes supplies the deficient *c* by interlineation, which looks as if the copyist was not familiar with the adjective: It has all the tituli in rubric; and commences the greater and lesser divisions with coloured letters of red, green, and blue: There are 43 lines in the column, which originally measured about 11½ by 3¼ inches. The only other Irish tract in the volume is St. Brendan's Life[k]; and the only Scotch tracts are the Lives of St. Margaret[l] and St. Ninian[m].

Besides these seven manuscripts, which furnish the various readings of this edition, there are reported to be in existence the following:—

1. At *Admont*[n], a cathedral town of Styria, in the circle of Judenburg, and valley of the Enns river, a manuscript *Vita S. Columbæ presbyteri et confessoris*, beginning "Sanctus igitur Columba nobilibus fuerat oriundus natalibus, patrem habens Fedilmitum filium Fergusa."

2. *Heiligenkreutz*[o] (Holy-Cross), in Austria, is reported as having a *Vita S. Columbæ*. There are eight places of the name in the Austrian empire; but of the two which are in the archduchy of Austria, this is probably the Cistercian monastery, in the district of the Vienna forest.

3. *Salmansweiler*[p], a Cistercian monastery, one mile from Uberlingen, on the north side of the lake of Constance, is reported to have *Adamannus Abbas de Vita S. Columbe confessoris.*

4. *Tegernsee*[q], a monastery of Bavaria, between the rivers Isar and Inn, and the lakes of Schlier and Tegern, is said to have *Vita Columbi Confessoris;* Sæc. xiii. This, however, as well as No. 2, may be by Cummene.

5. In the Codex Salmanticensis[r], belonging to the library of the Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels, is a fragment of a Life of St. Columba, differing very little from Adamnan's. Owing to the loss of several folios, the greater part of this tract is wanting, and what remains, beginning at iii. 18 of Adamnan, is printed by Colgan as the second part of his *Vita Secunda*[s].

[k] *St. Brendan's Life.*—Fol. 107 *aa* to 118 *aa*.

[l] *St. Margaret.*—Fol. 179 *bb* to 186 *aa*.

[m] *St. Ninian.*—Fol. 186 *aa* to 192 *aa*.

[n] *Admont.*—Append. A. to Report of English Record Commissioners, p. 2.

[o] *Heiligenkreutz.—Ibid.*, p. 123.

[p] *Salmansweiler.—Ibid.*, p. 202.

[q] *Tegernsee.—Ibid.*, p. 209.

[r] *Codex Salmanticensis.*—So called from Salamanca, where it was kept in the Irish college before it was sent to Father Rosweyd. This MS. is frequently mentioned in the following pages. Colgan and the Bollandists have drawn largely from it. For an account of its contents, see Mr. Bindon's communication in Proceedings of the R. Irish Acad. vol. iii. p. 498.

[s] *Vita Secunda.*—Tr. Th. pp. 327 *b*–330. It should be, *Vita Tertia acephala.*

The other Lives of St. Columba are the following :—

I. That by Cummene, already mentioned, and of which an account is given at p. 199 of this work.

II. The first part of Colgan's *Vita Secunda*[t], which he found in the Salamanca MS.[u], and erroneously supposed to be by Cumineus. It is a succinct and chronological digest of the principal recorded events of the Saint's life, and supplies from the old Irish Life some particulars not recorded by Adamnan.

III. A Life by John of Tinmouth[x], pirated by Capgrave[y], and reprinted by Colgan with notes, in the Trias, where it appears as the *Vita Tertia*[z]. It is principally compiled from Adamnan, and ends with the monition[a]: "Est autem sciendum quod Hibernia proprie Scotorum est patria: antiquitus igitur Scotia pro Hibernia sæpius scribi solet sicut hic in vita sancti Columbe diligenter intuentibus apparet. Et etiam venerabilis Beda de gestis Anglorum multis in locis Hiberniam exprimere volens, Scotiam scripsit."

IV. The office in the Breviary of Aberdeen[b], containing nine short lessons, borrowed, in an abridged form, from Adamnan.

V. An abridgment of Adamnan, printed by Benedict Gonon[c] under the title *Vita S. Columbæ, sive Columbani, Presbyteri et Confessoris* (*qui alius est à S. Columbano Luxoviensi abbate*) *ex illa prolixa quam scripsit Adamannus abbas Insulæ Huensis in Scotia.* It occupies three folio pages, double columns, and is accompanied by three trifling notulæ.

VI. An ancient Irish memoir, frequently referred to in the following pages as *the old Irish Life*. It is a composition probably as old as the tenth century, and was originally compiled, to be read as a discourse on St. Columba's festival[d], on the text *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua, et de domo*

[t] *Vita Secunda.*—Tr. Th. pp. 325-327.

[u] *Salamanca MS.*—Fol. 205.

[x] *John of Tinmouth.*—He flourished in 1366. The volume containing his great collection of Lives is one of those in the Cotton Library (Tiberius E. i.) which suffered by the fire. All that art could do for its restoration has been effected under Sir F. Madden's care. It is now bound up in two separate parts. The tract *De Sancto Columba Abbate et Confessore* commences on fol. 180 *ba* (Part ii.). "Hunc librum expilavit Joannes Capgravius," Smith, Catal. Cotton. pp. 28, and xl. *b*.

[y] *Capgrave.*—Legenda Aurea, fol. 62 *b a*.

[z] *Vita Tertia.*—Trias Thaum. pp. 332-335.

[a] *Monition.*—Joh. Tinmouth. (Tiber. E. i.), fol. 183 *aa*; Legend. Aur. fol. 65 *ba*.

[b] *Breviary of Aberdeen.*—Propr. SS. Temp. Hyemal. fol. 103 *a b*—104 *a b* (Reprint).

[c] *Gonon.*—*Vitæ et Sententiæ Patrum Occidentis*, p. 420. (Lugduni, 1625, fol.)

[d] *St. Columba's festival.*—It says, speaking of Abraham and other pilgrim fathers: ꝑeiḃ ꝓo ḋoṁaill acaꝛ ꝓoꝛacaiḃ a ḃuḋuꝛ ꞇalmanḋa, aꝛ ꝑꝛaḋ acaꝛ uaṁan ın Coṁḋeḋ, ın ꞇ-aꝛḃnoeṁ acaꝛ ın ꞇ-aꝛḃ ecnaiḋ acaꝛ ın

patris tui, et vade in terram quam tibi monstravero. This curious relic of Irish preaching is preserved in four manuscripts:—1. The Leabhar Breac, or Speckled Book of Mac Egan, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy (fol. 15 *ab*). 2. The Book of Lismore (fol. 49 *ba*), of which the original is in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, and a beautiful copy in the Royal Irish Academy. 3. A quarto vellum MS., formerly belonging to the Highland Society[e] of Scotland, and now deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It is a thin fasciculus without covers, probably of the twelfth century, and written in double columns. The Life begins in fol. 7, and is continued to the end, namely, 14 *b*. It modernizes all the old words and constructions of the earlier copies, and subjoins the account of St. Columba's proceedings at the convention of Drumceatt, taken from one of the prefaces to the Amhra Choluim-cille. This MS. may be the one of those mentioned by Martin[f], circ. 1700: "The Life of *Columbus*, written in the *Irish* Character, is in the Custody of *John Mack Neil*, in the Isle of *Barray;* another Copy of it is kept by *Mack-Donald* of *Benbecula*." A facsimile of some lines has been engraved in one of the Highland Society's publications[g]. 4. MS. Royal Library, Paris[h], Ancien Fond., No. 8175. It forms fol. 53 *aa* to fol. 56 *bb*, of a small folio parchment volume found by the Revolutionary Commissioners, during the Republic, in a private house in Paris, and by them presented to the library.

This ancient Life, evidently held in great esteem, furnished O'Donnell with a considerable portion of his narrative, and he has transferred the whole into his collection. Ussher was acquainted with it, as is shown by his reference[i]: "Ut habet anonymus, qui acta ipsius Hibernico idiomate descripsit;" but Colgan does not seem to have been aware of its existence, and the Irish Life which he cites is always that of O'Donnell.

mac coġa do Ḋia ḋia ca liṫ acaṙ ꝓṙaiṫhmeṫ in ecmonġ inna ṗee ṗea acaṙ na hainṗiṗe, ıo eṙc ṙaṅcuṙ ṗṗeṙṗiceṙ Columba. 'In the same way as it was fulfilled, and his native country was left, for the love and favour of the Lord, by the illustrious saint, and illustrious sage, and the son chosen of God, for whom there is a festival and commemoration at this period and at this season, *id est, prespiter Columba.*' In the Leabhar Breac and Book of Lismore are lives of SS. Patrick and Brigid, the former on the text S. Matth. iv. 16, the latter on Rev. xiv. 4. The Life of St. Adamnan is a discourse on Job, xxxviii. 3.

[e] *Highland Society.*—See the notice in Proceedings of the R. Irish Academy, vol. iv. p. 256.

[f] *Martin.*—Voyage to Western Islds. p. 264.

[g] *Publications.*—Report on the poems of Ossian, Plate III. No. 3, and pp. 310, 311 (Edinb. 1805).

[h] *Paris.*—See Dr. Todd's notice in the Proceedings of the R. Irish Acad. vol. iii. p. 226.

[i] *Reference.*—Brit. Eccles. Antiqq., Index Chronologicus, an. 522 (Works, vol. vi. p. 587).

VII. The latest and much the most copious collection of the Saint's acts is that by Manus O'Donnell, chief of Tir-Connell, which professes to be, and is, a chronological digest of all the existing records concerning the patron of his family. His framework consists of Adamnan and the old Irish Life; into this he has worked:—1. The historical allusions found in the volume of poems[k] ascribed to St. Columba; 2, The substance of the preface to the Amhra Choluim-cille; 3, Extracts from the prefaces to the Latin hymns ascribed to St. Columba, and from the hymns themselves, as preserved in the Liber Hymnorum; 4, Some notes from the comments on the Feilire of Aengus[l]; 5, The matter in the poems on Cormac Ua Liathain[m]; 6, Passages from the lives of contemporary saints, especially St. Mochonna, or Machar, of Aberdeen[n]; 7, The alleged prophecies of Berchan of Clonsast[o]; 8, Some legendary poems[p] on the wanderings of certain Columbian monks, which far outdo St. Brendan's Navigation in wildness of incident. O'Donnell's statement[q] is: "Be it known to the readers of the Life, that it was buried in oblivion for a long time, and that there was not to be found, but a fragment of the book which holy Adamnan compiled of it in Latin, and another small portion[r] in Irish, compiled by the Irish poets in a very difficult dialect; and the remainder in legends scattered throughout the old books of Erin." These materials, with one or two trifling exceptions, all exist at the present day, and have more or less been consulted for the present work. It would be quite possible for a good scholar and patient investigator, endowed with an inventive wit, and a copious style, to compile from materials existing in the year of Grace 1856, a narrative to the full as circumstantial, as diffuse, and as marvellous, as that

[k] *Poems.*—Bodleian Libr., Laud 615.

[l] *Aengus.*—As the legend of St. Columba's ordination.—Trias Thaum. p. 396 *b*.

[m] *Cormac Ua Liathain.*—See pp. 264–274, *infra*.—Conf. O'Don. ii. 64 (Trias Thaum. p. 421 *a*).

[n] *Machar of Aberdeen.*—O'Donnell, iii. 23 (Trias Th. p. 435 *a*). The extract in Colgan is cited by T. Innes (Civ. Eccl. Hist. p. 194); but the Acts are not now known to exist.

[o] *Berchan of Clonsast.*—O'Donnell, iii. 78 (Trias Th. p. 446 *a*). See p. 314, *infra*.

[p] *Legendary poems.*—Namely, the Seaḋṗan ḋleṗeach Choluim-chille, or *Errores clericorum Columbæ-cille* (Trias Th. p. 446 *b*).

[q] *His own statement.*—Vit. fol. 1 *b a* (Rawlinson, 514, Bodl. Library). The original passage, with a translation which is here borrowed, is given in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. v. p. 175.

[r] *Small portion.*—It appears from the contents of O'Donnell's work that he had a perfect copy of Adamnan and the entire of the old Irish Life, but he calls the one a ḃloḋ ḃon leḃaṁ, 'fragment of the book,' and the other becan eli, 'a trifle more,' because they fell so far short of his own great conceptions. See the description in note [w], next page.

contained in the great volume of O'Donnell, and much more correct. It would, however, labour under one great defect, the Irish would not be as good. When and where this work was compiled, and at what cost, the following declaration of the noble author will set forth: "Be it known to the readers of this Life, that it was Manus, the son of Hugh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garve, son of Torlogh of the Wine, O'Donnell, that ordered the part of this Life which was in Latin to be put into Gaelic; and who ordered the part that was in difficult Gaelic to be modified, so that it might be clear and comprehensible to every one; and who gathered and put together the parts of it that were scattered through the old books of Erin; and who dictated it out of his own mouth, with great labour, and a great expenditure of time in studying how he should arrange all its parts in their proper places, as they are left here in writing by us; and in love and friendship for his illustrious Saint, Relative[s], and Patron, to whom he was devoutly attached. It was in the castle of Port-na-tri-namad[t] that this Life was indited, when were fulfilled 12 years, and 20, and 500, and 1000 of the age of the Lord[v]".

This work exists in all its original dimensions, beauty, and material excellence, in a large folio[w] of vellum, written in double columns, in a fine bold Irish hand, and is preserved in the Bodleian Library[x] at Oxford, where it was deposited, together with the other Irish manuscripts of Mr. Rawlinson; having previously cost that gentleman, at the sale of the Chandos collection in 176$\frac{6}{7}$, the formidable sum of twenty-three shillings[y]! Colgan published a

[s] *Relative.*—See the affinity of Domhnall Mor, the ancestor of the O'Donnells, to St. Columba, in the Genealogical Table opposite p. 342.

[t] *Port-na-tri-namad.*—That is, 'Port of the three enemies,' now Lifford. See O'Donovan on Four Mast. A.D. 1522, 1526, pp. 1353, 1384.

[v] *Age of the Lord.*—Colgan refers to O'Donnell's preface for the date 1520 (Trias Th. p. 446 *b*), but 1532 is the author's own statement. The writer died in 1563.

[w] *Large folio.*—The leaf measures 17 by 11$\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and there are 60 folios or 120 pages in the Life, which are followed by 18 folios containing poems on the O'Donnell family. On the second folio is a large coloured representation of the saint in episcopal robes. The volume has a slip cover of undressed skin, which gives the exterior a very hirsute appearance. See the notice of it in Dr. O'Conor's Stowe Catalogue, p. 397.

[x] *Bodleian Library.*—Rawlinson, B. 514.

[y] *Twenty-three shillings.*—This appears in Rawlinson's priced Catalogue of the Chandos Sale, preserved in the Bodleian Library. The manuscript formerly belonged to Sir James Ware, in whose collection it was numbered XXV.; and afterwards came into the possession of the Duke of Chandos, whose library was disposed of by auction, beginning March 12, 176$\frac{6}{7}$, and this book (No. 2567) was sold on the 18th night.

copious abstract[z] of this compilation in Latin, preserving the principal particulars of the narrative, but omitting the outrageously fabulous portions[a], as well as those which were not in accordance with his ecclesiastical feelings[b]; and divided the whole into three books, agreeing with the three chief eras of the Saint's life:—1. From his birth to the battle of Cooldrevny. 2. From that event, as the cause of his departure from Ireland, to his temporary return to attend the convention of Drumceatt. 3. From the convention of Drumceatt to his death. This compilation is important as a depository of all the existing traditions concerning St. Columba, but it throws no real light on Adamnan, either in solving a difficulty, or identifying a place[c]; and its great prolixity only serves to show how much superior Adamnan's memoir is to any other record professing to be an account of the Saint's life: and, after all, how little historical matter has been added to that work by the utmost endeavours of those best qualified to succeed in the attempt. To Adamnan is, indeed, owing the historic precision, and the intelligible operation, which characterize the second stage of the ancient Irish Church. In the absence of his memoir, the Life of St. Columba would degenerate into the foggy, unreal, species of narrative which belongs to the Lives of his contemporaries, and we should be entirely in the dark on many points of discipline and belief, concerning which we have now a considerable amount of satisfactory information.

Adamnan's memoir is, therefore, to be prized as an inestimable literary relic of the Irish Church: perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time. The editor, at least, felt it to be so: and has therefore taken great pains, in the midst of many difficulties and discouragements, to call into his service all the means of illustration which books, places, and men could afford.

What has been done to restore the text to its purity has already been stated. It may be added that the *Glossary*, which belongs to this department of the work, exhibits many vocables not noticed by Du Cange or his editors; and assigns some new significations to words already known.

Through the valuable aid of Professors Curry and O'Donovan, the editor possessed himself of all the materials which were to be found in Irish manu-

[z] *Copious abstract.*—Trias Thaum. pp. 389–446; frequently cited in the following pages.

[a] *Fabulous portions.*—See his apology, Trias Th. p. 446 *b*.

[b] *Ecclesiastical feelings.*—See the examples given at pp. 250, 326, *infra*.

[c] *Identifying a place.*—See pp. 95, 107, 152, *infra*.

scripts, which bore on the history of St. Columba or his order; and from this valuable store he has drawn as freely as the limits of the work would allow him.

In the department of topography the editor has been able to pronounce with certainty upon many points which have hitherto been undetermined. With two exceptions, every Irish name in Adamnan has been identified; and many Scotch names, which hitherto were matter of conjecture, have been traced to their true positions. Two journeys to the Western Isles afforded to the editor advantages, not only of personal examination, but of an introduction to those whose local knowledge was a living reference in cases of difficulty. It was thus that he has been enabled, in the case of Iona, to add to his own passing observation the constant experience of the Rev. Donald Mac Vean, one of the ministers of that island, who has been at all times ready, in the most obliging manner, to satisfy inquiry, and to whom the topographical account of Hy in the present volume owes much of its accuracy and detail.

From Joseph Robertson, Esq., of the General Register House, Edinburgh, the editor has received many valuable references and suggestions. To William Skene, and John Stuart, Esqrs., he is also under similar obligations.

That noble work, the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*[d], formed a most valuable precursor to the present undertaking, as the numerous references to it in the following pages will show. Even in its incomplete state, it is an enduring monument of unbounded patience and research. Will Ireland, with her ample resources and able hands, never muster spirit sufficient for such a work? But first, national muniments must receive some consideration, and she must cease to enjoy the unenviable distinction of possessing the least cared-for, worst-kept records in Europe.

To the Rev. Dr. Todd, the Rev. Robert King, and Mr. William Millar, who read the proofs of this work, the editor owes his grateful acknowledgments for the patience with which they have performed their part, and the valuable suggestions which they have made.

The Dublin University Press has fully maintained, in the execution of the

[d] *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ.*—Vol. i. was published in 1851; vol. ii. part 1, in 1854; and vol. ii. part 2, in 1855. The two first volumes bear the signature of C. Innes; the third, that of James B. Brichan. It is greatly to be regretted that the work has come to a stand still; and it is to be feared that, if the present editors be allowed to pass away, leaving the task unfinished, no future time will raise up successors possessing qualifications equal to those now available in furtherance of this great national object.

present volume, its character for elegance; and the editor feels bound to record the skill and intelligence which it has been his happiness on all occasions to experience in the operations of that office.

Mr. John Bartholomew, Jun., deserves great credit for the admirable style in which he has engraved the two maps which accompany this work. His merit is enhanced by the consideration that he was previously unacquainted with the Irish letter, and that in executing the map of Ireland he was at once the learner and the accomplished artist.

To John C. Nicholl, of Merthyr Mawr, Esq., the editor is indebted for the use of a manuscript volume[e] containing Archbishop Ussher's copy[f] of Stephen White's collation[g] of the Reichenau codex: and the favour was the greater as it was conferred upon a stranger.

There was a time when the confident manner in which the name *Scotia*, and its derivatives, are limited in the following pages to Ireland and its relations, would have been pronounced by the inhabitants of North Britain to be bigotry or presumption; but fortunately that day of prejudice is past: Chalmers and Pinkerton brought it to an end; so that now, as an enlightened writer[h] observes, "from Maiden Kirk to John O'Groat you will hardly find

[e] *MS. volume.*—This is the book which is mentioned in note[c], p. ix. *supra.* On the fly-leaf is written: "Sum ex libris Jacobi Tyrrell, A.D. 1662." James Tyrrell was Abp. Ussher's grandson, and this volume seems to be one of those which changed hands when Shotover House passed into another family.

[f] *Ussher's copy.*—A portion is in the delicate and beautiful hand of the amanuensis who prepared a copy of the Primordia (now in the editor's possession) for the second edition; the rest is in the Archbishop's own writing.

[g] *White's collation.*—It commences thus: "I. H. S. Maria. Stephanus Vitus Lectori. Nuper ex cœnobio Benedictinorum in Suevia celeberrimo Augia Dives dicto, vulgo Reichenaw, allatus est ad me Dilingam vetustissimus Manuscriptus Codex membranaceus, continens folia (communis magnitudinis) sexaginta septem. In quo, parum polito sermone Latino, sed in caracteribus Ibernicis (multum diversis ab aliarum gentium scripturis), per quendam Monachum, ut videtur Ibernum, qui ad finem codicis se Dorbbeneum nominat, descripti sunt tres libri quos ante annos amplius quam nongentos primus scripsit evulgavitque Beatus Adomnanus Abbas." Some remarks on the age of Adamnan, and the style of the memoir, are subjoined, which agree exactly with what has been stated in a preceding part of this Preface. In the margin, opposite S. White's account of the manner in which he became acquainted with the MS., is the date, "An. 1621, 31 Maii," in Ussher's writing. A marginal note of Ussher's on the title of the Preface records the existence of a MS. of Adamnan not noticed elsewhere: "MS. San Mielanus in Lotharingiâ: *Incipit Præfatio prima Apologiaque Eadomnani sancti Scriptoris.*" S. Miel stands on the east bank of the Meuse, in Lorraine.

[h] *Writer.*—Joseph Robertson, Esq., in letter to the editor, Sept. 10, 1856.

one follower of Thomas Dempster." Scottish history now confesses the proprietorship of ancient Ireland in the name Scotia;

"Seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum."

Even were positive evidence wanting, the language of the Highlands, called Erse[i], which is only another form of Erysche[k], or Irish, would indicate the origin of the people who spoke it, and point to Ireland as the ancient home of the Scotch. From this mother country issued St. Columba, and almost all the early saints of the Scottish calendar. Coming from Ireland, yet frequently revisiting it, they maintained their old relation: so that their memory was equally cherished in either country, and a common day appropriated to the festival of each. One of these Irishmen, in particular, was styled a *Fer-da-leithe*[l], or 'Man of two portions,' from his divided service. An humble aspirant to the name, the present editor, as labourer in common for the Archæological Society of Ireland and the Bannatyne Club of Scotland, trusts that he also, in the region of his inquiry, has, with some success, been a 'man of two portions:' he can with confidence assert that he has made diligence the companion, and truth the guide of his way, whether on the road or in the study; and that he has so far attained the object of his divided labours, as personally to have enjoyed, during the progress of the work, many seasons of relief from the sorrows of a troubled mind, and many hours of genuine happiness in social or epistolary intercourse with dear and highly-valued friends on either side of the channel.

BALLYMENA,
November 25th, 1856.

[i] *Erse.*—See Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. i. p. 477; Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, p. 25. In 1661 Mr. Robert Campbell was refused admittance as minister of Kilarrow in Islay, "for want of the Yrish tounge" (Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 261). In 1663 the Scotch Parliament, on the petition of the bishop of the Isles, allocated an annual sum for ministers who "had the Yrish tounge" (*ib.* pp. 161, 294). One of the statutes of the old Grammar School of Aberdeen (A. D. 1553) gave the students the option, "Loquantur omnes Latinè, Græcè, Hebraicè, Gallicè, *Hybernicè*," but "nunquam vernaculé, saltem cum his qui Latinè noscunt."—Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 400 (Aberdeen, 1852). Martin, who was a native of the Western Isles, always calls their language Irish. See his Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, pp. 23, 87, 127, 206, 215, 225, 230, 239, 244, 248, 256, 270, 274, 278.

[k] *Erysche.*—This is the name invariably used by Archdn. Monro to denote the language of the Western Isles (Description, &c. *passim*).

[l] *Ferdaleithe.*—See p. 315, *infra*.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

§ 1. *Memoir of St. Adamnan.*

ADAMNAN[a], which is said to be a diminutive of *Adam*[b], is a name of unusual form, and of rare occurrence in Irish records. The Annals and Calendars present but three or four instances[c] of it, to which the venerable father of English history adds another[d], and then, taking the one best known at home, so treats of it as to make it πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων. The individual whose celebrity was thus guaranteed[e] was born in Ireland[f], in or about the year 624[g], and though there is no express record of

[a] *Adamnan.*—Adamnan's Life is given in the Acta Sanctorum at Sept. 23 (tom. vi. pp. 642–649), from the pen of Constantinus Suyskenus, but it contains no new matter. The Irish Life, which is preserved in one of the O'Clery MSS. at Brussels, furnished the legends on St. Adamnan which appear in the Breviary of Aberdeen. It is a sort of historical discourse on Job xxxviii. 3, intended for the saint's festival; but it is a miserable production, full of absurdities and anachronisms. Anything in it worthy of notice will be found in this memoir.

[b] *Diminutive of Adam.*—See Cormac, cited at p. 256, and Baertius, at p. 142, *infra*.

[c] *Three or four instances.*—The Calendars have none except our author. The Annals have, besides, St. Adamnan, bishop and abbot of Rath-maighe-senaigh (An. Ult. 730; Four Mast. 725); and Adomnan mac Alddailedh (An. Ult. 835). Ussher mentions *S. Adompnanus* as the successor of St. Ciaran in Inis-Aingin, now Hare Island, in Lough-Ree in the Shannon (Wks. vi. p. 525), and O'Conor borrows from him (Rerum Hib. SS. vol. ii. p. 138, n. 42); but Ussher seems to have read the name incorrectly, for in the Life of St. Ciaran, whence he derived his information, the same individual is called "Quidam vir de Momonia sc. de gente Corcobaiscind, nomine *Donnanus*."—cap. 28 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *aa*). Marian Gorman settles the question: Donnan ꝓcaꝛꝛt o Inip Aingin ꝓop Loch Rib, 'Donnan, priest, of Inis-Aingin on Loch Ribh' (Cal. Jan. 7). The *Adamnanus* of Inchkethe whom Fordun makes a contemporary of S. Servanus (i. 6), is, by a violent anachronism, intended for our Adamnan; but Abp. Ussher was too desirous to swell the history of North Britain, when on such authority he represented *Odomnanus* as an abbot anterior to St. Columba, and fixed his date at the year 488 (Ind. Chron.).

[d] *Another.*—Adamnanus of Coludi Urbs, or Coldingham, Bede, Hist. Ec. iv. 25. See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 224, where Jan. 31 is given as his day, and 680 as the probable date of his death.

[e] *Guaranteed.*—See Bede, H. E. v. 15, 16, 21, to be cited presently.

[f] *Ireland.*—See *nostra Scotia*, p. 241, *infra*.

[g] *Year 624.*—The An. Ult. at 623 have *Nativitas Adomnani abbatis Iae.* Tighernach, at 624, has bap Adomnain ab hIe, but instead of

the parish or province which gave him birth, there is good reason for supposing that he was a native of that part of the territory occupied by the race of Conall, called Tir-Aedha[h], and now familiarly known as the barony of Tirhugh, in the south-west of the county of Donegal. Here was settled the clan from which he sprung, and here was also one of his principal commemorations[i], preserving a vivid recollection of his abode[k]. His father, Ronan[l], was sixth in descent from Conall Gulban[m], the head of one of the two great races of the Northern Hy-Neill, and, in virtue of his birth, claimed kin to St. Columba, and many of the sovereigns of Ireland. The father of Ronan was Tinne, from whom came the patronymic *Ua Tinne*[n], or 'grandson of Tinne,' an appellative which is occasionally found coupled with Adamnan's name. Ronnat[o], the mother of Adamnan, was descended from Enna, a son of Niall, whose race, the *Cinel Enna*, possessed themselves of the tract lying between the channels of the Foyle and Swilly, which was called the *Tir-Enna*, or 'land of Enna,' and answers to the modern barony of Raphoe. Here was situate the ancient church of Rath-both[p], said to have been

bar, *mors*, the Chron. Scotor. reads gein, *nativitas*. Lanigan (Eccles. Hist. iii. p. 153) prefers the date 627, because he finds the age of 77 assigned to Adamnan, and 624 + 77 only equal to 701, whereas 704 is the date of his death. Mac Firbis's MS. Annals state his age at 78; the date, however, as given in the Annals, is not to be hastily set aside. Ward assigns his birth to 626 (Rumold, p. 218).

[h] *Tir-Aedha.*—That is, 'the land of Aedh,' so called from Aedh, son of Ainmire, who, in common with Adamnan, was of the *Siol Sedna*, or descendants of Sedna, grandson of Conall Gulban (Geneal. Table, p. 342), one branch of whom, namely, the Cinel Luighdech, occupied the present barony of Kilmacrenan (p. 192), and another, the barony of Tirhugh (p. 38).

[i] *Commemorations.*—The church of Drumhome, of which Adamnan was patron. See the interesting mention of it at p. 238, where it is almost implied that Adamnan was, in his boyhood, living in that neighbourhood.

[k] *Recollection of his abode.*—Ward, in reference to a well in the parish of Drumhome, says: "Vidi qui ex loco quodam *Dabhach Adamhnain*, ubi Sanctus pernoctabat in aquis, vimina ad restem nendum abstulisset, contemptis Sancti nomine et asylo, et mox rabiosa febre correptus, eadem nocte interiit furibundus, exiliens manibus grabato, uti quodam agitatus dæmone." In the marginal note he explains *Dabhach Adamhnain* by *Lavacrum Adamnani*, and adds "clarus miraculis fons in Tirconallia inter Dungalliam et Belathseniam (Ballyshannon), in quo pernox stabat."—Vardæi Rumoldus, p. 219.

[l] *Ronan.*—See Geneal. Table at p. 342.

[m] *Conall Gulban.*—The Office in the Breviary of Aberdeen correctly states: "Sanctus adampnanus preclaris ortus parentibus de nobilissima conaldi regis progenie carnis duxit originem."—Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 114 *b a* (Reprint).

[n] *Ua Tinne.*—Adamnan Ua Tinde, 'Vision of Adamnan,' in Leabhar Breac, fol. 127 *a*, 129 *bb*. "Adamnanus Nepos Tinnei," Vit. Trip. S. Patricii, i. 69 (Trias Th. 128 *b*); "Hua Tinne," iii. 99 (167 *a*), which Ussher misrepresents by *Attiniensis* (Wks. vi. p. 375). Colgan and Lanigan were disposed to confound it with Maccuthenus. See note [n], p. 246.

[o] *Ronnat.*—She is thus noticed in the so-called Tract of Ængus, *De Matribus Sanctorum Hiberniæ:* Ronnat ingen Seigine mic Duach meic bairrindain do cenel Enda mec Neill, mathair Adamnain meic Ronain, 'Ronnat, daughter of Seghine, son of Duach, son of Bairrindan, of the race of Enna, son of Niall, was the mother of Adamnan, son of Ronan' (Lib. Lecan).

[p] *Rath-both.*—Now Raphoe. See p. 280, *infra*.

founded by St. Columba, but acknowledging St. Adamnan, or Eunan, as its patron, a preference probably arising out of his maternal connexion with the original occupants of the district. Concerning Adamnan's early history not one particle of information remains, nor even a legend[q], save the following anecdote in the life of Finnachta the Festive, a chief of the Southern Hy Neill, and subsequently monarch of Ireland: "Not long after this, Finnachta came, with a numerous cavalcade, to the house of his sister, whither he was invited to be her guest. As they were riding along the way, they met Adamnan, then a schoolboy, who was travelling upon the same road, with a jar of milk upon his back. And as he fled from the way, before the cavalcade, he knocked his foot against a stone, and stumbled, and the jar fell from his back and was broken. Upon which Finnachta said, Thou shalt receive protection, O student, from me, and he prayed him not to be sorrowful. Then said Adamnan, O good man, I have cause for grief, for there are three goodly students in one house, and three more of us are attendants upon them. And how we act is this: one attendant from among us goes out in turn to collect sustenance for the other five; and it was my turn to-day, but what I had gathered for them has been spilled upon the ground; and, what grieves me more, the borrowed jar is broken, and I have not wherewith to pay for it." Such is the story, which probably was the creation of a later age, to introduce a historical reality, the intimacy of Adamnan with Finnachta, and his subsequent interference with him. It transports St. Adamnan, in his youth, from Donegal to Meath; but this is no violence, for St. Columba, before him, studied at Clonard[r] in Meath, and read with Gemman in a plain of Leinster[s]; nor was it inconsistent with the severity of monastic discipline, even in one nobly born, to derive his sustenance from eleemosynary sources. But the lesson in the Breviary of Aberdeen forgets all propriety when it places Adamnan's novitiate under St. Columba[t], and assigns to the latter the *jus patro-*

[q] *Legend.*—His birth is made the subject of one of St. Columba's prophecies, but even this does not pretend to any early particulars: Colum cille oc taiṁgire Adamnain. Gebaid a ainm dim anmain. Do gena cain fri banfcala o muir lóc alaind il adbail. Bid fui leigind co cín danim. Forialec f mbech indfene ar cínfa morcain moir. Birar gecar flaitiur Teiṁra ar Finbaécta: for Cíṁrac nírt nac tocebda. .xxx. bl. in abdaine dAdamnan ampa mor fcelaib. '*Columcille foretelling of Adamnan.* He shall receive his name from my name. He shall make a law for the women, from the noble, wide-spread, Ictian sea hither. He shall be learned without defect. He shall attract half the language of envy, for he will ordain a great Law. A sapling who will wrest the sovereignty of Tara from Finnachta. Over Tara he shall not assume power. Thirty years in abbotship shall Adamnan, of high and illustrious renown, be. (Brussels MS. No. 5101-4; MS. Bodl. Libr., Laud. 615, p. 132.) See p. 237, *infra.* To this the lesson in the Breviary of Aberdeen refers: "de cuius ortu moribus et vita sanctus columba longo tempore antequam nasceretur divinitus prophetavit."—*ut supra.*

[r] *Clonard.*—See p. 195, *infra.*

[s] *Leinster.*—See p. 137, *infra.*

[t] *Under St. Columba.*—"Natus est itaque sanctus adampnanus sicut beatus precinebat columba quem a tenera infancia cunctis gratum divina reddidit

natus of Lismore[u]. The abbot under whom St. Adamnan was admitted into the brotherhood was probably Seghine[v], for he lived until Adamnan was twenty-eight years old. During his incumbency, and that of the three succeeding abbots, our author, no doubt, acquired such a character as rendered him eligible, and such a reputation for learning as recommended him, to the presidency of the Columbian order, now in the meridian of celebrity and influence. With the exception of his skill in Latin, his acquaintance with other languages and branches of education is more a subject of inference[w] than of express declaration; there is sufficient evidence, however, to justify Ward[x] in the statement: "Edoctus est omnes liberales, sacras et asceticas disciplinas, linguas etiam Hebraicam et Græcam; et quidquid patriâ linguâ (in qua tum pleræque scientiæ et Druydum quæ non fuere damnata dogmata) scriptum esset vel artium, vel legum, vel historiarum." His studies, meanwhile, did not supersede his bodily labours, and to the subordinate period of his profession is probably to be referred the voyage for timber to repair the monastery, of which he speaks at page 178. In the year 675, Finnachta[y] Fledach, grandson of Aedh Slaine, succeeded his first-cousin (whom he put to death), as monarch of Ireland. He was of the Southern Hy Neill, and was a chief both valiant[z] and hospitable[a]. An old bardic composition[b] says that Adamnan, after the accidental introduction mentioned above, was invited to his court, and subsequently became his *anmchara*, or 'spiritual director;' and that this is the reason why Adamnan made so conspicuous a figure during Finnachta's reign.

gracia. Successu vero temporis a prefato beato columba monichalem suscepit habitum et postea juxta abbatis sui preceptum ad lismorensem devenit abbaciam."—*ut supra*. This is too bad. St. Columba *ob.* 597; St. Adamnan *nat.* 624. Baronius is not more correct: "Scripsit ejus vitam Adamnandus *eidem æqualis*" (In Martyrol. Rom. Jun. ix.). See the anachronism noticed in note [k], p. 21, *infra*.

[u] *Lismore.*—See note [g], p. 371, *infra*. St. Columba had no more jurisdiction in Lismore than in Applecross or Kingarth. Even when Lismore was made an episcopal seat, it was kept distinct from Hy. See p. 298, *infra*. The Bollandist editor mistook this for the Irish Lismore. Sept. tom. vi. p. 644 *a*.

[v] *Seghine.*—Sed. 623–652. See p. 373, *infra*.

[w] *Inference.*—Besides the introduction of Greek words into the text of the life, he discusses the orthography and meaning of some Greek names in the tract *De Locis Sanctis*, ii. 27, iii. 2; and treats of the Hebrew form of Tyre, and its Latin equivalent, and the mention of the name in historical writers, as if such subjects were familiar to him. He cites Josephus (in ii. 20) under the title of *tertius Judaicæ captivitatis liber*, and (in ii. 29) *sancti Hieronymi commentaria;* and a verse of Juvencus (in i. 18).

[x] *Ward.*—Vardæi Rumoldus, p. 218.

[y] *Finnachta.*—The Four Masters sometimes, and the Annals of Ulster always, write the name less phonetically, *Finnsnechta*.

[z] *Valiant.*—He demolished Ailech, the stronghold of the Northern Hy Neill, in 676; defeated the Lagenians in 677; fought Bec Boirche, king of Uladh, in 679. In 688 he *clericatum suscepit* (Tigh., and An. Ult.), but in 689 *revertitur ad regnum* (*ib.*).

[a] *Hospitable.*—His appellation Fledach, derived from pleaδ, 'a banquet,' is said by Keating to have arisen from the festivity which prevailed under his reign. (Hist. of Ireland, reg. Finachta.)

[b] *Bardic composition.*—Contained in a vellum MS. which was formerly in the possession of William Monck Mason, Esq.

On the death of Failbhe, in 679, Adamnan was elected to the abbacy of Hy, being now fifty-five years of age. Bruide, son of Bile, the most valiant of the Pictish kings since the reign of his namesake, the son of Maelcon, preceded the abbot in his elevation but one year, so that Adamnan's incumbency is set down in the Chronicle of the Scottish Kings[c] as the ecclesiastical parallel of his reign[d]. Aldfrid, the Northumbrian prince, whom the Irish knew as Flann Fina[e], was now an exile in Ireland[f]. Thither he had probably been led through his mother's alleged connexion with the chief family of the north, and here probably it had been that Adamnan commenced that intimacy which caused the Irish to call Aldfrid the *alumnus* of Adamnan[g], and which proved so

[c] *Scottish kings.*—"Brude filius Bile, xxi. annis. Hujus tempore floruit S. Adamnanus."—Chron. in Regist. S. Andreæ.

[d] *His reign.*—The Irish Life of St. Adamnan tells the following curious story of this king's interment: "The body of Bruide, son of Bile, king of the Cruthnigh, was brought to Ia, and his death was sorrowful and grievous to Adamnan, and he desired that the body of Bruide should be brought to him into the house that night. Adamnan watched by the body till morning. Next day, when the body began to move and open its eyes, a certain pious man came to the door of the house, and said, If Adamnan's object be to raise the dead, I say he should not do so, for it will be a degradation to every cleric who shall succeed to his place, if he too cannot raise the dead. There is somewhat of right in that, replied Adamnan. Therefore, as it is more proper, let us give our blessing to the body and to the soul of Bruide. Then Bruide resigned his spirit to heaven again, with the blessing of Adamnan and the congregation of Ia. Then Adamnan said—

Many wonders doth he perform,—
The king who was born of Mary.
He takes away life.
Death of Bruide mac Bile.
Seldom after ruling a kingdom
That a hollow stick of withered oak
Is about the son of the king of Al-Cluaite."

Bruide died in 693. See p. 378, *infra*.

[e] *Flann-Fina.*—See pp. 185, 186, *infra*.

[f] *Ireland.*—Notwithstanding all Thomas Innes's penetration and candour, he was unable to shake off entirely the old national infatuation about *Scotia*. See the passage cited at p. 186, *infra*. And again: "The names Scotia and Hibernia, which in these times were indifferently applied, by the writers, to Ireland and Scotland," and, "his adding *in Hibernia* is the effect of the confusion of this name, applied sometimes, as I said, in ancient times, *as well to the northern part of Britain, inhabited by the Scots, as to Ireland, properly so called*" (Civ. Eccl. Hist. pp. 292, 293). Goodall says that Ireland was not known till after Vespasian's time, and that the Ἰέρνη of Strabo lies north of the Forth!—Introd. to Fordun. cap. 2 (vol. i. p. 3). But see how Pinkerton despatches such nonsense (Enquiry, vol. i. p. 7); and his observations on the attempt to place Erin in Strath-*Erne* (*ib.* vol. ii. p. 225).

[g] *Alumnus of Adamnan.*—Mac Firbis's Irish Annals thus record his death: Mopp Flainn Fiona mic Oppa pi Saxan, an eſgnaiḋ aṁpa, ḋalta Aḋaṁnain; ḋe quo Riaguil ḃennchuip cecinit,

Iniu fſhaf ḃruiḋe caṫ,
Im fonba a ḟſhaṫaf.
Manaḋ algar la mac Ḋe,
Conid ḋe aḋ genaṫaf.
Iniu fo biṫ mac Offa,
A ccaṫ fri claiḋṁe glafa,
Cia ḋo faḋa aicirge,
If hi inḋ hi iaf naffa.
Iniu fo biṫ mac Offa,
Laf a mbiḋif ḋuḋa ḋeoga.
Ro cuala Chirc af nguiḋe,
Roifaorbuc ḃruiḋe ḃrſga.

The death of Flann Fiona, son of Ossa, king of

serviceable to the teacher when the pupil ascended the throne. The "war of Ecgfrid"[h], as Adamnan terms the fatal expedition against the Picts in 685, restored Aldfrid to his country and the enjoyment of his hereditary rights, so that when the abbot of Hy, in the following year, went on a mission to the Northumbrian court, probably to plead for the Irish captives whom Ecgfrid's general had carried away from Meath, he found a ready answer to his petition. It may be that he undertook the errand at the instance of king Finnachta, on whose patrimonial territory the descent had been made by the Saxons, possibly at the instance of the Leinstermen. The circumstances of Adamnan's journey are thus related in his Irish Life, but manifestly with that looseness, and disregard of historical precision, which characterize the later hagiology of Ireland: "The north Saxons went to Erin and plundered Magh Bregh as far as Bealach-duin; and they carried off with them a great prey of men and women. The men of Erin besought of Adamnan to go in quest of the captives to Saxonland. Adamnan went to demand the prisoners, and put in at Tracht-Romra[k]. The strand is long, and the flood rapid; so rapid that if the best steed in Saxonland, ridden by the best horseman, were to start from the edge of the tide when the tide begins to flow, he could only bring his rider ashore by swimming, so extensive is the strand, and so impetuous is the tide. The Saxons now were unwilling to permit Adamnan to land upon the shore. Push your curachs on the shore, said Adamnan to his people, for both their land and sea are obedient to God, and nothing can be done without God's permission. The clerics did as they were told. Adamnan drew a circle with his crozier around the curachs, and God rendered the strand firm under their curachs, and he formed a high wall of the sea about them, so that the place where they were was an island, and the sea went to her limits past it, and did them no injury. When the Saxons had observed this very great miracle, they trembled for fear of Adamnan, and they gave him his

the Saxons, the illustrious wise man, the foster son of Adamnan; of whom Riaguil of Bennchor sung:

To day Bruide fights a battle
About the land of his grandfather.
Unless it be too much to ask of the Son of God,
May he not perish in it.
To day the son of Ossa falls
In battle with green swords,
Although he did his penance,
And shall lie in Hi after his death.
To-day the son of Ossa falls,
Who had the brown drinks.
Christ has heard our supplication,
He will save the splendid Bruide."

(MS. Brussels, 5301, p. 80). The writer evidently confounds Aldfrid with Ecgfrid, as regards the battle. Tighernach places Aldfrid's death in the same year (704) with Adamnan's. Bede assigns it to 705. Riaguil of Bangor is not noticed in the Annals, but his day is in the Calendar, at June 11.

[h] *War of Ecgfrid.*—See p. 186, *infra*. The Bollandist editor thought that Adamnan's first visit to Saxonland was for the purpose of pleading with Ecgfrid. Junii, tom. ii. p. 190 *a*.

[i] *Bealach-duin.*—Now Castlekeeran, on the Blackwater (formerly the Sele), north-west of Kells.

[k] *Tracht-Romra.*—The name is now unknown, but the graphic description is very applicable to Solway Firth. Fordun speaks of the "flumen Eske, quod dicitur Scotiswath, sive Sulwath" (Scotichr. ii. 2, iii. 7, 41). Ptolemy calls the Solway, Ἰούνα εἴσχυσις.

full demand. Adamnan's demand was, that a complete restoration of the captives should be made to him, and that no Saxon should ever again go upon a predatory excursion to Erin; and Adamnan brought back all the captives." The secret of his success is told by Adamnan himself[l], "regem Aldfridum visitantes *amicum;*" and the result is briefly but satisfactorily stated by the Annals at 687, which is 686 according to Bede: "Adamnan conducted sixty captives to Ireland." It may have been about this period that the Synod was held in Ireland to which Adamnan alludes at p. 178; his language at the end of the chapter (p. 182) seems to regard it as an occurrence of some standing when he wrote. It is to be regretted that he gives no clue to the year, object, or place of meeting. At the time of his first visit to Aldfrid, a great mortality prevailed in Europe, from which, however, the Scots and Picts of North Britain were providentially exempted[m]; and two years afterwards, when he undertook a second journey to the Northumbrian court, disease was still ravaging the country, although not permitted to touch him or one of his attendants. The object of this visit is not stated by Adamnan, but it probably was some matter of international policy which Adamnan was chosen to negotiate. The fact that he sailed direct to Ireland with the liberated captives in 686, seems to justify the reference of the following statement in Bede[n] to a later date, when he returned to Hy, and subsequently crossed over to Ireland: "Quo tempore plurima pars Scottorum in Hibernia, et nonnulla etiam de Brittonibus in Brittania[o] rationabile et ecclesiasticum paschalis observantiæ tempus Domino donante suscepit. Siquidem Adamnan presbyter et abbas monachorum qui erant in insula Hii, cum *legationis gratia missus a sua gente,* venisset ad Aldfridum regem Anglorum, et aliquandiu in ea provincia moratus, videret ritus ecclesiæ canonicos; sed et a pluribus qui erant eruditiores esset sollerter admonitus, ne contra universalem ecclesiæ morem, vel in observantia paschali, vel in aliis quibusque decretis cum suis paucissimis et in extremo mundi angulo positis vivere præsumeret, mutatus mente est; ita ut ea quæ viderat et audierat in ecclesiis Anglorum, suæ suorumque consuetudini libentissime præferret. Erat enim *vir bonus et sapiens, et scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus.* Qui cum domum rediisset, curavit suos qui erant in Hii, quive eidem erant subditi monasterio, ad eum quem cognoverat, quemque ipse toto ex corde susceperat, veritatis callem perducere, nec valuit." He then goes on to tell of Adamnan's voyage to Ireland; but of that presently. In reference to this visit he gives the following interesting account of Adamnan's tract on the Holy Places: "Scripsit idem vir de Locis Sanctis librum legentibus multis utillimum; cujus auctor erat docendo ac dictando Galliarum episcopus Arcuulfus, qui locorum gratia sanctorum venerat Hiero-

[l] *Himself.*—See p. 185, *infra.*

[m] *Exempted.*—See Adamnan's statement, p. 184.

[n] *Bede.*—Historia Ecclesiastica, v. 15.

[o] *Brittania.*—Probably the Alcluid Britons, whose king, Rydderch Hael, had been on friendly terms with St. Columba. See p 43, *infra.*

solymam, et lustrata omni terra repromissionis[p], Damascum quoque, Constantinopolim, Alexandriam, multas maris insulas adierat; patriamque navigio revertens, vi tempestatis in occidentalia Brittaniæ littora[q] delatus est: ac post multa, ad memoratum Christi famulum Adamnanum perveniens, ubi doctus in Scripturis, sanctorumque locorum gnarus esse compertus est, libentissime est ab illo susceptus, libentius auditus; adeo ut quæque ille se in locis sanctis memoratu digna vidisse testabatur, cuncta mox iste litteris mandare curaverit. Fecitque opus, ut dixi, multum utile, et maxime illis qui longius ab eis locis in quibus patriarchæ et apostoli erant, secreti, ea tantum de his quæ lectione didicerint, norunt. Porrexit autem librum hunc Adamnan Aldfrido regi, ac per ejus est largitionem etiam minoribus ad legendum contraditus. Scriptor quoque ipse multis ab eo muneribus donatus, patriam remissus est." Bede then devotes two chapters to extracts from this work. To the same visit Ceolfrid also alludes in his letter to King Naiton, where, speaking of those who differed from him on the paschal question, he declares: "plurimos ex eis sanctos ac Deo dignos extitisse, ex quibus est Adamnan[r], abbas et sacerdos Columbiensium egregius, qui cum *legatus suæ gentis ad Aldfridum regem missus*, nostrum quoque monasterium[s] videre voluisset, miramque in moribus ac verbis prudentiam, humilitatem, religionem ostenderet, dixi illi inter alia conloquens: Obsecro, sancte frater, qui ad coronam te vitæ quæ terminum nesciat tendere credis, quid contrario tuæ fidei habitu terminatam in capite[t] coronæ imaginem portas? et si beati consortium Petri quæris, cur ejus quem ille anathematizavit, tonsuræ imaginem imitaris? et non potius ejus cum quo in æternum beatus vivere cupis, etiam nunc habitum te, quantum potes, diligere monstras? Respondit ille: Scias pro certo, frater mi dilecte, quia etsi Simonis tonsuram[u] ex consuetudine patria habeam,

[p] *Terra repromissionis.*—That is, Palestine. The Irish generally used the words in a different acceptation. See *Repromissio*, p. 452.

[q] *Occidentalia Brittaniæ littora.*—This particular, which is not mentioned in the tract itself, proves that Arculfus visited Adamnan in Hy, not Ireland.

[r] *Est Adamnan.*—A historical present. Nechtan [the Naiton of Bede], to whom the letter was written, did not become king of the Picts till two years after Adamnan's death. Baronius, therefore, antedates it seven years at the very least, when he refers it to 699 (Annal. Eccles. tom. viii. col. 706, Colon. 1609). Smith, following Higden, dates it A. D. 710 (Bedæ, H. E. v. 21).

[s] *Nostrum monasterium.*—That is, *In Gyrum*, or Jarrow. Adamnan, to reach this, must have crossed the north of England, very much in the line of Hadrian's Wall.

[t] *Terminatam in capite.*—The contrast here drawn between the frontal and coronal tonsure, in reference to their emblematic forms, is peculiar.

[u] *Simonis tonsuram.*—See p. 350, *infra*. The Cotton MS. containing the Irish canons from which Ussher occasionally borrows, is one of those which suffered by the fire of 1731, and were lately restored under the care of Sir F. Madden. Its mark is *Otho E. xiii.* At fol. 142 *b* is found the following rationale of St. Peter's tonsure: "Ut a Simone Mago Christianos discerneret in cujus capite cesaries ab aure ad aurem tonsæ anteriore parte cum antea Magi in fronte cirrum habebant." At fol. 143 *a* occurs the passage cited from Ussher at p. 350, *infra*, where for *regi*, which is a misprint in the late edition of Ussher's Works, the original has *tegi*; and for *Nil*, which Ussher reads, the original gives *Nailis*, to express 'of Niall.'

Simoniacam tamen perfidiam tota mente detestor ac respuo: beatissimi autem apostolorum principis, quantum mea parvitas sufficit, vestigia sequi desidero. At ego: Credo, inquam, vere quod ita sit; sed tamen indicio fit, quod ea quæ apostoli Petri sunt, in abdito cordis amplectimini, si quæ ejus esse nostis, etiam in facie tenetis. Namque prudentiam tuam facillime dijudicare reor, quod aptius multo sit, ejus quem corde toto abhominaris, cujusque horrendam faciem videre refugis, habitum vultus a tuo vultu Deo jam dicato separare; et e contra, ejus quem apud Deum habere patronum quæris, sicut facta vel monita cupis sequi, sic etiam morem habitus te imitari condeceat. Hæc tunc Adamnano dixi, qui quidem quantum conspectis ecclesiarum nostrarum statutis profecisset, probavit, cum reversus ad Scottiam, multas postea gentis ejusdem turbas ad catholicam temporis paschalis observantiam sua prædicatione correxit; tametsi eos qui in Hii insula morabantur monachos, quibusque speciali rectoris jure præerat, necdum ad viam statuti melioris reducere valebat. Tonsuram quoque, si tantum sibi auctoritatis subesset, emendare meminisset." It is worthy of remark that, while Bede makes special mention of one of Adamnan's works, he says nothing about the other, nay, he proves by his passing observation concerning St. Columba elsewhere[v], *de cujus vita et verbis nonnulla a discipulis ejus feruntur scripta haberi*, that he was not aware of Adamnan's having written on the subject. This silence suggested a difficulty to the Bollandist editor[w], which, however, was removed when he remembered that the Life bears internal evidence of having been written some time after the visits to Aldfrid: "Formidinem omnem tollet ipse Adamnanus; qui, in fine libri secundi, meritis S. Columbæ adscribit, quod in utraque legatione Anglica, ad Egfridum nempe et Aldfridum Reges, grassante per regiones istas pestilentia, incolumis evaserit: adeoque mirum non est, Vitam S. Columbæ neque ab auctore fuisse oblatam Aldfrido Regi, neque innotuisse Bedæ: quandoquidem constet Adamnanum, post finitam legationem Anglicam, de virtutibus et miraculis S. Columbæ scripsisse, quæ in aliorum scriptis invenerat, et per totam vitam suam a senioribus audierat."

From the above it appears, therefore, that on his return to Hy, Adamnan endeavoured to introduce the new observances, but found the community much less disposed for change than he had been; and that attachment to old customs prevailed over the influence of argument, or the weight of personal influence.

In 692 Adamnan again visited his native country, and the object of his journey seems to have been one of importance, for the Annalists, every word of whom is full of meaning, in recording the event, state that it occurred fourteen years after the death of his predecessor Failbhe. On this occasion he seems to have had political as well as ecclesiastical matter to engage his attention. His friend the sovereign of Ireland,

[v] *Observation elsewhere.*—Historia Eccles. iii. 4. See note [d], p. v. *supra*, and Pref. 2, p. 8, *infra*.

[w] *Bollandist editor.*—Acta Sanctorum, Junii, tom. ii. p. 190 *a*.

King Finnachta, had incurred, if the bardic accounts are to be credited, the displeasure of the Hy Neill race, by impairing the honours which he was expected to uphold, in remitting to the Leinster-men the tribute which they had been in the habit of annually paying to the chief of the existing dynasty. Finnachta had fought the Lagenians and routed them, so that his indulgence to them does not seem to have been extorted by force. The secret probably lies in the monarch's title of *Fledach*, or 'the Festive.' Poems ascribe the exemption to the pleading of St. Moling, a Leinster ecclesiastic of great celebrity, who took advantage of the ambiguous meaning of the word luan, which is either *Monday*, or *the day of judgment*, to convert the term of a temporary respite into a perpetual surrender of the claim. Adamnan gets the credit of being the great champion for the maintenance of the demand; and a poem[x] of some length and fire is attributed to him, wherein he calls Finnachta in ríg crin liaṫ cen ḃecu, 'the old grey king without teeth,' and indulges in such sentiments as these:—

> "Were I a king of reddened spears
> I would humble mine enemies,
> I would exalt my high places,
> My combats should be frequent."

The Irish Life of Adamnan says that a proclamation had been made by Finnachta to the effect, that the lands of Columcille should not enjoy the same privileges as those of Patrick, Finnian, and Ciaran, whereupon Adamnan said: "The life of the king who made this proclamation shall be short; he shall fall by fratricide; and there shall be no king of his race for ever." Finnachta fell by the hand of his cousin in 695.

During his sojourn in Ireland, Adamnan in all probability exerted himself strenuously in the propagation of the new Easter observance, and laid the foundation of the great success which afterwards attended his recommendation of the subject in this his native country. His stay, however, was not of long continuance, for we find him *returning* to Ireland in 697, in order to legislate for the people. It was probably in the interval of these two journeys that he compiled his Life of St. Columba, for the use of his society. In it he makes no reference to the difference of sentiment between himself and his congregation on the paschal question; but there is an allusion to a sore subject, where he tells of St. Columba's prophecy at Clonmacnoise concerning the discord, "quæ post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiæ ecclesias" (p. 26). He may have referred to the same subject when he spoke of the "valde stolidi qui ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur" (p. 184). Baert conjectured that the Life was written during Adamnan's last sojourn in Ireland, and that the brethren, at whose instance he professes to write, were not the refractory monks of Hy, but the more amenable inmates of Durrow, and of the kindred associations in

[x] *Poem.*—Book of Lecan, fol. 310 *b*; Book of Invasions, fol. 94 *a*.

Ireland. This, however, is a conclusion drawn from unsound premises, for it supposes, as some Irish accounts have done, that Adamnan *quarrelled* with his people; also that the Irish Columbians yielded, while the Hyensian ones held out. The one supposes Adamnan to have been expelled from his pastoral charge; the other is contradicted by Bede. The Life itself bears the fullest internal evidence that it was written by a member of the society, who speaks of *nostrum monasterium* (pp. 58, 72, 177), living in the island, *nostra insula* (12, 178), which was small and remote (241), among other islands (185), and called *Ioua insula* (176, 181).

Connected with the journey to Ireland in 697, the Annals record a transaction which they despatch with enigmatical brevity: *Dedit legem innocentium*[7] *populis.* In which words they allude to a social reformation which was brought about by Adamnan, and which, having obtained the highest sanction of the people, became, as in the case of many modern Acts of Parliament, associated with the name of the propounder. A synod was convened at Tara[z], within an enclosure called the *Rath-na-Senadh*, or "Rath of the Synods," where the memory of the chief actor was perpetuated in the name *Pupall Adhamhnain*, or "Pavilion of Adamnan," which was given to a portion of the space; also in the *Suidhe Adhamhnain*, or "Adamnan's chair;" the *Dumha Adhamhnain*, or "Adamnan's mound;" and the *Cros Adhamhnain*, or "Adamnan's cross," situated on the east of the Rath[a]. This moṙḃail, or 'convention-general,' was held, as the semi-legendary records state, at the instance of Adamnan, for the purpose of procuring a national enactment, exempting women from war and expeditions. The legend concerning the influence and circumstances which brought Adamnan to interfere in the matter may be seen at p. 179 of this work. The acts of the convention were copied by Michael O'Clery from the Book of Raphoe[b], and are preserved in one of the Irish manuscripts at Brussels[c]. There were present thirty-nine ecclesiastics, presided over by Flann Febhla, the Abbot of Armagh, and among them were Ichtbrocht[d], or Ecgbert, probably the individual who brought the Hyensians to paschal conformity in 716; and Murchu Mac U Macteni[e], the writer of a portion of

[7] *Innocentium.*—The Origines Parochiales Scotiæ (vol. ii. p. 288) makes it *morientium*, but the *Lex* was to save life, not to kill.

[z] *Tara.*—The Irish Life of Adamnan places this convention at the place now known as Ballyshannon: "On another occasion when Adamnan was at the royal meeting [ṁuġ-ḃail] of Conall and Coirpre, at Eas Ruaidh, making his Law, the roydamna of the son of Ainmire, i. e., Flannabhra, son of Cummascach, came, having with him a female captive who had killed a woman, to submit the case to Adamnan," &c. Colgan conjectured that the convention was held at Derry or Raphoe. See p. 178, *infra.* The acts of the convention do not state where it was held, but it might be inferred to have been at Leitir, near Birr, on the confines of ancient Meath and Munster.

[a] *Rath.*—See the Maps in Petrie's Tara, and the ancient authorities cited at pp. 115, 123, 148.

[b] *Book of Raphoe.*—The title is, *Incipit Cain Adamnain* ap ṙhicc ṙen lebaip Raṫa boṫhae [secundum veterem librum Rath-bothæ].

[c] *Brussels.*—Burgundian Library, No. 2324.

[d] *Ichtbrocht.*—So the name is written in the

St. Patrick's memoirs in the Book of Armagh. It is a remarkable fact, however, that, with the exception of the Abbot of Armagh, and Cennfaeladh[f], Abbot of Bangor, the rest of the clergy were from Leinster and the south. At the head of the laity was Loingsech, son of Aengus[g], monarch of Ireland, and after him forty-seven chiefs of various territories. Last on the list of temporals is "Bruide mac Derili[h], king of the region of the Picts." The enactments of the synod were afterwards called *Lex Adamnani*[i], or *Cain Adhamhnain*[k], which means "tribute of Adamnan," because among its results was the privilege which was conceded to him and his successors of levying pecuniary contributions under certain conditions. In after times, when this assessment became of sufficient importance, there was an officer, or agent, for its receipt, styled the Maor cana Adamnain, 'Steward of Adamnan's Law'[l].

It was possibly on the same occasion that the question of Easter was publicly discussed, and the usage advocated by Adamnan adopted. At this time also may have been promulgated those eight canons[m] which bear the name of Adamnan. Ecclesiastical considerations, however, if entertained at this meeting, were not of sufficient importance in the eyes of the Irish to merit an entry in a journal; and the absorbing subject seems to have been the civil enactment which afterwards became a source of profit, and for this reason had special claims upon the memory.

In the mystified style of the Irish, it is sometimes dangerous, and always difficult, to deal with their statements as historical records; but there seems to be ground

original, which the editor has examined. Colgan understands it of "Ecbertus Anglus." See p. 179, *infra*. Concerning Ecgbert, see pp. 379, 383.

[e] *Murchu mac U Macteni.*—The entry of this name in the acts of Adamnan's synod is of importance in the history of the Book of Armagh, as it serves to fix the date of *Muirchu Maccumachtheni*, whose name is attached to a portion of the Memoirs of St. Patrick in that volume, in these words: "Hæc pauca de sancti Patricii peritia et virtutibus Muirchu Maccumachtheni, dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo, conscripsit" (fol. 20, *ba*). The name of his informant also occurs in the acts of the synod, in the form *Aedh epscop Sleibte*, whose day is Feb. 7, and whose obit is entered in Tighernach at 700, and in the Annals of Ulster at 699. Murchu mac Ua Maichtene, and his brother Meadhran, are noticed in the Irish Calendars at June 8; and the Calendar of Cashel, cited by Colgan (Act. SS. p. 465 *a*, n. 31), places their commemoration at Kill-Murchon, in the territory of Hi-Garrchon, in the eastern part of the county of Wicklow, near the town of the same name.

[f] *Cennfaeladh.*—His obit is in the Ann. Ult. at 704, and his day in the Calendar at Apr. 8.

[g] *Loingsech, son of Aengus.*—He succeeded Finnachta in 695, and reigned till 703.

[h] *Bruide mac Derili.*—Called Bruide mac Derili ri Cruiten tuaite. He died in 706, in the eleventh year of his reign. The introduction of his name into the acts is suspicious, unless we suppose him to have attended at this synod as Aidan, son of Gabhran, did at Drumceatt.

[i] *Lex Adamnain.*—See An. 727, at p. 383, *infra*.

[k] *Cain Adamhnain.*—See the names of the various *Cains* in Petrie's Tara, pp. 173, 174. The Brehon Laws make frequent mention of this *Cain*, but the particulars of it were unknown till the Brussels MS. containing the account of this synod was brought to light.

[l] *Adamnan's Law.*—See An. 929, p. 393, *infra*.

[m] *Eight canons.*—See the reference at p. 179.

for believing that the public mind, which had for some time been kept in expectation and alarm by the diseases which prevailed, and the portents which were observed or imagined, was advantageously impressed, and seriously disposed, by the relation of a vision, concerning the joys of heaven and the pains of hell, which Adamnan is said to have witnessed previous to the date of the above synod. The Fir Adamnain, or *Vision of Adamnan*, an Irish composition of considerable age, as is proved by its style, is still in existence; and though possessing internal evidence that in its present form[n] it is not the production of Adamnan, it lays claim to considerable antiquity[o], and embodies a narrative which, like the visions of St. Fursa[p], passed current in conversation as the realities of his experience. The Vision[q] is a religious discourse on the text Psal. cxlvi. 5, 6 (Vulg.), and after some prefatory remarks, goes on to say: "After this, that which is preached here was manifested to Adamnan Ua Tinne, the high sage of the western world, when his soul passed from his body on the festival of John the Baptist[r], and when it was carried to heaven to behold the angels there, and to hell to behold its wretched hosts." Having related all that he witnessed in either abode, and having specially noticed in the place of torment the "Aircinnechs, who, in the presence of the relics[s] of the saints, administer the gifts and tithes of God[t], but who turn the profits to their own private ends from the strangers and poor of the Lord," whom he elsewhere brands as "sensual Aircinnechs," the narrative proceeds to say that

These canons do not seem to have any connexion with the *Cain Adhamhnain*. Martene printed the *Canones Adamnani*, with other Irish Canons, from a MS. of the Bigot Library at Rotterdam, which formerly belonged to the Monastery of Fescamp, in Normandy (Thes. Nov. Anecd. tom. iv. col. 18, Lut. Par. 1717). They exist also in the Cotton MS. of Canons (fol. 155 *b*), but with considerable variations, under the title *Incipiunt Canones Adomnani*. Mention is made at p. 179, *infra*, of a transcript of them. Besides these, there is in Martene a detached canon, under the title *Item Adompnanus* (*Ib.* col. 11). It is of the same purport as the others, namely, unclean food, and it exists in the Cotton MS., but without Adamnan's name (*Otho E. xiii.* fol. 126 *b*).

[n] *Present form.* — It speaks of Dechmada, 'tithes,' which were unknown in Ireland until long after Adamnan's time.

[o] *Antiquity.*—See the extract in O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p. 440, where the learned author observes: "There appears no reason to question the antiquity of the Vision."

[p] *St. Fursa.*—See Bede, H. E. iii. 19. *Fursu in Perona pausavit.* An. Ult. 660.

[q] *Vision.*—The Fir Adamnain is preserved in the Leabhar Breac, fol. 127 *a*. It consists of two parts, the *Vision*, and the *Application*, and occupies eight double-columned folio pages of the manuscript (Library of the Royal Irish Academy).

[r] *John the Baptist.*—The second part of Adamnan's Vision contains instructions for averting the mortality that was apprehended on the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist (Aug. 29). The note on the Feilire of Aengus at this day states that the *Scuab a Fanait* (Besom of Fanad) was a plague which was to visit Ireland in the latter times, in revenge for the beheading of John the Baptist, as prophesied by Columcille, Moling, and Aireran. The Annals of Clonmacnoise, at 550, attribute the prediction concerning the Scuab Fanait to Bec mac De, king Dermot Mac Cerbhail's poet. See O'Donovan, Ann. Four Mast., vol. i. p. 196.

[s] *Relics.* — Martra. See *Martires*, note [m], p. 314, and *Reliquiæ*, p. 452.

the soul of Adamnan desired to remain in the happy region, but that "it heard from behind him, through the veil, the voice of his guardian angel commanding it to be replaced in the same body from which it had passed; and that it should relate in the assemblies and conventions of the laity and clergy the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell, such as the conducting angel had revealed to him. It was therefore the precept which Adamnan preached whilst he was alive. It was this precept, too, which was preached in the great convention of the men of Erin, when Adamnan's Rule was put on the Gaedhil; and when women were made free by Adamnan and Finachta Fledach[t], son of Dunchadh, son of Aedh Slaine, the King of Erin, and by the men of Erin also. For it was alike that men and women went into battles and into conflicts, until the the Rule of Adamnan was imposed." A second vision, or rather a supplement, recounting the wickednesses of the inhabitants of Ireland, and the mortalities with which they were visited, and should be visited, follows, and mentions such chastisements as the *Scamhach*, or 'Leprosy;' the *Bo-ar*, or 'Cow mortality; the *Digbail toraid*, or 'Blight of fruit;' the *Gorta*, or 'Famine;' the *Nuna*, or 'Scarcity;' and *Dunibadh*, or 'Human mortality;' against all of which it declares prayer and fasting to be the only sure preservative.

From 697 till the year of his death, Adamnan seems to have remained in Ireland: for, though the social improvement which he effected is despatched in a few words in the Annals, we can hardly conceive that so vital a measure was brought about without much exertion and preparatory solicitation. The success of his paschal advocacy among a people naturally attached to old prejudices, in communities widely spread, and subject to many antagonistic influences, must have required a longer period for its completion than the following words of Bede[u] would at first sight seem to imply: "Navigavit Hiberniam, et prædicans eis, ac modesta exhortatione declarans legitimum paschæ tempus, plurimos eorum, et pene omnes qui ab Hiiensium dominio erant liberi, ab errore avito correctos ad unitatem reduxit catholicam, et legitimum paschæ tempus observare perdocuit." The Life of St. Gerald of Mayo, a compilation full of anachronisms, has yet this curious coincidence with the statement just made, that it allows Adamnan a *seven years'* residence in Ireland. Now, admitting the supposition above stated to be correct, the interval between 697 and 704, the year of Adamnan's death is exactly commensurate with this period. One thing appears certain from Bede, namely, that Adamnan crossed over from Ireland to Hy in the summer of the year in which he died, and that he had been in Ireland for a considerable time previously. The Irish Annals record an occurrence which almost proves him to have been in Ireland in 701. In that year Irgalach, son of Conang, great-grandson of

[t] *Finachta Fledach.*—This is an anachronism: he died in 695. The convention was held under his successor, Loingsech, son of Aengus. See p. li. *supra.*

[u] *Bede.*—Historia Ecclesiastica, v. 15.

Aedh Slaine, and lord of Cianachta[v] in Meath, slew his own cousin Niall, son of Cearnach Sotal. This act is said to have excited the indignation of Adamnan, under whose protection Niall had been, and he denounced against Irgalach speedy retribution for the crime. At this time Adamnan is represented to have been in the neighbourhood of the Boyne[w], and an ancient poem[x] states that the cursing of Irgalach took place in a synod held by Adamnan at Tara. Irgalach, according to Tighernach, was slain by the Britons in 702; and the Annals of Ulster add that the deed was done in Inis-mac-Nesan, the small island east of Howth, now known as Ireland's Eye. The wife of Irgalach[y] was Muirenn, daughter of Cellach Cualann, and sister of St. Kentigerna[z] of Loch Lomond. She died in 748.

The Life of St. Geraldus[a] represents Adamnan's connexion with Mayo in these words: "Tunc sanctus abbas Adamnanus post visitationem totius Hiberniæ ad S. Geraldum perrexit, ut fraternam cum eo contraheret societatem. Cui S. Geraldus fundum cum fonte limpido contulit, atque sibi suam commendavit Ecclesiam, ut a persecutione laicorum post obitum suum eam defenderet: quod totum S. Adamnanus se completurum promisit, atque opere complevit. Post ejus [S. Geraldi] vero obitum[b] S. Adam-

[v] *Lord of Cianachta.*—So he is styled in the *Cain Adhamnain*, although he could not have been lord by descent, as the Cianachta were of a different race from his. The Annals of Inisfallen call him "king of Hy Neill," which is probably correct, as his son Cionaedh was monarch of Ireland from 724 to 728. Dr. Petrie states that Tighernach calls Iorgalach "king of Bregia" (Tara, p. 148); but this must be a mistake, or else the printed text has omitted the title. It is also an error to say that he was killed by the *Saxons*. In 682 the Britons fought with the Dalaradians at Rathmor, and in 697 they joined the Ulidians in wasting the coast of Louth (pp. 377, 378, *infra*). Possibly they had made a settlement in Ireland.

[w] *Boyne.*—The Irish Life of Adamnan represents the saint as "fasting against Irgalach," immersed in the river Boinn, and overcoming him by deceit. This system of *fasting against* an obnoxious individual was a favourite mode with the Irish ecclesiastics of bringing down visitations on their enemies. The Brehon Laws contain directions on the course which is to be pursued in such a case. Irgalach resisted the influence of St. Adamnan's fasting by doing the same himself, until Adamnan, by inducing one of his people to personate him, put Irgalach off his guard, and thus got the mastery of him. The story is curious, not only as illustrative of this extraordinary system of fasting, but as indicating the low tone of moral feeling in the writer who represents the saint as saying: "It is better that one of his people should tell a falsehood for him, than that he should tell it himself."

[x] *Poem.*—Printed in Petrie's Tara, p. 122. It contains the lines, of which the following is the translation:

"The synod of Patrick was held in the great Rath;
The synod of Brendan, and of Ruadhan;
The synod of Adamnan, afterwards,
In cursing Irgalach."

[y] *Wife of Irgalach.*—The Irish Life says that "she was humble and obedient to the Lord and to Adamnan;" and it is remarkable that her obit is entered in the Annals, which is very rarely done in the case of women.

[z] *St. Kentigerna.*—See note[h], p. 384 *infra*.

[a] *St. Geraldus.*—Colgan, Acta SS. p. 602 *a*.

[b] *Post ejus obitum.*—The date of St. Gerald is very uncertain. Tighernach at 732, and the An. Ult. at 731, have *Pontifex Maigi-Eu Saxonum Garailt obiit.* The Four Masters (An. 726) represent this entry by "Gerald of Magh-eo died." And

nanus Mageonensem Ecclesiam, per septem annos indefesse rexit. Inde ad Ionensem Abbatiam perrexit, et ibi feliciter in Domino obiit et sepultus est." Now, though this statement is open, in the first place, to the grave objection that St. Geraldus was later than Adamnan instead of prior to him, and, in the second, that a monastery founded twenty years previously as an asylum for adherents to the old Easter, was not a likely place to entertain the professed advocate of innovation; still, the story seems to be wrought upon an ancient tradition that St. Adamnan traversed Ireland on ecclesiastical duty, and spent some years therein, and that, having gone back to Hy at the end of about seven years, he died soon after.

The narrative of Adamnan's proceedings, from his first visit to the court of Aldfrid down to his last stay in Ireland, as given in Mac Firbis's MS. Annals, is so amusingly characteristic of native simplicity, that it is entitled, notwithstanding its looseness, to find a place among more explicit records. "An. 896 [recte 796]. In this year the men of Erin consented to receive jurisdiction and one rule from Adamnan respecting the celebration of Easter on Sunday, on the fourteenth of the moon of April; and the coronal tonsure of Peter was performed upon the clerics of Erin, for there had been great variance in Erin on these questions, until then, inasmuch as some of the clerics of Erin were in the habit of celebrating Easter on Sunday the 14th of the moon of April, and had the coronal tonsure of Peter the Apostle, following in the steps of Patrick[c]; others, following Columcille, celebrated Easter on the fourteenth of the moon of April, whatever day of the week[d] that fourteenth should happen to fall, and had the coronal tonsure of Simon Magus[e]. A third party followed neither the sect of Patrick nor the sect of Columcille, so that the clergy of Erin held many synods, and they used to come to these synods with weapons, so that pitched battles used to be fought between them, and many used to be slain; so that many evils ensued to Erin from this, namely, the Bear-mor[f], and the very great dearth, and many diseases; and

their learned editor understands it as equivalent to "Garailt, pontifex," &c. (vol. i. p. 324). Such an interpretation would stand, if there were an .i. or *i. e.* before Gerailt. The passage plainly states that "the Bishop of Mayo-Saxonum of Gerald died," and this addition of Gerald's name is a prolepsis. The Life of St. Gerald states that he came to Ireland accompanied by three brothers, one of whom was Berikertus. He was the St. Beretchert of Tulach-leis, now Tullylease, in the county of Cork, whose day in the Calendar is Dec. 6, and whose obit is entered in the Four Masters at 839. If this date be correct, St. Gerald must come down to circ. 800.

[c] *Steps of Patrick.*—See note [m], p. 350, *infra.*

[d] *Whatever day of the week.*—The An. Ult. at 451 have *Pasca Domini viii. Kal. Maii celebratum est;* but in this year the 24th of April fell on Tuesday. That the 24th of April may fall on Sunday, B must be the Dominical letter, which does not occur between 449 and 455. Bede, however, expressly states: "Quem [diem] tamen et antea non semper in luna quarta decima cum Judæis, ut quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem Dominica, alia tamen quam decebat hebdomada celebrabant" (H. E. iii. 4).

[e] *Simon Magus.*—See p. xlvii., and p. 350, *infra.*

[f] *Bear-mor.*—Probably a mistake for *Bo-ar mor*, 'the great cow-mortality.' See the enumeration of national scourges, p. liii. *supra.*

extern tribes injured Erin. They continued thus for a long period, and even to the time of Adamnan. He was the ninth abbot who succeeded to the government of Ia after Columcille.

"A great spoil was carried off by the Saxons from Erin. Adamnan went to demand a restitution of the spoil, as Bede relates in his history. The greater part of the bishops of all Europe assembled to condemn Adamnan for having celebrated Easter after the fashion of Columcille, and for having upon him the tonsure of Simon Magus, i.e. *ab aure ad aurem.* Bede says[g] that though many were the wise men in that synod, Adamnan excelled them all in wisdom and eloquence; and Adamnan said, It was not in imitation of Simon Magus that he had this tonsure, but in imitation of John of the Breast[h], the foster-son of the Redeemer, and that this was the tonsure which he had upon him, and that though Peter loved the Saviour, the Saviour loved John; and that it was on the fourteenth of the moon of April, on whatever day of the week that should fall, the Apostles celebrated Easter. Then an old senior rising up said, Though Columcille himself were present here, we would not leave him until he should be of the same rule with ourselves; but you we will not quit, until you be of the same rule with ourselves. Adamnan made answer unto him and said, I shall be of the same rule with you. Be tonsured therefore, accordingly, said the bishops. It will be sufficient that I do so, said Adamnan, at my own monastery. No, said they, but immediately. Adamnan was then tonsured, and no greater honour was ever shown to man than was given to Adamnan on this occasion; and that great spoil was restored to him, and he came straight home to his own monastery of Ia. It was a great surprise to his congregation to see him with that tonsure. He then requested of the congregation to receive the tonsure, but they refused, and he got nothing from them, *sed Deus permisit conventui peccare, i.e. ipsum Adamnanum expellere*[i], *qui misertus est Hiberniæ. Sic Beda dixit;* for Bede was along with Adamnan. Now Adamnan came afterwards to Erin, and his fame spread throughout the land, but that one regulation of Easter and of the tonsure was not received from him until this year, anno Domini 696, and Adamnan died in the year 703, in the 78th year of his age."

Bede records the last stage in our saint's life, "Qui cum celebrato in Hibernia canonico pascha, ad suam insulam revertisset, suoque monasterio catholicam temporis paschalis observantiam instantissime prædicaret, nec tamen perficere quod conabatur posset, contigit eum ante expletum anni circulum migrasse de sæculo. Divina utique

[g] *Bede says.*—This is a palpable forgery. The writer seems to have Colman's discussion running in his head. See Bede, H. E. iii. 25.

[h] *John of the Breast.*—Iohannep bpuinne, the Irish name for St. John the Evangelist, borrowed from St. John, xiii. 23, 25; xxi. 20. See Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. v. p. 52.

[i] *Expellere.*—There is no existing authority for this, except perhaps an inference from Bede's words, "graviorem cum eis cogeretur habere discordiam," cited in the text. Possibly Adamnan's protracted stay in Ireland suggested the idea.

gratia disponente, ut vir unitatis ac pacis studiosissimus ante ad vitam raperetur æternam, quam redeunte tempore paschali, graviorem cum eis qui eum ad veritatem sequi nolebant, cogeretur habere discordiam." This was, according to the Irish Annals, in the year 704: in which the reformed Easter fell on the 30th of March. He died on the 23rd of September[k], which is the day of his commemoration both in the Irish and Scotch calendars.

Of the character of Adamnan for learning and the graces of the Christian ministry, we have the highest testimony in the contemporary statements of Bede and Ceolfrid. Alcuin, later in the same century, ranks him with Columba and Comgall, in the well-known epigram[l]—

> "Patritius, Cheranus, Scotorum gloria gentis,
> Atque Columbanus, Congallus, Adomnanus atque,
> Præclari patres, morum vitæque magistri,
> His precibus pietas horum nos adjuvet omnes."

In a later age, Fordun[m], in addition to the trite commemoration, "virtutibus pollens et miraculis," says of his literary fidelity, "quando historias et res gestas conscripsit, de more semper habuit auctorem suum in testimonium adducere." The Irish, of course, are loud in his praises. In the Vision he is styled the 'noble sage of the western world'[n], and his Life ascribes to him the combined virtues of Patriarchs and Apostles, while the Four Masters sum up the evidence thus: "Adamnan was a good man, according to the testimony of St. Beda, for he was tearful, penitent, given to prayer, diligent, ascetic, temperate; he never used to eat except on Sunday and Thursday; he made a slave of himself to these virtues; and, moreover, he was wise and learned in the clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures of God." Yet he was not without his temptations, and there is a curious coincidence between his Irish Life, and the Lessons in the Breviary of Aberdeen as to the manner in which the enemy made his assaults, namely, in human form, and with knotty, diabolical questions[o]. The phi-

[k] *September* 23.—Cave erroneously has 23 *Octob.* (Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 594 *b*, Oxon. 1740); and in this he is followed by Casimir Oudin (Comment. de Script. Eccl. vol. i. col. 1666, Lips. 1722). Oudin, however, avoids two other blunders of Cave, where the latter states that Surius published Adamnan's Life of St. Columba; and that Serarius was the first editor of the tract *De Locis Terræ Sanctæ.*

[l] *Epigram.*—Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera, tom. ii. vol. i. p. 219 *a* (ed. Andr. Quercetano [Du Chesne], 1777).

[m] *Fordun.*—Scotichronicon, iii. 49, 51.

[n] *Western world.*—Adamnan Ua Chinde anb-ecnaid iarthair domain. See note [a], p. 370.

[o] *Questions.*—The Breviary of Aberdeen relates that a child was found, who "ante Dei virum ductus multa ei probleumata præposuit. Tunc sanctus facto signaculo crucis inimicum effugavit, qui in specie infantis beatum virum temptare voluit."—Lect. iii. (Propr. SS., Part. Estiv. fol. 114 *bb*). The Irish Life states that "the demon came in human form to converse with Adamnan, for the men of Munster compelled him by force to come to Adamnan. And he came with many hard questions. One of the questions was, Was it in shape or without shape that the Devil worshipped, and was it

losophy of these legends is, that they arose, in an imaginative age, out of the prevailing and well-founded belief in Adamnan's learning and mental ability. Among his many virtues, diligence in his calling seems to have been one. The energy of his character has left its impress on the traditions of the country in the many journeys which he undertook, and the synods which he held; and he himself bears honest testimony to the multiplicity of his labours, in the epilogue of his tract on the Holy Places[p]: "Quæ et ego quamlibet inter laboriosas et prope insustentabiles tota die undique conglobatas ecclesiasticas sollicitudines constitutus, vili quamvis sermone describens declaravi." Filial piety was another of his virtues, and out of his character for it grew the legend cited at p. 179, *infra*, and the title of his Feilire, or Festology, *Incipit Feilire Adamnain* ꝺia Mathair [*for his mother*] *hic.*

The undoubted writings of Adamnan are, his tract *De Locis Sanctis*[q], and the *Vita S. Columbæ*. The former, whose authorship is proved beyond all question by Bede, opens with the following prologue[r]: "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, texere librum de locis incipio sanctis. Arculfus sanctus episcopus, gente Gallus, diversorum longe remotorum peritus locorum, verax index et satis idoneus, in Hierosolymitana civitate per menses novem hospitatus, et locis cotidianis visitationibus peragratis, mihi Adamnano hæc universa quæ infra craxanda sunt, experimenta diligentius perscrutanti, et primo in tabulas describenti, fideli et indubitabili narratione dictavit, quæ nunc in membranis brevi textu scribuntur." This interesting record is an important item in the history of writing, as showing the collateral and respective uses among the Irish of waxed tablets[s] and membranes for literary purposes, towards the close of the seventh century.

The other genuine work of Adamnan wants the external evidence which the tract *De Locis Sanctis* possesses, and bears testimony on certain ecclesiastical questions

through knowledge or in ignorance that the Devil worshipped?" They also relate how the Devil was brought to Hy in the shape of a corpse, to be buried, and how it rose up and spoke, putting, as the Life says, many wonderful questions to the congregation, all of which Adamnan resolved.

[p] *Tract on the Holy Places.*—See the passage cited at p. 242, *infra*.

[q] *De Locis Sanctis.*—Gretser's edition (Ingoldst. 1619) was printed from a MS. sent to him by Father Rosweyd, "ex intima Holandia" (Prolegom. p. 22). The MS. sæc. viii., which is mentioned in note [x], p. viii. *supra*, is described in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* as "de S. Germain des Prés, num. 844" (tom. iii. p. 66), "un petit in-folio, en ecriture ordinaire du viii. an ix[a] siecle" (*ib.* pp. 129, 132): "ce MS. étoit dans la biliotheque de Corbie" (*ib.* p. 355). It is probably the Corbey MS. which was collated by Mabillon. Besides the MSS. mentioned at p. viii., there is another in the British Museum (Cod. Cotton, Tiberius, D. v. pars ii. pp. 156 *a* to 184 *b*). It is in writing of the fourteenth century, and though copied by an ignorant scribe, and imperfect, contains some valuable various readings. It has been collated by the editor.

[r] *Prologue.*—Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. sæc. iii. pt. ii. p. 456 (Venet. 1734).

[s] *Waxed Tablets*—See note [i], p. 358, *infra*. Thus also in the same tract: "Cujus mihi formam in *tabula cerata* Arculfus ipse depinxit" (i. 2); and

which it has sometimes been judged desirable to invalidate. Sir James Dalrymple, in 1714, when defending the Presbyterian view of Church government[t], found it convenient to throw discredit on the anecdote told in i. 44 (p. 85, *infra*), and, as a means towards this, called the genuineness of the whole work in question. "I cannot agree," says Sir James, "with our Biographer[u], that the Authority of *Adamnanus* is equal, far less, preferable, to that of *Bede*, since it was agreed on all hands to be a fabulous History, lately published in his Name, and that he was remarkable for nothing, but that he was the first Abbot of that Monastery, who quit the *Scottish* Institution, and became fond of the *English Romish* Rites." In our own day Doctor Giles, when translating Bede's Ecclesiastical History, added the remark[v]: "Besides the work 'On the Holy Places,' Adamnan is the reputed author of a 'Life of Saint Columba,' but I have strong doubts of Adamnan's having written it. I propose shortly to publish the original text of both these works." On what the writer's scruples were founded does not appear, as the proposed opportunity of declaring it has never occurred. It is to be hoped that the doubts originated in a different style of research from that which made Bede's *Columcelli* an island[w], and *Dearmach* the same as Derry[x]! Lastly, in 1851, a Prussian clergyman[y], hoping to extend to a portion of British antiquities the enlightenment of German criticism, objected to the Vita Adamnani on these grounds: "Hæc ipsa adeo fabulis est obscurata, ut vix credi possit, vii saeculo, quo literae apud Hyienses floruerunt, ejusmodi nugas esse conscriptas. Prologi autem Vitae suspicionem mihi faciunt, quorum titulum 'Praefatio Apologiaque Adamnani Abbatis sancti scriptoris' a librario esse praepositum nemo non videt, apologiam vero, quae tam stylo ac sermone quam re aliena sit a Vita ipsa, ficticiam esse, facile apparet." But surely these are not the observations of one qualified to pronounce judgment on such a question. If *nugæ* and *fabulæ* such as Adamnan's indicate spuriousness, what becomes of early biography? As to the title of the Prologue, had he consulted a good edition[z], he might

again, "juxta exemplar quod mihi Arculfus in paginola figuravit cerata depinximus" (i. 3).

[t] *Church government.*—In an anonymous publication, bearing the title, *A Vindication of the Ecclesiastical Part of Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections, in answer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, The Life of the Reverend Mr. John Sage*, p. 21 (Edinb. 1714).

[u] *Biographer.*—The writer of the pamphlet in question was Rev. John Gillan, afterwards Bishop of Dumblane.

[v] *Remark.* — Bede's Ecclesiastical History, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, p. 264 (Lond. 1847).

[w] *Island.*—The British Critic noticed this error in the translation of Bede, v. 9, and Dr. Giles corrected it in his second edition, p. 248.

[x] *Derry.*—Bede, p. 114. The derivation of Dalrieta, namely, *Dal-Ri-Eta*, 'the portion of King Eta,' in p. 7; and the character of Hy as "one of the most fertile" of the Scottish islands, in p. 113, are not borne out by record or fact.

[y] *Prussian clergyman.* — Carolus Guilielmus Schœll, in his dissertation, *De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus* (Berolini, 1851), p. 61.

[z] *Good edition.*—As Colgan's. Pinkerton (p. 53) takes the spurious title from Canisius. See *Variæ Lectiones* at pp. 3, 456, *infra*.

have solved that difficulty; and if he had gone further, he might have found the Bollandist's remarks[a] upon the expression. Lastly, as to the Apology, the *res* is of course different from the narrative of the *Vita*, while the *stylus ac sermo* are so similar to the rest, that none save the architect of a paradox could discern the difference in the materials. The Life, where there is a slight variation of style, tells its own story, for it professes to be compilation; and we might as well deny the genuineness of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, because an early chapter is borrowed from Gildas, and another from Constantius, without acknowledgment. There is internal evidence in the Life on the following points to satisfy any but a theorist, that, 1, It was written by an ecclesiastic, living in *Ioua insula* (pp. 176, 181), styled *nostra* (pp. 12, 178), in which was *nostrum monasterium* (pp. 58, 72, 177); 2, By the superior of the monastery (pp. 16, 26, 223 *tit.*); whose immediate predecessor was *Falbeus*, and he a successor of *Segineus* (pp. 16, 26); 3, By one who conversed with those who had heard S. Columba's voice (p. 73); who conversed with a person who remembered the night on which S. Columba died (p. 238); who conversed with the acquaintances of St. Columba's friends (pp. 50, 85, 237); who conversed with a person who had witnessed the battle of Dun-Ceithirn in 629 (p. 95); who knew an early friend of the St. Fintan who died in 635 (p. 22); who conversed with the nephew of his predecessor Virgnous who died in 623 (p. 225); who was living when the battle of Magh-Rath took place (p. 200); who witnessed the ravages of the Great Pestilence (p. 182); who was a personal friend of King Aldfrid (p. 185); who lived when the House of Gabhran was declining (p. 201); 4, By one *whose name was Adamnan* (pp. 16, 95, 225, 238). Here is an accumulation of evidence which should satisfy any mind, and the more so as it is for the most part undesigned and incidental, the internal counterpart of the writer's own declaration: "Hujus ergo præmissæ narrationis testes, non bini tantum vel terni, secundum legem, sed centeni et amplius adhuc exstant" (pp. 17, 182).

Besides these Latin works, Adamnan is said to have written, 1, *A Life of St. Patrick*. This is stated twice in the Tripartite Life[b]. 2, *Poems*. Tighernach cites some verses of his, at the year 695, and the Four Masters, at 742. His alleged *Feilire*, or 'Festology,' consisting of seven quatrains and a half, comes also under this head. The poem on the remission of the Boromean tribute, containing fifty-two stanzas, though bearing his name, is hardly compatible with his religious character, and evidences the genius rather than the piety of the writer. 3, *Historia Hibernorum ab origine ad sua tempora*, mentioned by Ward[c], but otherwise unknown. 4, *Epitome metrica triginta voluminum legum Hibernicarum*, also mentioned by Ward; and, like the preceding article, probably some compilation of modern date and no authority.

[a] *Bollandist's remarks.*—See p. xiii. *supra.*

[b] *Tripartite Life.*—Lib. i. 70, iii. 99 (Trias Thaum. pp. 128 *b*, 167 *a*). See note [n], p. 41, *supra.*

[c] *Ward.*—Rumoldus, p. 218 (Lovan. 1662).

Of Adamnan's two Latin works, the tract *De Locis Sanctis* is the better written and more flowing, but it bears a striking resemblance to the other in many particulars of style, and the use of peculiar words and phrases. In the following pages the reader will observe the liberal employment of diminutives[c], so characteristic of Irish composition; and he will find them, in many cases, used without any grammatical force, and commutable, in the same chapters, with their primitives. The same tendency is also observable among verbs in the use of frequentatives and intensitives. He delights in the distributive numerals instead of cardinals, and in the adjective termination *ax* where admissible. He uses the pluperfect for the perfect, and the nominative instead of the ablative absolute. He occasionally employs Greek[d], or Greco-Latin words; and in a few instances introduces Irish and Hiberno-Latin expressions[e]. Proper names[f] he sometimes inflects according to the rules of Irish grammar, so that in a Latin narrative they present an anomalous appearance. Above all, the artificial, and often unnatural, interweaving of his words, in long sentences, and the oft-recurring ablative absolute in awkward position, will strike the reader as remarkable features of the style.

One subject more remains to be considered: the veneration of St. Adamnan's memory. In testimony of this, two classes of monuments exist, namely, the churches under his patronage, and the appellations commemorative of his name.

St. Adamnan's Irish Churches.

1. *Rathboth.* He is the patron, but not the founder[g], of this church. It was originally monastic; and in the bestowal of conventual honours among the ancient Irish, the distinctions of Orders were not regarded. Hence, when Raphoe became an episcopal see, but under its old patronage, after-ages, supposing that a bishop's see must originate with a bishop[h], took advantage of Adamnan's phonetic name *Eunan*[i], and created a bishop *Eunan* patron of the diocese, moving his festival a fortnight back in the month, and leaving *Adamnan* to enjoy his old abbatial honours on the 23rd. Pope Clement XII. approved of a mass for Bishop Eunan's festival[j] on the 7th of September.

[c] *Diminutives.*—See Glossary, voce *Diminutiva.*

[d] *Greek.*—See Glossary, voce *Græcismi.*

[e] *Irish expressions.*—See *Hi*, and *Hininglas* in Glossary. Thus *maic*, the gen. of *mac* (pp. 32, 40).

[f] *Proper names.*—Thus, *Ferguso* (p. 8); *Aido* (pp. 11, 36, 41, 45, 82, 225), in the genitive; *Comgill*, gen. of *Comgall* (p. 32); *Domnill*, gen. of *Domnall* (p. 201); *Fechureg*, gen. of *Fiachrach* (p. 45, 225); *Cellaig*, gen. of *Cellach* (p. 65); *Colgion* and *Colgen*, gen. of *Colgu* (pp. 65, 82); *Ainmurech*, gen. of *Ainmire* (pp. 91, 201); *Loigse*, gen. of *Loigis* (p. 210); *Leathain*, gen. of *Liathan* (p. 220); *Draigniche*, gen. of *Draignech* (pp. 45, 225).

[g] *Founder.*—This was St. Columba. See p. 280.

[h] *Bishop.*—See the names of Irish sees founded by presbyters, at p. 335.

[i] *Eunan.*—See the various forms of this name, at pp. 256, 257, to which may be added, as an ultimatum of corruption, *St. Arnold.* See p. lxvi. *infra.*

[j] *Bishop Eunan's festival.*—See p. 257, *infra.* In

and some additions which were lately made to it, in order to complete the continuity of the path, were speedily removed, as foreign to the original design. The church derives its name, it is said, from Adamnan's shrine, which was preserved there. This shrine might be supposed to enclose St. Adamnan's bones, and to be the case containing the *reliquiæ Adamnani*, which were brought over to Ireland in 727 for the renewal of his Law, and which were taken back to Hy in 730. But, according to a record in one of the Brussels MSS.[q], which was copied by Michael O'Clery, in 1629, from "an old black and difficult manuscript of parchment," the contents of the shrine were the various relics which Adamnan himself had collected. The record opens by saying, "Illustrious was this Adamnan. It was by him was gathered the great collection of the relics [mapcpa] of the saints into one shrine, and that was the shrine which Cilline Droicthech[r], son of Dicolla, brought to Erin to make peace and friendship between the Cinel Conaill and Cinel Eoghain." It then proceeds to enumerate the twenty-six articles which were enclosed in it, consisting of manuscripts of the Gospels, hymns, and poems; articles of apparel belonging to the saints of Ireland; and a few relics of St. Paul and the Virgin Mary; the aggregate of which must have filled a large box, and been a rather heavy load to carry about. Colgan couples this shrine with the church of Skreen, and observes[s]: "Est ecclesia multorum reliquiis nobilis et veneranda, Diœcesis Kill-aladen. in regione de Tir Fhiachrach, de qua, vide plura in notis ad vitam S. Adamnani, ubi dabimus[t] catalogum reliquiarum in illo scrinio reconditarum." In 832 the shrine of Adamnan was in the keeping of Tuathal mac Feradhaich, Abbot of Rechra and Durrow, from whom it was carried off from Donaghmoyne[u] by the Danes. It is very likely that there were two shrines called Adamnan's, the older, containing his own remains[v], which is the one referred to in the Annals, the other[w], containing the miscellaneous objects mentioned in the catalogue, which was in after-times coupled with his name, and preserved in his church of Skreen.

3. *Drumhome.*—A parish in the diocese of Raphoe, county of Donegal, barony of Tirhugh. It is the *Dorsum Tomme* mentioned in such interesting connexion at p. 238,

[q] *Brussels MSS.*—Burg. Libr., No. 2324–40, p. 26.

[r] *Cilline Droicthech.*—He was fourteenth Abbot of Hy. See p. 382, *infra*.

[s] *Observes.*—Acta Sanctor. p. 340 *b*, n. 42.

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which was printed in Paris in 1734. Accordingly, the Bollandists[k] place the commemoration of "S. Eunanus Episcopus, Confessor, Raphoæ in Hibernia," at Sept. vii., in a short notice edited by Joannes Stiltingus. Alban Butler[l], following this authority, repeats the error at the same day; and in the Irish Calendar appended to the Dublin edition[m] of his valuable book, the same fictitious patron intrudes on another saint's day. St. Adamnan's bed[n] used to be shown at Raphoe.

2. *Skreen.*—A parish church of the diocese of Killala, in the county of Sligo, barony of Tireragh, bounded on the north by Sligo Bay. The site of the church is an old grant. The Life of Farannan[o] relates that Tibraide [son of Maelduin, Lord of Hy-Fiachrach] bestowed upon St. Columba and his fraternity three pleasant portions of ground, one of which "locus isto ævo Cnoc-na-maoile[p] dicebatur, postea a S. Adamnano Abbate, Scrin-Adhamhnain, i. e. Scrinium S. Adamnani dictus." St. Adamnan is locally called *Awnaun*, and his well is situated a little to the east of the old church, at the other side of the road. From this well the townland Toberawnaun [Tobaṛ Aṫaṁnain] derives its name, between which and the townland Soodry runs the Dunmoran stream. Over this rivulet, in connexion with a *boreen*, is the *Drehid Awnaun*, or 'Bridge of Adamnan,' formed of a flag nine feet long, and nine inches broad, resting on two stones in the bed of the stream, two feet high. It does not fill the whole breadth of the stream, so that at either end there is a vacant space between it and the bank. The natives say it was formed by the saint, for his convenience in going from his church to the strand;

the diocese of Raphoe, St. Eunan is generally considered to be a different individual from Adamnan, and the error derives support from the custom which prevailed of holding the commemoration of St. Eunan as patron of the diocese on the 7th of September.

[k] *Bollandists.*—Acta Sanctorum, Sept. tom. iii., p. 128, where the following is found: "Castellanus in Martyrologio universali *S. Eunanum* memoravit inter Ahemeros, seu Sanctos illos, quorum cultus certo diei affixus non est. Inter Missas proprias Sanctorum patronorum Franciæ et Hiberniæ, quæ Parisiis anno 1734, impressæ sunt, jubente summo Pontifice Clemente xii., ad vii. Septembris legitur Missa de *S. Eunano*, eique præpositus est hic titulus: *In festo Sancti Eunani episcopi et Confessoris, ecclesiæ et diœcesis Rappotensis patroni generalis.* Missa hæc probat, jam saltem die vii. Septembris coli *S. Eunanum*, et quidem ut patronum diœcesis Rappotensis. Cæterum Missa illa nihil habet de gestis Sancti, atque ea de causa nihil ex illa huc transfero. Solum observo Evangelium legi ex Lucæ cap. 10 de missione Septuaginta duorum Christi discipulorum: ex quo utcunque colligi potest, *S. Eunanum* haberi pro Viro apostolico, qui fidem apud suos promulgavit."

[l] *Alban Butler.*—He has a "Saint Eunan, first Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland," under September 7. "The monastery founded there by St. Columb, and restored by St. Adamnan, being converted into an episcopal see, St. Eunan was appointed to govern it." *Ib.* The error about St. Eunan is repeated under St. Adamnan at Sept. 23.

[m] *Dublin edition.*—R. Coyne, 1838. See vol. ii. p. 1118.

[n] *Adamnan's bed.*—Harris's Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 270. It was probably a flag.

[o] *Life of St. Farannan.*—Cap. 8 (Colgan, Act. Sanctorum, p. 337 *a*).

[p] *Cnoc-na-moile.*—See the interesting notes on this name in O'Donovan's Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, pp. 267, 416.

and some additions which were lately made to it, in order to complete the continuity of the path, were speedily removed, as foreign to the original design. The church derives its name, it is said, from Adamnan's shrine, which was preserved there. This shrine might be supposed to enclose St. Adamnan's bones, and to be the case containing the *reliquiæ Adamnani,* which were brought over to Ireland in 727 for the renewal of his Law, and which were taken back to Hy in 730. But, according to a record in one of the Brussels MSS.[q], which was copied by Michael O'Clery, in 1629, from "an old black and difficult manuscript of parchment," the contents of the shrine were the various relics which Adamnan himself had collected. The record opens by saying, "Illustrious was this Adamnan. It was by him was gathered the great collection of the relics [martra] of the saints into one shrine, and that was the shrine which Cilline Droicthech[r], son of Dicolla, brought to Erin to make peace and friendship between the Cinel Conaill and Cinel Eoghain." It then proceeds to enumerate the twenty-six articles which were enclosed in it, consisting of manuscripts of the Gospels, hymns, and poems; articles of apparel belonging to the saints of Ireland; and a few relics of St. Paul and the Virgin Mary; the aggregate of which must have filled a large box, and been a rather heavy load to carry about. Colgan couples this shrine with the church of Skreen, and observes[s]: "Est ecclesia multorum reliquiis nobilis et veneranda, Diœcesis Kill-aladen. in regione de Tir Fhiachrach, de qua, vide plura in notis ad vitam S. Adamnani, ubi dabimus[t] catalogum reliquiarum in illo scrinio reconditarum." In 832 the shrine of Adamnan was in the keeping of Tuathal mac Feradhaich, Abbot of Rechra and Durrow, from whom it was carried off from Donaghmoyne[u] by the Danes. It is very likely that there were two shrines called Adamnan's, the older, containing his own remains[v], which is the one referred to in the Annals, the other[w], containing the miscellaneous objects mentioned in the catalogue, which was in after-times coupled with his name, and preserved in his church of Skreen.

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and was probably in the neighbourhood of St. Adamnan's birth-place. The seat of a powerful branch of the Cinel Conaill was in this parish (p. 38); and in it was also preserved the reliquary called the Cathach (p. 284). Fleming[x], in reference to Adamnan, says: "Animadvertendum, ipsum antequam Hiensis monasterii administrationem suscepisset, plura in Hibernia monasteria, sub editæ a se regulæ præscriptis erexisse, quorum præcipua fuere *Rapotense, Pontis-Adamnani, Droimtuamense, et Scrinense.*" To this list Colgan adds[y]: "Colitur S. Adamnanus in Ecclesiis de Dunbo, Aregal, Boithfheabha, et Grelleach, in diœcesi Derensi."

4. *Errigal.*—A parish in the diocese of Derry, county of Londonderry, barony of Coleraine, formerly called, from its patron, *Airecal Adhamhnain*, the 'habitation of Adamnan'[z]. It is now best known through its village Garvagh. The present parish church stands on a modern site. The old site is in the townland of Ballintemple, where the foundations remain, measuring 52 by 18 feet. South of this is the only local commemoration which now remains in the parish, namely, an eminence called *St. Onan's Rock.* It is marked on the Ordnance Map (sheet 18, at foot), but at the time it was noted there was not a man in the county that knew who St. Onan was.

5. *Dunbo.*—A parish in the same diocese, county, and barony. The ruins of the old church, situate near Downhill, measure 63.2 by 27.6 feet. In this parish is the *Munitio Cethirni* of p. 91, *infra.*

6. *Bovevagh.*—A parish in the same diocese and county, barony of Keenaght. Archbishop King's list makes S. Eugenius the patron, which name may be regarded as a Latin form of Eunan[a]. Local belief makes St. Ringan, that is, Ninian, the patron; but Colgan's authority, already cited, is superior, as he lived in an age when these matters were better understood than now. The old church measures 51 feet by 17.6.

7. *Greallach.*—Now Templemoyle[b], in the parish of Clonchа[c], diocese of Derry, county of Donegal, barony of Inishowen. It is a small burial-ground, with the faintest traces of a quadrilateral building; situate on a rocky slope, amidst a wretched group of cabins, which form the hamlet of Templemoyle on the road between Culdaff and Carn. It contains but one tombstone, bearing the name of James Maginnis, a schoolmaster, who died Jan. 25, 1819.

8. *Ballindrait.*—In the parish of Clonleigh, diocese of Derry, county of Donegal, and barony of Raphoe. It adjoins Raphoe on the east, and is the *Pons Adamnani* mentioned above by Fleming. The Irish name[d] is Droicet Adamnain. There is no church there now.

[x] *Fleming.*—Collectanea, p. 435 *b.* So also Vardæi Rumoldus, p. 219.

[y] *Colgan adds.*—Acta Sanctor. p. 387 *a*, n. 7.

[z] *Habitation of Adamnan.*—See Primate Colton's Visitation, edited by Reeves, p. 80.

[a] *Eunan.*—See Colton's Visitation, p. 85.

[b] *Templemoyle.*—See Colton's Visitation, p. 69.

[c] *Clonchа.*—Cluain cada of Calendar, July 16.

[d] *Irish name.*—See the authority cited by O'Donovan, in the Four Mast. An. 1607 (p. 2353).

9. *Syonan.*—A townland in the parish of Ardnurcher, diocese and county of Meath, barony of Moycashel. It is Suiḋe Aḋaṁnáin in Irish, that is, 'Seat of Adamnain.' The ruins of a castle exist here, but Macgeoghegan says that it was not church land. The tradition[e] of the neighbourhood is, that St. Adamnan, when on a visit to Ireland, preached to his relatives, the descendants of Fiacha, son of Niall, on a hill in the townland, which ever since has borne his name.

10. *Killonan.*—A townland in the parish of Derrygalvin, county of Limerick. The name seems to be formed from cill Aḋaṁnain, but without confirmation from any other ostensible local evidence.

St. Adamnan's Scotch Churches.

1. *Furvie.*—A chapelry in the parish of Slains, on the east coast of Aberdeen, north of the Ythan Mouth. This seems to have been Adamnan's chief commemoration in Scotland, for it is the one connected with his name in the Breviary of Aberdeen[f]: "S. Adampnani abbatis patroni apud Furui Aberdon. dyoces." In the View of the Diocese of Aberdeen[g] it is stated, under parish of Slaines: "Here stood of old the parish church of Furvie (dedicated to St. Fidamnan, Abbot of Icolmkill), overblown by the sands." The New Stat. Acct.[h] says: "On the estate of Leask, there is another ruin of a religious house, evidently a Roman Catholic chapel, as the place where the altar stood is plainly discernible. It is small, but must be considered a fine old ruin. One gable and Gothic window are still nearly entire, and the walls are overgrown with ivy. It stands in the middle of a small plantation of stunted firs and alder, on a little eminence gently rising from a swampy bottom, with a rivulet half enclosing it on the south side. It is called St. Adamannan's Chapel." The same name is given to it in the Old Statistical Account[i].

2. *Forglen.*—A parish in the north-east angle of Banff, separated from Aberdeenshire by the Doveran. It was also called *Teunan-kirk*, from a peculiar form of the patron's name. Adam King[j], in his Calendar, at Sept. 23, has "S. Thewnan abbot and confessor in scotland maister to king eugenius ye 6. 684." Dempster[k] also calls him Thewnanus, placing his day at Sept. 23; but Camerarius[l] while he mentions "Sanctus Adamannus Episcopus, Northumbrorum Apostolus" (a man who never existed), at Sept. 25, notices "Sanctus Thevuanus Abbas et Confessor" at Sept. 26, adding, "Monasterio Mailrossensi diu præfuit hic Sanctus." The writer in the Old

[e] *Tradition.*—See O'Donov., Four Mast. An. 703.

[f] *Breviary of Aberdeen.*—Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 114 *b a* (Reprint), where the name is incorrectly given *Furni*.

[g] *Diocese of Aberdeen.*—Collections, &c., p. 388.

[h] *New Stat. Account.*—Vol. xii. p. 593.

[i] *Old Stat. Account.*—Vol. v. p. 276.

[j] *Adam King.*—Kallendar, in his *Catechisme* (Paris, 1588).

[k] *Dempster.*—Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, vol. ii. p. 613.

[l] *Camerarius.*—De Scotorum Fortitudine, p. 177.

Stat. Account[m] says: "The name of this parish was formerly 'T Eunan, or St. Eunan, after the saint of that name to whom the church had been dedicated." In the New Stat. Account[n], it is added that the ruins of the chapel still remain, at the mouth of a rivulet which falls into the Deveron. The valuable writer in the Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff[o], observes: "Mr. Thomas Innes takes him to be the very same with Saint Adamnan, who in Irish is called Ainan, and their day is the same, September the twenty-third; Teunan being formed from Saint Ainan, as Trowel and Tantan from Saint Rule and Saint Antony." In this parish was formerly kept St. Columba's sacred banner, called the Breacbannach, mentioned at p. 330, *infra;* and he was also a patron of the church.

3. *Aboyn.*—A parish in the south of Aberdeenshire, on the north side of the Dee. "Aboyn hath for its tutelar Saint Theunan"[p]. About half-way between Aboyne Castle and the ruins of the ancient parish church, is a large old tree, now called *the Skeulan Tree*[q], with a well at the foot of it called *the Skeulan Well.* The tree is still held in reverence. Thomas Innes[r] tells us that he was born in this parish, and mentions the objects alluded to as called in his day 'S. Eunan's Well,' and 'S. Eunan's Tree.'

4. *Tannadice.*—A parish in Forfar, whose patron was St. Columba. A large rock on one of the braes of Angus, in this parish, is called *St. Arnold's Seat*[s]. That this name, though apparently so far removed, has been formed from *Adamnan*, appears by the following extract from a record of 1527[t]: "Et sic eundo versus austrum usque ad caput montis vocate *Sanct Eunendi's Seit.*" Who could suppose that the names *St. Arnold's Seat* and *Syonan* were identical in meaning!

5. *Inchkeith.*—An island in the Frith of Forth, E. N. E. of Inch Colm. "Inchekethe, in qua præfuit Sanctus Adamnanus abbas, qui honorifice suscepit Sanctum Servanum, cum sociis suis, in ipsa insula, ad primum suum adventum in Scotiam." So Fordun[u] states, more trustworthy in his nomenclature than his chronology.

6. *Sanda.*—An island off the Mull of Cantyre, on the S. E. Fordun says of it[v]: "Insula Awyn, ubi cella Sancti Adamnani, ibique pro transgressoribus refugium." Father Mac Cana's MS. account[w] of the island states that in Irish it is called Cbhuinn,

[m] *Old Stat. Account.*—Vol. xiv. p. 530.

[n] *New Stat. Account.*—Vol. xiii. pt. i. pp. 83, 87.

[o] *Collections on Aberdeen and Banff.*—Vol. i. p. 509 (Spalding Club, Aberd. 1843).

[p] *Theunan.*—Collections of Aberdeen, p. 633.

[q] *The Skeulan tree.*—New Stat. Account, vol. xii. p. 1060; Collections of Aberdeen, p. 633.

[r] *Thomas Innes.*—Civil and Eccl. Hist. p. 301.

[s] *St. Arnold's Seat.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xi. pt. i. p. 198. In the parish of Kinneff, in Kincardineshire, there was formerly a ruin called *St. Arnty's Kill*, which in the Macfarlane MSS. is mentioned as *St. Arnold's Cell* (New Stat. Acct. vol. xi. pt. 2, p. 314). Can this be a perversion of *Adamnan?*

[t] *Record of* 1527.—Liber Respons. in Scaccar. Reg. Scot. 1527–1539 (General Register House, Edinburgh).

[u] *Fordun.*—Scotichron. i. 6.

[v] *Fordun says of it.*—Scotichron. ii. 10.

[w] *Account.*—Burgund. Libr. Brussels, No. 5307.

Latinized *Avonia*. "In ea est ædicula S. Ninniano sacra, ad cujus cœnobium in Galvidia tota insula spectat. Conjunctum huic ædiculæ est ossarium siue sepulchretum quatuordecim filiorum SS.[mi] viri Senchani[z] Hiberni sanctitate illustrium. Saxeo murulo septum, in quo sunt septem grandia et polita saxa, quibus sanctissima corpora teguntur, in quorum medio erat obeliscus, altior hominis statura. Nemo mortalium impune ingreditur illum murulum."

7. *Killeunan*.—A denomination of land in the parish of Kilkerran, in Cantyre, variously written Killewnane and Kilyownane[y], and, no doubt, formed from cill Ꝺaṁnain.

8. *Dalmeny*.—A parish in Linlithgow, near Queen's Ferry, having a fine old Romanesque church. Here was a chantry of St. Adamnan. The writer in the New Stat. Account[z] says: "From the crown-charter conveying the patronage *capallaniæ et altaris Sancti Adamani*[a] *infra ecclesiam parochialem de Dummany*, it would appear to have been dedicated to St. Adaman, as the adjoining parish of Cramond was to St. Columba and the Virgin Mary."

At Campsie, in Perthshire, was a croft of land called *St. Adamnan's Acre*[b].

In the above list it is observable that the dedications of St. Columba and Adamnan keep very close together. In Ireland, the churches of Raphoe, Skreen, and Drumhome are said to be founded by the former, yet under the patronage of the latter. In Scotland, Forglen is St. Adamnan's, but in it were St. Columba's lands of the Banner; St. Columba's church of Tannadice has St. Eunan's Seat; St. Columba's church of Belhelvy neighbours to Furvy; Inch Colm's nearest land is Inch Keith; and St. Columba's Cramond has Dalmeny next adjoining on the west.

The memorial appellation formed from the saint's name was *Giolla-Adhamhnain*, or 'Servant of Adamnan.' It early became a Christian name, and we find an example of it in the Charters of Kells in the beginning of the twelfth century (p. 404, *infra*). It appears about the same time in the Mac Donnell family, for Somerlid, son of *Gilla-Adhamnain*, fell in 1164 (p. 408). Subsequently it became a favourite name in the family, and passed into that branch of it called the *Mac Neills* of Barra. Among them

[z] *Senchani*.—The chapel is now locally called *Kilmashenaghan* (Orig. Par. ii. p. 9), that is, Cill-mo-Seanóain. Father Mac Cana adds: "In illa insula fuit repertum brachium Sancti Ultani, quod thecæ argenteæ inclusum, ante hoc bellum religiose servabatur a viro generoso ex inclyta Mac Donellorum familia." Could this be the reliquary now commonly called *St. Patrick's Arm?* Nothing is known of its history, and as to the saint's name it has probably originated in a vulgar guess. See Ulster Journ. of Archæol. vol. ii. p. 207.

[y] *Killownane*.—See Origines Parochiales, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16, 24.

[z] *New Stat. Acct.*—Vol. ii. pt. i. p. 102.

[a] *Sancti Adamnani*.—See Inquis. Spec. vicecom. Linlithgow, Nos. 135, 142, 155.

[b] *St. Adamnan's Acre*.—Inquis. Spec. vicecom. Perth, Nos. 64, 708, 880.

we find, in 1495, *Gilleownan*[c] Makneill, grandson of *Gilleownan*. In Ireland it was borne by an O'Freel[d], in 1328. According to the usual process it became also a surname, and is the origin of *Mac Lennan*, the name of the old inhabitants of Glensheil in Rosshire, which has passed into that familiar form from *Mac Gilla-Adhamhnain*, as appears from the genealogy of the clan[e], who derive their name from Gillaagamnan, son of Cormac, son of Oirbertach, of the race of Ferchar Abhradhruadh.

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§ 2. *Chronological Summary of St. Columba's Life.*

St. Columba was born at Gartan[f], a wild district in the county of Donegal, on the very day that St. Buite[g], the founder of Monasterboice, departed this life. Thus the

[c] *Gilleownan.*—See the references in Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 367.

[d] *O'Freel.*—Annals Four Mast., A. D. 1328.

[e] *Genealogy of the clan.*—From Mac Vurrich MS., communicated by W. F. Skene, Esq.

[f] *Gartan.*—See Map. The earliest authority for St. Columba's birth-place is probably the statement in the old Irish Life: Gortán ḋin, ainm in luicc in ro genir, 'Gortan, now, is the name of the place in which he was born.' O'Donnell and the Calendar of Donegal cite the alleged lines of St. Mura:

Rugaḋ i nGartan ḋa ḋeoin;
'Sḋo hoilḟoḃ i Cill ṁic Neoin;
'Sḋo bairḃeḋ mac na mair,
A tTulaiġ Ḋé Ḋuḃġlair.

'He was born at Gartan by his consent;
And he was nursed at Cill-mic-Neoin;
And the son of goodness was baptized,
At Tulach Dubhglaise of God.'

None of the Latin Lives make any reference to the place of his birth. Local tradition, however, is very decided in confirmation of the Irish account. In the townland of Churchtown (Ord. Survey, sheet 44), on the face of a hill which overhangs a small lake, called Lough-na-Calliagh, and commands a view of Lough Beagh on the right, and Lough Akibbon on the left, is a group of ecclesiastical remains which are held in great veneration on account of their connexion with the history of the saint. In the centre of the burying-ground are the vestiges of an ancient building, about a foot over the level of the ground, and measuring about 34 by 12 feet. Outside the burial-ground, on the N. W. and S. E., are two rudely-carved crosses, which time has greatly disfigured. Lower down on the S. E. is the Holy Well. About 42 yards S. S. W. of the old foundations are the walls of a small church, unroofed, but otherwise in good preservation, marked on the Ord. Survey as "St. Columbkille's Chapel." The stone altar at the east end is in good preservation. Lower down the hill, at some distance to the S. W., and in the townland of Lacknacor, is a flag upon which it is reported St. Columba was born; it is marked on the Ord. Survey "St. Columbkille's Stone." The country people believe that whoever sleeps a night on this stone will be free from homesickness when he goes abroad, and for this reason it has been much resorted to by emigrants on the eve of their departure. The Gartan clay is also believed to be a preservative against shipwreck and fire: but it must be raised by an O'Freel to make it effective.

[g] *St. Buite.*—His name is Latinized *Boetius*. He was son of Bronach, a descendant of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Ailill Olum, and, as such, one of the Cianachta, whose territory embraced the southern part of Louth, where his church of Monasterboice is situate. He is styled "bishop of Mainister." A

7th of December[h] is determined for an event, the date of which might otherwise have been unrecorded[i]; and the Irish Calendars[j], in noticing it, present at that day, the anomaly of a secular commemoration[k]. Authorities vary as to the year[l], ranging from 518 to 523; but calculation from Adamnan's data[m] gives 521 as that most likely to be the true period.

copy of his Life is preserved in one of the Ware MSS. in the British Museum (Cod. Clar. 39, Add. No. 4788), and it contains the following passage: "Sed et ipso sanctissimo die obitus sui de sancto Columba spiritualiter vaticinans ait, Hodie, inquit, natus est infans cui nomen Columba, qui coram Deo et hominibus gloriosus existet, quique post xxx^ta annos abhinc huc veniet, et meum sepulcrum revelabit, et cemiterium designabit" (fol. 73). The old Irish Life of St. Columba contains exactly the same statement. The Round Tower and majestic crosses of Monasterboice are objects well known to the antiquary.

[h] *Seventh of December.*—The Irish Life adds: Ꝺaṙꝺaıṅ ꝺıṅ, aṙ aı lacı ꝑeꝺꞇmaıne, 'on Thursday, of the week-days.' This will give the choice of 517 and 523 for his birth: for, Dec. 7 is e, therefore, it being Thursday, A is the Sunday letter, which belongs to the above years.

[i] *Otherwise unrecorded.*—In like manner, a synchronism rendered the birth-day of Alexander the Great notorious.

[j] *Irish Calendars.*—Marian Gorman, at Dec. 7, has Ꝺeın Cholum ċaıꝺ caemꝷıl, which Colgan renders "Nativitas S. Columbæ immaculati et præclari" (Trias Th. p. 483 *a*). The Calendar of Donegal has Ꝺeın Coluım-ċılle, 'the Birth of Columcille.'

[k] *Secular commemoration.*—The Breviary of Aberdeen thus limits the admission of such: "Post illum sacrosanctum domini nostri natalem diem nullius hominis legimus nativitatem celebrari: nisi solum beati iohannis baptiste: in aliis sanctis et electis dei novimus illum diem coli: quo illos post consummacionem laborum et devictum triumphatumque mundum in perpetuas eternitates presens vita parturiit."—Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 15 *bb*. Baert observes on the present case: "Verum, cum non soleat Nativitas sanctorum festive celebrari, præterquam B. Mariæ Virginis et S. Joannis Baptistæ, quia horum, et non aliorum Nativitas, sancta et immaculata ab omni peccato exstitit; crediderim hoc potius memoriæ causa a Gormano inscriptum Martyrologio fuisse, quam venerationis."—Act. SS. Jun. tom. ii. p. 183 *a*.

[l] *Year.*—The Annals of Ulster waver between 518 and 522. At the former date they say: "Nativitas Coluimcille eodem die quo Bute mac Bronaigh dormivit;" at the latter, "Vel hic nativitas Coluimcille." Tighernach places it in the same year with the battle of Detna, and the year after the death of Conlaedh, which was synchronous with the accession of Justin the elder, in 518. The Four Masters fix St. Buite's death at 521. The Annals of Inisfallen have 511, and those of Boyle 499; but their respective systems of computation are peculiar to themselves. O'Donnell calculates 520 (iii. 57, Tr. Th. p. 441 *b*). Ussher adopts 522 (Brit. Eccl. Ant. Index Chronol.); Colgan, 519 (Tr. Th. p. 486 *a*); while Dr. Lanigan fixes on 521 (Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 106, 114). The statement in the Irish Life gives 523 (note [h], *supra*). Nennius has the following chronological note: "A nativitate Columbæ usque mortem sanctæ Brigidæ quatuor anni sunt" (Hist. Brit. § 16, ed. Stevenson). Unfortunately, the exact date of St. Brigid's death is alike matter of controversy.

[m] *Adamnan's data.*—St. Columba was in his forty-second year when he removed to Hy (Pref. 2, p. 9), that is, in 563. In that year Whitsunday fell on the 13th of May, so that he was then 41 years, 5 months, and 6 days, old. Add to this, 34 years for his sojourn in Britain (*ib.* and pp. 227, 228), and we get the date 597, so that the 9th of June in that year found him 75 years, 6 months, and 2 days, old. Thus, with the Four Masters and Dr. Lanigan, we get 621 as the year of his birth. Bede's statement is that St. Columba died *cum esset annorum*

Fedhlimidh[n], the father of Columba, belonged to the clan[o] which occupied, and gave name to, the territory surrounding Gartan, and was, moreover, a member of the reigning families[p] of Ireland and British Dalriada. Eithne[q], the mother of Columba, was of Leinster extraction[r], and descended from an illustrious provincial king. Thus the nobility of two races was combined in their son, and, no doubt, contributed to the extended influence which he acquired, when education, piety, and zeal were superadded to his honourable antecedents.

He was baptized by the presbyter Cruithnechan[s], under the name *Colum*[t], to which the addition of *cille*, signifying 'of the church'[u], was subsequently made, in reference

septuaginta septem (H. E. iii. 4), which is followed by Tighernach. The old Irish Life, and O'Donnell, refer his birth to 520; but the Annals of Ulster give 76 years as his age.

[n] *Fedhlimidh.*—See Pref. 2, and note [u], p. 8, *infra*. The form *Aedelmith* in the Appendix of Cod. B. is a clerical error. Cod. Cotton., at the same place, more correctly has *Fedilmith*. See pp. 246, 458.

[o] *Clan.*—See note [c], p. 192, and note [o], p. 320.

[p] *Reigning families.*—See the Genealogical Tables at pp. 342, 438.

[q] *Eithne.*—See Pref. 2, p. 8, *infra*, and pp. 190, 246. This was a common name. The mothers of Bishop Aedh, of St. Maedoc of Ferns, and of St. Comgan of Glenn-Uissen, were so called. The Irish Calendar records the names of Eithne, daughter of Maine, who was commemorated on the east of the Boyne; and Eithne, daughter of Dunlaing, who was patron of Tulach-Ui-Felimidha (*Senchas Naemh* in Book of Lecan). See also the six examples in the Index to O'Donovan's Four Masters. Doire-Eithne was the original name of Cill-mac-Nenain.

[r] *Leinster extraction.*—See her pedigree and family history at pp. 8, 163, 164, 246, *infra*. The legend of king Aedh mac Ainmirech's death in the Book of Lecan (referred to in note [c], p. 39, *infra*), contains a dialogue between the king and St. Columba, of which the following is a translation: "O cleric, said the king, obtain for me from the Lord that my trophy [i. e. my head or scalp] be not gained by the Leinstermen. That is difficult for me, said Colamcille, because my mother is of them; and they came to me to Durrow, and by fasting urged me to bestow the gift of a sister's son. And what they requested of me was that their trophies should not be carried off by a stranger king. And I promised them that." Noe, or *Naue* as Adamnan calls it (p. 9), the name of Eithne's grandfather, is common in Irish records. See An. Ult. 674, 710, 789; and Rath-Noe, p. 87, *infra*.

[s] *Cruithnechan.*—See iii. 2, p. 191, *infra*.

[t] *Colum.*—See note [b], p. 5, and note [k], p. 6, *infra*.

[u] *Of the church.*—Not *churches*, for then the name would be Colum na g-ceall. Bede rightly derives Columcelli "a *cella* et Columba" (H. E. v. 9). So O'Donnell, as translated by Colgan, "additamento *kille*, quod *cellam* seu *ecclesiam* significat" (i. 30, Tr. Th. p. 393 *b*); "partim ab *Ecclesia*, fœlici omine, sortiturus" (i. 8, *ib.* 390 *b*); "pueri solebant præ gaudio, elevatis in cœlum manibus, dicere, Ecce advenit Columba de *cella*" (O'Donnell ap. Colgan, Act. SS. p. 645 *b*). In the Leabhar Breac, we find the following rationale of the compound: *Colum, pro simplicitate ejus dictus est:* Cille .i. apa mince ciceb on chill in po leg a palmu h-i combail na lenab comfocur, ocur ba h-eb adberbirren acurnu ferrin: In tanic ap Colum becni indiu on chill .i. o thelaig dubglaire i Tir Lugdach h-i cineol Conaill. 'Cille, because of the frequency of his coming from *the cell* in which he read his psalms, to meet the neighbouring children. And what they used to say among themselves was, Has our little Colum come to-day from the cell, i. e. from Tulach-Dubhglaise in Tir-Lughdech in Cinell Conaill' (fol. 108 *b*). O'Donnell names Kilmacrenan: "Aucti nominis occasio fuit, quod puer sub id tem-

to his diligent attendance at the church of his youthful sojourn. The tradition of the country is, that he was baptized at Tulach-Dubhglaise, now called Temple-Douglas[v], a place about half way between Gartan and Letterkenny, where there is a cemetery of considerable extent, containing the roofless walls of a large chapel, and, at a short distance on the north-east, within the enclosure, a square, elevated space, which appears to have been artificially formed, and to be the spot which in O'Donnell's time was coupled with the memory of the saint[w].

The place where St. Columba is said to have spent the principal portion of his boyhood was Doire-Eithne[x], a hamlet in the same territory, which afterwards exchanged this name, signifying *Roboretum Eithneæ*, for *Cill-mac-Nenain*[y], in commemoration, it is supposed, of the "Sons of Enan," whose mother was one of St. Columba's sisters[z]. The absence of any mention of this place in the ancient Irish Life, coupled with the fact that this parish was the original seat of the O'Donnells, might suggest the conjecture, that it was introduced into the biography of the saint as an expedient of a later age to add lustre to the chiefs of Tirconnell, by associating the history of their patron with the origin of their race, were it not that there is evidence of a very early relation between St. Columba's family and the place, in the circumstance that the O'Freels[a], who were the ancient herenachs of the church lands there, were descended, not from Dalach[b], the forefather of the O'Donnells, but from Eoghan, the brother of St. Columba. The name Cill-mac-Nenain, also, as explained above, indicates a like connexion.

pus in ecclesia de Kilmacnenain educabatur."—i. 30 (Tr. Th. p. 393 *b*). Thus also the Calendar of Donegal (June 9): Ar aire ainmniġeḋ é o ċill .i. ar a oileṁain i cCill mic Nenain i cCenel Conuill, which Colgan renders: "Et cognomentum *Kille* adjectum est, quia in Ecclesia Kill-mac-Enain (*id est filiorum Enani*) in Tirconallia patria regione enutritus et educatus fuit" (Tr. Th. p. 483 *b*). The Life of St. Farannan (c. 3) explains Cille by *cellis* (Colg. Act. SS. p. 336 *a*); so also Notker, cited at p. 5, *infra*; but the other authorities far outweigh them. "Columba, quem Angli vocant *Collumkillum*."—Jocelin, Vit. S. Kentig. c. 39. It is worthy of observation that the epithet was not peculiar to St. Columba, for we find a *Colmancille*, of the race of Colla Dachrioch, commemorated at Oct. 1 (Cal. Donegal.; Colg. Act. SS. p. 713).

[v] *Temple-Douglas.*—So marked on the Ord. Survey, sheet 52. The country people call it simply *Dooglass*. The grave-yard contains five roods, and is tastefully enclosed. It is situate in a pretty valley under Crookatee Hill, at the bottom of which flows the rivulet *Dubh-glas*, 'Black-stream,' which gave name to the place. This chapel is situate in the parish of Conwal, whose patron saint was Fiachra (Calend. Feb. 8); but its ecclesiastical relation to Kilmacrenan is thus shown by the inquisition of 1609: "A chappell called Tolloughooglasse, and 12 gortes or acres of free land to the said chapell belonginge, out of which there is paid yearly to the O'Freelies some rent unknowen to the said jurors, which is the corbe of Kilmacrenan" (Ulster Inquis. Appendix, No. v.).

[w] *Memory of the Saint.*—See *Ced Mitheachd Columcille*, No. 15, p. 281, *infra*.

[x] *Doire-Eithne.*—See pp. 192, 281, *infra*.

[y] *Cill-mac-Nenain.*—See pp. 191, 247, 281, 320, 404, *infra*. See Map.

[z] *One of St. Columba's sisters.*—Mincholeth. See note[m], p. 247, *infra*.

[a] *O'Freels.*—See pp. 192, 281, 412, *infra*.

[b] *Dalach.*—See Geneal. Table opposite p. 342.

The youth Columba, when arrived at sufficient age, left the scene of his fosterage[c], and, travelling southwards, came to Moville[d], at the head of Strangford Lough, where he became a pupil of the famous bishop, St. Finnian[e]. Here he was ordained deacon; and to the period of his sojourn in this monastery is referable the anecdote which is told by Adamnan in the opening chapter of the second book[f].

From Moville, St. Columba proceeded further southwards, and, arriving in Leinster, placed himself under the instruction of an aged bard called Gemman. At this stage of the saint's life, he being still a deacon, occurred an incident which Adamnan records in the course of his narrative[g].

Leaving Gemman, he entered the monastic seminary of Clonard, over which St. Finnian the founder then presided. Here St. Columba is said to have been numbered with a class of students who afterwards attained great celebrity as fathers of the Irish Church[h]. St. Finnian does not appear to have been a bishop[i], and when Columba was subsequently judged worthy of admission to superior orders, he was sent to Etchen[j], the bishop of Clonfad[k], by whom he was ordained a priest[l].

According to the Irish memoirs, St. Columba left St. Finnian, and entered the monastery of Mobhi Clarainech[m], whose establishment at Glas Naoidhen, now Glasnevin,

[c] *Fosterage.*—See note on *pueri nutritor*, iii. 2, p. 191.

[d] *Moville.*—See Maȝ bile in the Map, and note [a], p. 103. For Strangford Lough, see Loch Cuan on Map.

[e] *Finnian.*—See note [a], pp. 103 and 195.

[f] *Second book.*—See text and notes, p. 103, *infra.*

[g] *Narrative.*—See ii. 25, p. 137, *infra.*

[h] *Fathers of the Irish Church.*—See the expression, *Twelve Apostles of Erin*, and the references in note [e], p. 301, *infra.*

[i] *Not a bishop.*—See note [a], p. 195. Only one or two of his celebrated disciples afterwards received episcopal orders. Possibly the influence of his example regulated the after-choice of the majority.

[j] *Etchen.*—See note [b], p. 349, *infra.* He was of noble Leinster extraction, both by his father's and his mother's side. He was also uterine brother of Aedh, son of Ainmire, the sovereign who granted the site of Derry to St. Columba. He died in 578. See p. 371, *infra.* His festival is Feb. 11, at which day Colgan has collected the various particulars and legends of his life (Act. SS. pp. 304–306).

[k] *Clonfad.*—See Cluain fada in Map, a little west of Cluain Epaiṅd, near the middle. It was situate in the territory of Feara-bile, now Farbill, a barony in Westmeath, coextensive with the parish of Killucan. In the townland of Clonfad, the Ordnance Survey marks *Monastery*, on S.W. *Bishop's Grave*, and on W. *Graveyard.* In Bishop Dopping's Visitation Book of Meath, preserved in Primate Marsh's Library, the place is noticed as the chapelry *S. Educani de Clonfad.*

[l] *Priest.*—The legend says that St. Columba went to receive episcopal orders from Etchen, but that, through a mistake of the bishop, priest's orders only were conferred. The whole story seems a fiction of a later age. It supposes, among other anomalies, ordination *per saltum*, and the degree of order to depend on the volition of the officiating minister. The legend is preserved in a note on the Feilire of Ængus. A Latin translation is given by Colgan (Acta SS. p. 306 *b*, n. 17); and the original Irish, with an English translation, by Dr. Todd (Obits of Christ Church, p. liv.).

[m] *Mobhi Clarainech.*—Also called Berchan. The epithet *Claraineach*, which Lanigan incorrectly interprets 'lame,' properly signifies 'flat-faced,' being compounded of clar, *tabula*, and eineaċ, *facies*, and is rendered *tabulari facie* in the Lives of SS. Brigid,

near Dublin, consisted of a group of huts or cells[n], and an oratory, situate on either bank of the Finglass[o]. Here also are said to have been, at the same time, SS. Comgall, Ciaran, and Cainnech, who had been his companions at Clonard. A violent distemper[p], however, which appeared in the neighbourhood about 544, broke up the community, and Columba returned to the north. On his way he crossed the Bior[q], now called the Moyola water, a small river which runs into Lough Neagh on the north-west, and, in doing so, prayed, it is said, that this might be the northern limit[r] to the spread of the disease. Mobhi died in 545, and in the following year, according to the Annals of Ulster, the church of Derry was founded[s] by St. Columba, he being then twenty-five years of age. In 549 his former teacher, St. Finnian of Clonard[t], was removed from this life.

About the year 553, he founded the monastery of Durrow[u], of which, as his chief institution in Ireland, Bede makes special mention. We have no means of ascertaining the dates of his other churches; and all we can do with any probability is to allow generally the fifteen years' interval between 546 and 562 for their foundation.

In 561 was fought the battle of Cooldrevny[v], which is believed to have been, in a great measure, brought about at St. Columba's instigation. A synod, which Adamnan states[w] was assembled to excommunicate St. Columba, met at Teltown, in Meath, pro-

Cainnech, and Maidoc. St. Mobhi's day is Oct. 12. He is stated to have been one of the twelve Apostles of Erin, and a fellow-student with St. Columba at Clonard.—Vit S. Finniani, c. 19 (Colg. A. SS. p. 395 *a*).

[n] *Group of cells.*—The Irish Life of St. Columba says, Ꝑ m-boꞇa ꝑṙi uṙci aniaṙ, 'Their huts were by the water, on the west.'

[o] *Finglass.*—That is, 'fair stream,' commonly the Tolka. This is the ꝷlaṙ, or 'stream,' which enters into the name Glas-Naoidhen, now Glasnevin, on the north of Dublin.

[p] *Distemper.*—The Irish Life says, Ꝑꞇbeṙꞇ Mobꞇi ꝑṙia a ꝺalꞇaiꝺ ꝺeṙꝷi inꝺ inaiꝺ i m-baꞇaṙ aṙ ꝺo n-icṙaꝺ ꞇeiꝺm anaicniꝺ ann .i. in ꝺuiꝺe ċonnaill, 'Mobhi told to his pupils to leave the place in which they were, for that a strange distemper was about to come, namely, the Buidhe chonnaill.' See Mr. W. R. Wilde's valuable observations in Census of Ireland for 1851, Part v. vol. i. pp. 46, 416.

[q] *Bior.*—See pp. 52, 209, *infra*, and Map.

[r] *Northern limit.*—This inconsiderable stream, in the lower part of its course, divides the dioceses of Armagh and Derry, which, in 1110, were represented under the names of Ardmacha and Ardsratha. Thus it was the boundary between the Airghialla, and the Cinel Eoghain branch of the northern Hy Neill; and hence, perhaps, in the biography of a Neillian, it was represented as a boundary of disease.

[s] *Derry founded.*—See note [r], p. 160, *infra*.

[t] *Finnian of Clonard.*—He died in the Great Mortality. The Annals of Ulster, at 548, in recording his death, call him *Finnio Maccuꝺuib*, the latter of which names is a clerical error for *Maccu-telduib*. The designation is derived from Ailill Telduib, a progenitor of the saint. The tract *De Matribus SS. Hib.*, attributed to Ængus, calls St. Finnian, "Findia, son of Ui-Tellduib." A successor at Clonard, whose death is recorded in the same Annals at 653, is styled "Colman Mac Ua Telduibh." Thus it would seem that, as in Hy, so in Clonard, the chief offices were limited by clan.

[u] *Durrow.*—The question of its date is considered in note [b], p. 23, *infra*.

[v] *Cooldrevny.*—See Addit. Note B, p. 247, *infra*.

[w] *Adamnan states.*—See iii. 3, pp. 192–194, *infra*.

bably at the instance of the sovereign who was worsted in the battle; for Teltown was in the heart of his patrimonial territory, and was one of his royal seats. The assembly, however, was not unanimous, and St. Brendan of Birr protested against the sentence. St. Finnian of Moville[x], also, soon after testified his sense of veneration for the accused, who had been once his pupil.

Whether the censure which was expressed against St. Columba by the majority of the clergy had, or could have had, any influence on his after course, is difficult to determine. Irish accounts say that St. Molaisi of Devenish, or of Inishmurry[y], was the arbiter of his future lot, who imposed upon him the penance of perpetual exile from his native country. But this seems to be a legendary creation of a later age, when missionary enterprise was less characteristic of Irish ecclesiastics than in St. Columba's day. In removing to Hy, he did no more than Donnan[z], Maelrubha[a], and Moluoc[b] voluntarily performed, and Cainnech wished to do. Scotland was then a wide field for clerical exertion, and St. Columba's permanent establishment in one of its outposts, within a day's sail of his native province, entailed very little more self-denial than was required for the repeated and, perhaps, protracted visits of St. Finbar[d], St. Comgall[e], St. Brendan[f], the two Fillans[g], St. Ronan[h], St. Flannan[i], and many others[k]. It was a more decided,

[x] *Finnian of Moville.*—See iii. 4, p. 195, *infra.* This must have been the saint of Moville, not of Clonard, for the latter died in 549, whereas the narrative refers to about 562.

[y] *Of Devenish, or of Inishmurry.*—See note [k], p. 252, and note [x], p. 287, *infra.*

[z] *Donnan.*—See pp. 304–309, *infra.*

[a] *Maelrubha.*—See note [a], p. 138, note [d], p. 215, p. 376, an. 671, 673, p. 382, an. 722, *infra.*

[b] *Moluoc.*—See note [g], p. 371, *infra.*

[c] *Cainnech.*—See note [b], p. 121, and note [b], p. 335, *infra.* See also i. 4 (p. 27), ii. 14 (p. 123).

[d] *St. Finbar.*—The founder and patron of Cork. He is also the patron saint of Dornoch, the episcopal seat of Caithness; and of the island of Barra, which derives its name from him.

[e] *St. Comgall.*—See iii. 17, p. 220. He founded a church in Heth, or Tiree (note [b], *ib.*). Holywood in Galloway was anciently called, after him, *Dercongall.* See authority cited in Keith, Scottish Bishops, p. 399 (Edinb. 1824).

[f] *St. Brendan.*—See iii. 17, p. 220, *infra.* He founded a church in Ailech, probably Alyth in Perthshire; and another in Heth, or Tiree (Vit. c. 43, Cod. Marsh., fol. 63 *b a*). He is the patron saint of Kilbrandon in the island of Seil (not far from which is *Culbrandon*), and of Boyndie in Banff.

[g] *The two Fillans.*—One of Strathfillan, whose day is Jan. 9, see note [v], p. 367, note [h], p. 384; the other, who appears in the Irish Calendar at Jun. 20, as "Faolan the Leper, of Rath-Erann in Albs, and Cill-Faolain in Laighis." Rath-Erann is now Dundurn, in the parish of Comrie in Perthshire. It is situate at the east end of Loch Earn, where also is the village of *St. Fillan's.* St. Faelan's memory is vividly preserved in the neighbourhood. See Old Stat. Acct. vol. xi. p. 181; New Stat. Acct. vol. x. pp. 582, 584. His Irish church is situate in the Queen's County, in that part of the parish of Kilcolmanbane which is in the barony of Cullenagh (Ord. Surv. sheet 18). In 1623 it was called *Killhelan* [i. e. Cill Ꝑaelain] (Leinster Inquis., Com. Reginæ, Nos. 24, 25, Jac. I.), which name is now disguised in *Ballyheyland* Thus also Killallan in Renfrew, whose patron was the former St. Fillan, is sometimes called *Kylheylan* (Origines Parochiales, vol. i. p. 81).

[h] *St. Ronan.*—See note [n], p. 416, *infra.*

[i] *St. Flannan.*—The patron saint of Killaloe. In Scotland he gives name to the Flannan Isles.

and, therefore, a more successful course than theirs; but it was equally voluntary: at least, there is high authority for supposing it to have been such. "Pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit," the common formula of missionary enterprise, is Adamnan's statement[l] of his motive: with which Bede's expression[m], "ex quo ipse prædicaturus abiit," is in perfect keeping. That he returned more than once, and took an active part in civil and religious transactions, is demonstrable from Adamnan[n]. How much oftener he revisited Ireland is not recorded; but these two instances are quite sufficient to disprove the perpetuity of his retirement. That he was not banished by secular influence is clear even from the legend, which represents his dismissal as an ecclesiastical penalty. Early in the next century, St. Carthach, or Mochuda, was driven by the secular arm from his flourishing monastery of Rahen; but then he only changed his province, and established himself at Lismore[o]. In doing so, however, he took his fraternity with him, and gave up all connexion with Rahen. But St. Columba, when he departed, severed no ties, surrendered no jurisdiction; his congregations remained in their various settlements, still subject to his authority, and he took with him no more than the prescriptive attendance of a missionary leader.

Durrow, his principal Irish monastery[p], lay close to the territory of the prince whose displeasure he is supposed to have incurred, yet it remained undisturbed; and when, at a later time, he revisited Ireland, to adjust the affairs of this house, it seemed a fitting occasion for him to traverse Meath, and visit Clonmacnois[q], the chief foundation of his alleged persecutor, and the religious centre of his family. Surely, if the Northern Hy Neill had defeated King Diarmait[r], they could easily have sheltered their kinsman.

In 563, St. Columba, now in his forty-second year, passed over with twelve attendants to the west of Scotland, possibly on the invitation of the provincial king[s], to whom he was allied by blood. Adamnan relates[t] some particulars of an interview which they had this same year; and the Irish Annals record the donation of Hy, as the result of King Conall's approval. At this time the island of Hy seems to have

[k] *Many others.*—As, SS. Berach, Berchan, Blaan, Catan, Comgan, Fiachra, Merinus, Mernoc, Molaise, Monenna, Munna, Vigean, &c., all of whom Dempster laid hold of, as Napoleon did the English travellers in France. The editor has in preparation a Scoto-British Calendar, in which he hopes to be able to show how extensively the ecclesiastical element of Ireland diffused itself throughout Scotland in early ages.

[l] *Adamnan's statement.*—Pref. 2, p. 9, *infra.*

[m] *Bede's expression.*—Historia Ecclesiastica, iii. 4.

[n] *Demonstrable from Adamnan.*—See the note [a], p. 9; note [b], p. 23; note [c], p. 92, *infra.*

[o] *Lismore.*—See note [g], p. 371. For an account of the expulsion, see Lanigan's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 352. The original authority is St. Carthach's Life, which was printed by the Bollandists at May 14 (Acta SS. Maii, tom. iii. p. 385 *b*).

[p] *Principal Irish monastery.*—See note [b], p. 23, and note [b], p. 276.

[q] *Clonmacnois.*—See note [c], p. 24, *infra.*

[r] *Defeated King Diarmait.*—See pp. 31, 248, *infra.*

[s] *Provincial king.*—Conall. See p. 434, *infra.*

[t] *Adamnan relates.*—See i. 7, p. 32, *infra.*

been on the confines of the Pictish and Scotic jurisdiction, so that while its tenure was in a measure subject to the consent of either people, it formed a most convenient centre for religious intercourse with both. The Scots were already Christians in name; the Picts were not. Hence the conversion of the latter formed a grand project for the exercise of missionary exertion, and St. Columba at once applied himself to the task. He visited the king at his fortress[u]; and having surmounted the difficulties which at first lay in his way, he won his esteem, overcame the opposition of his ministers[v], and eventually succeeded in planting Christianity on a permanent footing in their province[w]. The possession of Hy was formally granted, or substantially confirmed, by this sovereign also; and the combined consent[x] to the occupation of it by St. Columba seems to have materially contributed to its stability as a monastic institution. St. Columba afterwards paid several visits to the king[y], whose friendship and co-operation continued unchanged till his death[z].

In 573, St. Brendan, of Birr, the friend and admirer of St. Columba, died, and a festival was instituted at Hy[a] by St. Columba in commemoration of his day.

Of the places where St. Columba founded churches in Scotland, Adamnan has preserved some names, as *Ethica insula*[b], *Elena*[c], *Himba*[d], *Scia*[e], but he has given no dates, so that their origin must be collectively referred to the period of thirty-four years, ending in 597, during which the saint was an *insulanus miles*[f].

Conall, the lord of Dalriada, died in 574[g], whereupon his cousin, Aidan, assumed the sovereignty, and was formally inaugurated by St. Columba in the monastery of Hy[h]. Next year they both attended the convention of Drumceatt[i], where the claims af the Irish king to the homage of British Dalriada were abandoned, and the independence of that province declared.

St. Brendan, of Clonfert, who had been a frequent visitor of the western isles, and on one occasion had been a guest of St. Columba in Himba[k], died in 577; and St. Finnian,

[u] *Fortress.*—Now *Craig Phadrig*, see i. 37, p. 73, and ii. 35, p. 150, *infra.*

[v] *His ministers.*—See i. 37, p. 73, and ii. 33, 34, pp. 146–150, *infra.*

[w] *Their province.*—See ii. 27 (p. 142), 32 (p. 145), iii. 14 (p. 214).

[x] *Combined consent.*—See note [a], p. 151, and more at length, pp. 434–436, *infra.*

[y] *Visits to the king.*—See ii. 42, p. 167, *infra.*

[z] *Till his death.*—See ii. 35, p. 152, *infra.*

[a] *Instituted at Hy.*—See iii. 11, p. 210, *infra.*

[b] *Ethica insula.*—St. Columba's monastery was in that part of the island called *Campus Luinge*, now Soroby. See iii. 8, pp. 206, 207.

[c] *Elena.*—See ii. 19, p. 127, *infra.*

[d] *Himba.*—See i. 45, pp. 86, 87, *infra.*

[e] *Scia.*—See ii. 26, p. 138, *infra.*

[f] *Insulanus miles.*—See Pref. 2, p. 9, and iii. 23, p. 229, *infra.*

[g] *Died in* 574.—See pp. 32, 370, *infra.*

[h] *Inaugurated in Hy.*—See iii. 5, p. 198. From the friendship between the parties, Irish writers style St. Columba the anmcapa, i. e. 'soul's friend,' or *confessarius*, of king Aedhan. MS. H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dub. p. 858.

[i] *Convention of Drumceatt.*—See note [c], p. 92, and p. 436, *infra.*

[k] *Himba.*—See the anecdote, iii. 17, p. 220, *infra.*

of Moville[k], also one of our saint's preceptors, was removed by death in 579. About the same time a question arose between St. Columba and St. Comgall, concerning a church in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, which was taken up by their respective races, and engaged them in sanguinary strife[l]. In 587 another battle was fought, namely, at Cuilfedha[m], near Clonard, in which engagement also St. Columba is said to have been an interested party.

In judging of the martial propensities of St. Columba, it will always be necessary to bear in mind the complexion of the times in which he was born, and the peculiar condition of society in his day, which required even women to enter battle, and justified ecclesiastics in the occasional exercise of warfare[n]. Moreover, if we may judge from the biographical records which have descended to us, primitive Irish ecclesiastics, and especially the superior class, commonly known as Saints, were very impatient of contradiction, and very resentful of injury[o]. Excommunication, fasting against, and cursing, were in frequent employment, and inanimate, as well as animate objects are represented as the subjects of their maledictions. St. Columba, who seems to have inherited the high bearing of his race, was not disposed to receive injuries, or even affronts, in silence. Adamnan relates[p] how he pursued a plunderer with curses, following the retiring boat into the sea, until the water reached to his knees. We have an account[q] also of his cursing a miser who neglected to extend hospitality to him. On another occasion[r], in Himba, he excommunicated some plunderers of the church; and one of them afterwards perished in combat, being transfixed by a spear which was discharged in St. Columba's name. Possibly some current stories of the Saint's imperious and vindictive temper[s] may have suggested to Venerable Bede[t] the qualified approbation "*qualiscumque fuerit ipse*, nos hoc de illo certum tenemus, quia reliquit successores magna continentia ac divino amore regularique institutione insignes." With the profound respect[u] in which his memory was held, there seems to have

[k] *St. Finnian, of Moville.*—See note [a], p. 103, and an. 579, p. 371, *infra.*

[l] *Strife.*—The battle of Coleraine. See p. 253.

[m] *Battle of Cuilfedha.*—See p. 254, *infra.*

[n] *Ecclesiastics in warfare.*—The custom was not peculiar to Ireland. See the cases cited from Gregory of Tours (iv. 41, v. 17) in Milman's Latin Christianity, vol. i. p. 290 (Lond. 1854).

[o] *Resentful of injury.*—Giraldus Cambrensis has a chapter headed "Quod etiam sancti terræ istius animi vindicis esse videntur" (Topogr. Hib. ii. 55, p. 734, ed. Francof.), in which he accounts for their peculiar development of temper.

[p] *Adamnan relates.*—See ii. 22, p. 133, *infra.*

[q] *An account.*—See ii. 20, p. 131, *infra.*

[r] *On another occasion.*—See ii. 24, pp. 135, 137.

[s] *Vindictive temper.*—The story of his cursing the *Clan vic n Oster*, or *Ostiarii*, in Hy, for an imagined slight, was believed in the island, and told to Martin (West. Islds. p. 263); and to Pennant, who gives an account of the "imprecation of this irritable saint" (Tour, vol. iii. p. 254); and to the writer cited in New Stat. Acct. (vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 314). The curse was believed to have restrained the family from ever numbering more than five, or, according to some, eight members.

[t] *Venerable Bede.*—Historia Ecclesiastica, iii. 4.

[u] *Respect.*—See Fordun, Scotichronicon, iii. 26.

been always associated a considerable degree of awe. Hence, perhaps, the repulsive form[v] in which he was supposed to have presented himself to Alexander II. in 1249. Fordun tells a story[w] of some English pirates, who stripped the church of Æmonia, or Inchcolum, and on their return, being upset, went down like lead to the bottom; upon which he observes: "Qua de re versum est in Anglia proverbium; Sanctum viz. Columbam in suos malefactores vindicem fore satis et ultorem. Et ideo, ut non reticeam quid de eo dicatur, apud eos vulgariter *Sanct Quhalme* nuncupatur."

St. Columba visited Ireland[x] subsequently to June, 585, and from Durrow proceeded westwards to Clonmacnois, where he was received with the warmest tokens of affection and respect.

In 593 he seems to have been visited with sickness, and to have been brought near death. Such, at least, may be supposed to be the moral of his alleged declaration[y] concerning the angels who were sent to conduct his soul to paradise, and whose services were postponed for four years. At length, however, the day came, and just after midnight, between Saturday, the 8th, and Sunday, the 9th of June, in the year 597[z], while on his knees at the altar, without ache or struggle, his spirit gently took its flight[a].

Of his various qualities, both mental and bodily, Adamnan gives a brief but expressive summary[b]. Writing was an employment to which he was much devoted. Adamnan makes special mention[c] of books written by his hand; but from the way in which they are introduced, one would be disposed to conclude that the exercise consisted in transcription rather than composition. Three Latin hymns of considerable beauty are attributed to him, and in the ancient Liber Hymnorum[d], where they are preserved, each is accompanied by a preface describing the occasion on which it was written. His alleged Irish compositions are also poems; some specimens of which will be found in the following pages[e]. There are also in print[f] his "Farewel to Aran," a

[v] *Repulsive form.*—See note [p], p. 14, where the date 1263 is a misprint.

[w] *Fordun tells a story.*—Scotichron. xiii. 37.

[x] *He visited Ireland.*—See i. 3, p. 23, *infra*.

[y] *Alleged declaration.*—See iii. 22, p. 228, *infra*.

[z] *In the year* 597.—See Addit. Note L, p. 309.

[a] *Gently took its flight.*—See iii. 23, p. 235. The long chapter which describes the last scenes of St. Columba's life is as touchingly beautiful a narrative as is to be met with in the whole range of ancient biography.

[b] *Summary.*—See Pref. 2, p. 9, *infra*.

[c] *Adamnan makes mention.*—See ii. 8, 9, p. 116, ii. 44, p. 175, iii. 23, p. 233.

[d] *Liber Hymnorum.*—In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. See note [c], p. 260, *infra*. From this, or a similar manuscript, Colgan printed these interesting compositions, with a translation of their prefaces (Trias Thaum. p. 473-476). Dr. Smith, of Campbelton, has given rather spirited translations of these hymns in English verse (Life of St. Columba, pp. 136-143). One fasciculus of hymns from the Liber Hymnorum has been published by the Irish Archæological Society, under the learned editorship of the Rev. J. H. Todd, D. D. A succeeding portion will contain St. Columba's Latin Hymns, in all the erudition and elegance of the preceding part.

[e] *Following pages.*—See pp. 264-277, 285-289.

poem of twenty-two stanzas; and another poem[g] of seventeen stanzas, which he is supposed to have written on the occasion of his flight from king Diarmait. Besides these there is a collection of some fifteen poems, bearing his name, in one of the O'Clery MSS. preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels[h]. But much the largest collection is contained in an oblong manuscript of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Laud 615[i], which embraces everything in the shape of poem or fragment that could be called Columba's, which industry was able to scrape together at the middle of the sixteenth century. Many of the poems are ancient, but in the whole collection there is probably not one of Columcille's composition[k]. Among them are his alleged prophecies[l], the genuineness of which even Colgan called in question[m]. Copies of some of these compositions have been preserved in Ireland[n]; and from a modernized, interpolated, and

[f] *In print.*—Transactions of the Gaelic Society (Dublin, 1808), pp. 180–189. Verse 6 mentions the Dalriads under the name Pluaḋ Monaiḋ, 'the host of Monadh' (p. 182). See note [p], p. 437.

[g] *Another poem.*—In Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society, pp. 3–15.

[h] *Brussels.*—See note [a], p. 264, *infra*.

[i] *Laud* 615.—See the account at p. 265, *infra*. Edward Lhuyd gives a brief statement of its contents, and describes the book as "an old Vellum MS. consisting of 140 pages in the form of a Musick Book" (Archæol. p. 436 *c*). On a fly-leaf at the beginning is written, "Liber Gulielmi Laud Archiepi. Cant. et Cancellar. Universit. Oxon. 1636." There is no record of the scribe who copied the book, but the writing indicates the date of about 1550.

[k] *Genuine composition.*—Among its many counterfeits, it has a poem by St. Brendan of Bior on the death of Columcille (p. 39), which is open to the somewhat serious objection that St. Brendan died twenty-four years before St. Columba!

[l] *Alleged prophecies.*—As, predictions of the evils which should fall on Ireland for her crimes (pp. 22, 77, 79, 109). Another in which he predicts, among other evils, the death of the royal bishop, Cormac Mac Cullenan (p. 82). A prediction of the degeneracy of the bishops of Ireland (p. 118). Another, foretelling the wretchedness of the Irish kings, and that foreigners should come from the *east* to conquer them! (p. 119). A prediction of the desolation of Tara, Ailech, Cruachan, Emhain, and Ailleann (p. 128). A mournful prediction of the future degeneracy of the Irish people (p. 139). See note [g], p. 17, *infra*.

[m] *Colgan called in question.*—Trias Thaum. p. 472 *a*, n. 20, p. 473 *a*, n. 26.

[n] *Preserved in Ireland.*—One, consisting of ninety stanzas, entitled Merca Ċoluim ċille feċtmuin ṗia na erṡreċt, 'Columcille's Intoxication [i. e. prophetic inspiration] a week before his death,' begins Eirt ṗiom a ḋaoiċin ḃuain, 'Listen to me, O good Baithene.' Its counterpart occurs in the Laud MS. at p. 82, and is printed in a corrupt and mutilated form in O'Kearney's "Prophecies of St. Columba," pp. 32–60. This may be taken as the earliest mention of the burial of St. Columba in Down, and one of the authorities for the disturbance of his remains by Mandar the Dane (see p. 314, *infra*). The following is an extract from it:

Ticfa Manḋar na mor longḋ,
Ir beaṗaiḋ mo ċli om' ṫaṁaḋ:
An Ṫailgionn ḋo ċairṗnġir ṗin,
A ḋaoiċin ionṁuin airiṁ.

Do ċairṗnġir Patraic co ṗior
Ocur ḃriġit gan miġniorṁ,
A g-cuirp i n-Ḋun gan ail
Ir mo ċorp, a ḋaoiċin airiṁ

Giḋ aḋlaicṫear mirí in h-I
beḋ i n-Ḋun ḋo ċoil Ḋe bi,
Patraic ocur ḃriġit co m-buaiḋ
'Sar g-cuirp ar ḃ-triur in aen uaiġ.

often garbled version of them, a collection of "the Prophecies of St. Columbkille"° has been lately published in Dublin. But it is to be regretted that the editor, not content with medieval forgeries, has lent his name, and, what is worse, has degraded that of St. Columba, to the propagation of a silly imposture, which does not possess even an antiquity of ten years to take off the gloss of its barefaced pretensions.

'Mandar of the great ships shall come
And shall carry off my body from my people:
It was the Tailginn that foretold this,
O beloved Baithene, put on record.

'Patrick foretold, of a truth,
And Bridget the evil-deedless foretold,
That their bodies shall be in stainless Dun,
And my body, O Baithene, record.

'Though I be buried in Hy,
According to the will of my angerless King,
It is in Dun I shall abide in the grave;
O King of Hosts, it is true.

'Though I be buried in Hy,
I shall be in Dun, according to the living God's will;
With Patrick and Bridget the victorious;
And our bodies in the one grave.'

In these lines, the *Tailginn* denotes St. Patrick (see note, p. 351, *infra*). The following, which is the last verse but two of the poem, contains an interesting reference to the Latin hymn called the *Altus* (see pp. 253, 362, *infra*), and the *Amhra* (p. 17, *infra*). Which of his compositions is meant by his *Easparta*, or *Vespers*, is uncertain:

Mo Ailtur aingliḋe go naoiṁ,
Mo Easparta dia dardaoin,
Mo Amṁra ag rig an erca glan gle,
Annro fagḃaim tar meire.

'My *Altus*, angelic and holy;
My *Vespers* for Thursday;
My *Amhra*, with the king of the pure bright moon;
Here I leave after me.'

Such was his reputed legacy. The reader who is curious on the subject may see in "The Prophecies of St. Columba" (p. 61) a sample of the spirit in which the literary bequest has been received!

° *Prophecies of St. Columbkille.*—Edited, with "Literal Translation and Notes, by Nicholas O'Kearney," Dublin, 1856. The first in the collection, to the end of the 5th verse, corresponds to the poem in the Laud MS., beginning Tiucfa aimfear a brenainn (p. 139). At the 6th verse commences what corresponds to the poem in the Laud MS. beginning Tiucfa aimfir dubaḋ (p. 79). At the 16th verse commences what corresponds to the poem in the Laud MS. beginning baiṫfiḋer coinnle bana (p. 22). The second prophecy answers to the poem in the Laud MS. beginning Eircea frim a baiṫin buain (p. 82). The fourth prophecy, "The Fall of Tara," answers to the poem in the Laud MS. beginning Temair breg gid linṁar lid lin a fear (p. 128). The sixth and last prophecy of St. Columba, "Eiri this night," is not as old as the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill!! Had the editor of this book consulted for the credit of his undertaking, he might have gone to Oxford and copied Laud 615. By so doing he could have found prophetic matter enough, full 300 years old, to satisfy the most morbid appetite, and moreover have provided himself with a collection of very ancient and curious historical poems.

VITA
SANCTI COLUMBÆ

AUCTORE

ADAMNANO.

VITA SANCTI COLUMBÆ.

[1] IN NOMINE JESU CHRISTI ORDITUR PRÆFATIO.

BEATI nostri Patroni, Christo [2]suffragante, vitam [3]descripturus, fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens, in primis eandem lecturos quosque [4]admonere procurabo ut fidem dictis adhibeant [5]compertis, et res magis quam verba perpendant, quæ, ut æstimo, inculta et vilia esse videntur; meminerintque regnum Dei non in eloquentiæ exuberantia, sed in fidei florulentia constare[a]; et nec ob aliqua Scoticæ[b], vilis videlicet [6]linguæ, aut [7]humana

[1] Incipit prima praefatio apologiaque Adomnani abbatis sancti scriptoris in vitam S. Columbæ confessoris et abbatis C.—vite sancti Columbae S. Incipit prologus Adamnani abbatis in vita sancti Columbæ abbatis et confessoris D. *om.* F. *Codex* B *acephalus est, hodieque ad* -ro pectore verbo *in cap.* 3 *incipit.* [2] sufragante A. [3] discripturus A. F. S. [4] ammonere A. F. S. [5] conpertis A. [6] lingæ A. lingue D. [7] nomina anomala *inepte* Boll.

[a] *Constare.*—A paraphrase of 1 Cor. iv. 20, suggested by the passage in Sulp. Severus' Preface to his Life of St. Martin: "Ut res potius quam verba perpendant, et æquo animo ferant, si aures eorum vitiosus forsitan sermo perculerit; quia regnum Dei non in eloquentia, sed in fide constat. Meminerint etiam salutem sæculo non ab oratoribus, sed a piscatoribus esse prædicatam."—Lib. Armac. fol. 191 *aa*; Opp. Ed. Hornii, 1654, p. 484. Other ideas, and the employment of two prologues in the present case, seem to have been derived from that writer's Preface and Prologue.

[b] *Scoticæ vilis linguæ.*—That is, *Hibernicæ*: "Hæc [Hibernia] autem proprie patria Scottorum est."—Bede, H. E. i. 1. See *Index.* S. Gregory characterized a cognate dialect as "Lingua Britanniæ quæ nihil aliud noverat quam barbarum frendere."—(Opp. i. 862.) Even a Saxon king, "qui Saxonum tantum linguam noverat" superseded his Irish-taught bishop Agilberct, "*pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ.*" —(Bede, H. E. iii. 7.) It was the wonder of Anastasius how Johannes Scotus "vir ille barbarus in finibus mundi positus" was able to comprehend and translate the Greek tongue.—(Ussher, Syll. Ep. xxiv.) The incongruity of Irish proper names and the Latin narrative, which the author here acknowledges, is styled a want of *qualitas* by a nearly contemporary

onomata[c], aut gentium, [8]obscura locorumve vocabula, quæ, ut puto, inter alias [9]exterarum gentium [10]diversas [11]vilescunt linguas, utilium, et non sine divina opitulatione gestarum, [12]despiciant rerum pronuntiationem. Sed et hoc lectorem [13]admonendum putavimus, quod de beatæ memoriæ viro plura, studio brevitatis, etiam [14]memoria digna, a nobis [15]sint [16]prætermissa, et quasi pauca de plurimis [17]ob evitandum fastidium [18]lecturorum sint [19]caraxata[d]. Et hoc, ut arbitror, quisque hæc lecturus forte annotabit, quod minima de maximis per populos fama, de eodem beato viro [20]divulgata, disperserit, ad horum [21]etiam paucorum [22]comparationem, quæ nunc breviter [23]caraxare disponimus. [24]Hinc, post hanc primam præfatiunculam, de nostri vocamine præsulis in exordio secundæ, Deo auxiliante, intimare exordiar.

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[1]IN NOMINE JESU CHRISTI
SECUNDA PRÆFATIO.

VIR erat vitæ venerabilis et beatæ memoriæ, monasteriorum pater et fundator[e], cum Iona [2]propheta [3]homonymum [4]sortitus nomen; nam licet diverso

[8] *ad* exterarum *om.* C. [9] A. D. F. S. externarum. Colg. Boll. [10] *om.* D. [11] vilescant C. *in marg. sive* vilefaciant Mess. [12] dispiciant A. [13] ammonendum A. F. ammonendi D. [14] memoriæ D. F. [15] sunt C. [16] prætermisa. [17] ad D. [18] lectorum C. D. F. S. [19] C. D. F. S. craxata A. *octies in hac vita, quinquies præterea in tractatu De Locis Sanctis, hæc forma, verisimiliter Adamnani propria, adhibetur. Stephanus Vitus, cujus apographo Codicis A. usi sunt Colganus et Bollandistæ,* exarare *hic et alibi substituit;* volens, *ut ait Baertius,* plus quam oportebat sapere. [20] devulgata A. D. [21] *om.* C. [22] conparationem A. [23] C. D. F. S. craxare A. exarare Colg. Boll. [24] *ad* exordiar *om.* D.

[1] Incipit præfatio secunda C. F. S. Incipit secundus prologus D. [2] profeta A. [3] omonimon A. D. F. S. homonymum C. [4] sortitus est C.

writer in the Book of Armagh, who apologizes for expressing himself in his native language, after this manner: "Finiunt hæc pauca per Scotticam inperfecte scripta; non quod ego non potuissem Romana condere lingua, sed quod vix in sua Scotia hæ fabulæ agnosci possunt: sin autem alias per Latinam degestae fuissent non tam incertus fuisset aliquis in eis, quam imperitus, quid legisset, aut quam linguam sonasset, pro habundantia Scotaicorum nominum non habentium qualitatem." —(fol. 18 *bb.*) Jocelin, in the twelfth century, took another way of overcoming the difficulty: "In multis, etiam vocabula locorum, et etiam personarum, ob inconditam verborum barbariem devitamus, ne latinis auribus fastidium aut horrorem ingeramus."—(Vit. S. Patricii, c. 93.) Many of the proper names are for this reason translated by Adamnan in whole or part.

[c] *Onomata.*—On the use of Greek words, see the note at *Machera*, ii. 39.

[d] *Caraxata.*—The verb χαράσσω in the form of *charaxo* had been adopted by Latin writers as early as Prudentius. Subsequently it came into very general use, and is frequently employed by Adamnan both in this work and in his treatise "De Locis Sanctis."

[e] *Monasteriorum fundator.*—Jocelin represents

trium diversarum [5]sono linguarum, [6]unam tamen eandemque rem significat hoc, quod [7]Hebraice dicitur IONA[f], [8]Græcitas vero [9]ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ[g] [10]vocitat, et Latina lingua COLUMBA[h] nuncupatur. Tale tantumque vocabulum homini Dei non [11]sine divina [12]inditum providentia creditur. Nam et juxta Evangeliorum fidem Spiritus Sanctus super Unigenitum æterni Patris [13]descendisse monstratur in forma illius aviculæ quæ columba dicitur: unde plerumque in sacrosanctis libris [14]columba mystice Spiritum Sanctum significare [15]dignoscitur. Proinde et Salvator in evangelio suo præcepit discipulis ut columbarum in corde puro insertam [16]simplicitatem [17]continerent; columba etenim [18]simplex et innocens est avis. Hoc itaque vocamine et homo simplex innocensque nuncupari debuit qui in se columbinis moribus Spiritui Sancto hospitium præbuit: cui nomini non inconvenienter congruit illud quod in Proverbiis scriptum est,

[5] *om.* D. [6] nomine *add.* D. [7] Ebraice A. [8] Grecitas A. [9] ΠΗΡΙCΤΗΡΑ A. F. S. ΝΗΠΙΟΤΗΤΑ peristera C. [10] vocitatur D. [11] esse *add.* F. [12] providentia inditum esse credimus C. D. S. [13] filium *add.* C. D. [14] *om.* C. [15] dinoscitur A. S. [16] semplicitatem A. [17] contenerent A. [18] semplex A. S., et simplex innocensque nuncupari debuit C.

him as the founder of a hundred monasteries. —(Vit. S. Patricii, c. 89.) O'Donnell increases the number to three hundred, including churches and monasteries in Ireland and Britain; of which one hundred were on the coast.—(Vit. iii. 42, Tr. Th. p. 438.) Colgan has collected the names of sixty-six, of which he was, either directly or indirectly, the founder.—(Tr. Th. pp. 493-495.)

[f] *Hebraice Iona.*—The word יונה occurs in the Old Testament, not only as a proper name, but as a common noun, signifying "a dove." Columbanus, in the superscription of his epistle to Pope Boniface IV., styles himself "rara avis Palumbus," and, as he proceeds, observes: "Sed talia suadenti, utpote torpenti actu, ac dicenti potius quam facienti mihi, *Jonæ* Hebraice, *Peristeræ* Græce, *Columbæ* Latine, potius tantum vestræ idiomate linguæ nancto, licet prisco nitar Hebræo nomine, cujus et pene subivi naufragium."—(Fleming, Collectan. p. 144 *a*.)

[g] *Peristera.*—The word is written with long vowels ΠΗΡΙCΤΗΡΑ in the Reichenau and St. Gall MSS. Thus in the Book of Armagh, we find Hϛo, HCTΩTE, BHATVC, HPAT. In Canisius' MS. the writer, mistaking the Greek capitals, gives the word ΝΗΠΙΟΤΗΤΑ, in which, as an inflexion of νηπιότης, he may have supposed some propriety of sentiment. Pinkerton, who supplies the deficiency at the beginning of his exemplar, the Cod. Brit., from the meagre text of Canisius, instead of the fuller copy employed by Colgan and the Bollandists, gives the word in its corrupt form, and observes in the note: "Quod ΝΗΠΙΟΤΗΤΑ hic vult non video."—(p. 54.)

[h] *Columba.*—The Irish call him Colum, adding, as a distinction, cille, 'of the churches,' and this title was becoming general about the year 700, for Ven. Bede observes: "Qui videlicet Columba nunc a nonnullis composito a Cella et Columba nomine Columcelli vocatur."—(H. E. v. 9.) So it was understood in Germany also: "Cognomento apud suos Columkille, eo quod multarum cellarum, id est monasteriorum vel ecclesiarum institutor, fundator, et rector extitit."—Notker Balb. (Martyrol. 9 Jun.) The name Columba was a common one in his day, and there are twenty saints

Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiæ multæ[i]. Hic igitur noster præsul non [19]immerito, non solum [20]a diebus infantiæ[k] hoc vocabulo, Deo donante, adornatus, proprio ditatus est, sed etiam [21]præmissis multorum [22]cyclis annorum ante [23]suæ nativitatis diem cuidam Christi militi, Spiritu revelante Sancto, quasi filius repromissionis[l] mirabili prophetatione[m] nominatus est. Nam quidam proselytus[n] [24]Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii [25]episcopi[o] discipulus, [26]Maucteus[p] nomine, ita de nostro [27]prophetizavit Patrono, sicuti nobis ab antiquis

[19] inmerito A. F. S. [20] adiebus A. *duo verba sæpe in cod.* A. *more Hibernico cohærent.* [21] præmisis A. [22] circulis D. [23] *om.* D. [24] Britto D. [25] archiepiscopi D. [26] Maucteus A. F. S. Moctheus D. Maueteus C. *in cujus errorem*, MAVETEUS *tradens, ineptius discedit Pink.* Mauctaneus Colg. Boll. [27] profetizavit A.

in the Irish calendar so called. It is observable that in continental hagiology Columba is a female appellation; whereas, among the Irish, with one or two trifling exceptions, it belongs to the opposite sex. We have in Adamnan various Latin forms of the name, as Columba, Columbanus, Columbus, and Columb. The first bishop of Dunkeld was Columba, who flourished about 640.

[i] *Divitiæ multæ.*—Prov. xxii. 1. The quotation agrees with the Vulgate. Its application of *nomen* is peculiar.

[k] *A diebus infantiæ.*—This shows that Columba was an original name. Irish writers pretend that he was christened *Crimthann* (Cꞇiomṫann 'a fox'), but that his playmates designated him Columba on account of his gentleness. It may have been that he had two names, one baptismal and the other secular, as in the case of Fintan *or* Munna, Fintan *or* Berach, Cronan *or* Mochua, Carthach *or* Mochuda, Darerca *or* Monenna, in the Irish calendar; Munghu *or* Kentigern in the Scotch; Cadoc *or* Cathmael in the British; Nuallohc *or* Cuthbert in the Saxon. It is a curious coincidence that a distinguished contemporary of our saint was Columba son of Crimthann. See the first note on ii. 36, *inf.*

[l] *Filius repromissionis.*—"Terra repromissionis" is a common name in the lives of Irish saints for the Holy Land.

[m] *Prophetatione.*—Thirty years, and its multiples, were the term which the Irish legends generally allowed for the fulfilment of such predictions. St. Patrick prophesied the birth of S. David and S. Kieran 30 years before (Tr. Th. p. 208); of S. Comgall, S. Molash, S. Colman, S. Mac Nisse, 60 years beforehand (*Ib.* pp. 88; 209 *b*; Act. SS. Jun. Sep. i. p. 664); of S. Ciaran and S. Brendan, 120 years in advance (Tr. Th. pp. 145 *b*; 158). The life of S. Columba in the Cod. Salmant. expressly limits this prophecy to 60 years. (Tr. Th. p. 325.)

[n] *Proselytus.*—Gr. προσήλυτος, *advena, peregrinus, qui aliunde venit.* See the examples of the term at i. 26, 30, 32, 44 *infra.*

[o] *Patricii episcopi.*—Cummian, in his Paschal epistle, written *circ.* 634, calls him "sanctus Patricius papa noster."—(Ussher, Syll. Ep. xi.) He is mentioned in Ven. Bede's Martyrology at Mar. 17. His Hymn by Seachnall is preserved in manuscripts of the eighth century. His Confession in the Book of Armagh was transcribed, about the year 800, from his autograph, then partly illegible; yet Ryves and Ledwich called his existence in question; and a chivalrous German has lately asserted "ficta sunt quæ Patricii feruntur scripta. Falsa quæ Vitis traduntur. Incertum est vel Prosperi testimonium."—C. G. Schœll, Eccl. Brit. Scotorumque Hist. Font. p. 77 (Berol. 1851).

[p] *Maucteus.*—St. Mochta of Lughmagh, or Louth, is commemorated in the Calendars at

traditum expertis compertum habetur. In novissimis, [28]ait, [29]seculi [29]temporibus filius nasciturus est, cujus nomen Columba per omnes insularum [30]oceani [31]provincias [32]divulgabitur notum; novissimaque orbis tempora [33]clare [34]illustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum [35]monasteriolorum agelluli unius sepisculæ intervallo disterminabuntur[r]: homo valde Deo carus, et grandis coram ipso meriti. Hujus igitur nostri Columbæ vitam et mores describens, in primis [36]brevi sermonis textu, in quantum valuero, strictim comprehendam, et ante lectoris oculos sanctam ejus conversationem pariter exponam. Sed et de miraculis ejus succincte quædam, quasi legentibus avide prægustanda, ponam[s]; quæ tamen inferius, per [37]tres divisa libros, plenius explicabuntur. Quorum Primus [38]propheticas revelationes; Secundus vero divinas per ipsum virtutes effectas; Ter-

[28] inquit C. D. [29] *transp.* C. D. [30] ociani A. [31] provintias F. [32] devulgabitur A. [33] *om* D. [34] inlustrabit A. S. [35] monasteriorum C. [36] brevis C. [37] tris A. [38] profeticas A.

Aug. 19, and is to be distinguished from St. Mochta *de Insula*, son of Cernachan, who died in 922 at his church of Inis-Mochta, now Inishmot, in the county of Meath. The former, in his life, is described as "ortus ex Britannia," and as landing at Omeath, in the county of Louth, with twelve followers. Hence his title "proselytus." Tighernach and the Annals of Ulster record his death at 534: "Dormitatio Moctai discipuli Patricii, xvi. Kal. Sept. Sic ipse scripsit in epistola sua *Mocteus* [Macutenus —*Ann. Ult.*] *peccator prespiter, sancti Patricii discipulus, in Domino salutem.*" By O'Donnell he is styled "Hiberniensium sacerdotum primicerius" (Colg. Tr. Th. 389 *b*); and in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick "Patricii Archipræsbyter," (iii. 98. Tr. Th. p. 167). He may be the Maucteus or Mochod who is named in the Annals of Ulster at 471, 511, 527. The Calendars style him *bishop*, but the authorities here cited limit his rank to the priesthood. See Colg. Act. SS. pp. 729–737; Calendar, 24 Mar. and 19 Aug.; Todd's Introd. to Obits of C. C. p. LXIX.

[r] *Disterminabuntur.*—We have no record of any church or lands of St. Columba being situate near St. Mochta's church of Louth, nor of any other church under this saint's patronage, except Louth, and Kilmore in the barony and county of Monaghan. The ancient chapel of Ardpatrick, which lay about half a mile southeast, and Cnoc-na-seangain, where the abbey of Knock was founded, in 1148, are both in the parish of Louth, and one of them may originally have been appropriated as in the text. O'Donnell refers this prophecy to Iona, and represents St. Mochta as sojourning there before the settlement of Columba.—i. 3 (Tr. Th. p. 389 *b*.) But this is opposed to the statement in St. Mochta's Life: "Alio tempore offerente ei rege, scilicet filio Colcan Aedo, agrum accipere renuit, dicens; Nascetur in aquilonali Hiberniæ plaga sanctus nomine Columba, electus Deo et dilectus, cui a Deo ager iste datus: cui non tantum Hibernia sed et Britannia serviet;" cap. 16 (Act. SS. p. 730 *b*); where—(notwithstanding a great anachronism, for St. Mochta died in 534; whereas Aodh son of Colga, the alleged donor, lived till 606)—we have evidence that Ireland was referred to, and that part of it in which Louth is situate, for this prince was lord of Oriel and Orior. Four Mast. A.C. 606; Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vi. p. 415).

[s] *Prægustanda ponam.*—This passage, which is found in all manuscripts and printed editions, proves the genuineness of the first chapter. See the first note on it; *infra* p. 11.

tius angelicas apparitiones, [39]continebit, et quasdam super hominem Dei cælestis claritudinis [40]manifestationes. Nemo itaque me de hoc tam prædicabili viro aut mentitum æstimet, aut quasi, quædam dubia vel incerta scripturum: sed ea quæ majorum fideliumque virorum tradita expertorum [41]congrua relatione [42]narraturum, et sine ulla ambiguitate [43]caraxaturum sciat, et vel ex his quæ ante nos inserta paginis [44]reperire potuimus, [45]vel ex his quæ [46]auditu ab expertis quibusdam fidelibus antiquis, sine ulla dubitatione narrantibus, diligentius sciscitantes, didicimus.

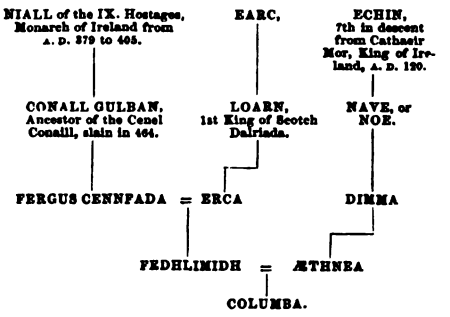
[1]SANCTUS igitur[t] Columba [2]nobilibus [3]fuerat oriundus genitalibus[u], patrem [4]habens [5]Fedilmithum filium [6]Ferguso[w]; matrem [7]Aethneam nomine,

[39] contenebit A. [39-40] manifestationes continebit C. [40] manifestationis A. [41] *legi nequit in* A. cognovi C. F. S. congruo D. [42] narrantium C. narratur D. [43] craxaturum A. exaraturum Colg. Boll. [44] repperire A. [45] ut C. [46] audivi C.

[1] Incipit liber primus de propheticis revelationibus C. S. Explicit secundus prologus in vita sancti Columbe abbatis et confessoris Incipit primus liber in vita sanctissimi Columbe abbatis et confessoris D. [2] ex *add.* D. [3] fuit D. [4] *om.* D. Fedelmitum C. Fedilmithum A. F. S. Feidlimyd D. Fedhlimidium Mess. [6] A. F. Ferguis D. Fergusii C. [7] A. S. Aetheam F. Ethneam D.

[t] *Igitur.*—In this manner the Life of St. Martin and many other early biographies commence. Cummineus' short life of our saint begins so; and C. D. F.S., which are followed by Canisius, Messingham, and Pinkerton, make this the commencement of chap. I. The probability is, that Adamnan transferred to this part of his prologue the opening sentences of some brief memoir which was previously in existence: for he professes to borrow "ex his quæ ante nos inserta paginis reperire potuimus."

[u] *Nobilibus genitalibus.*—A member of the reigning family in Ireland, and closely allied to that of Dalriada in Scotland, he was eligible to the sovereignty of his own country. His half-uncle Muircertach was on the throne when he was born, and he lived during the successive reigns of his cousins Domhnall and Fergus, and Eochaidh; of his first cousins Ainmire and Baedan; and of Aedh son of Ainmire. To this circumstance, as much as to his piety or abilities, was owing the immense influence which he possessed, and the consequent celebrity of his conventual establishments: in fact, he enjoyed a kind of spiritual monarchy collaterally with the secular dominion of his relatives, being sufficiently distant in Iona to avoid collision, yet near enough to exercise an authority made up of the patriarchal and monastic. His immediate lineage stands thus:—



[w] *Filium Ferguso.*—Some of the printed editions have Fergusii, to avoid the apparent incorrectness of case, but unnecessarily, for the above is the regular form of the old Irish genitive. So *Aido* at i. 10, 13, 43.

[8] cujus pater Latine Filius Navis dici potest, Scotica vero lingua [9] Mac Nave. Hic anno secundo post [10] Culedrebinæ[x] bellum, ætatis vero suæ xlii.[y] de [11] Scotia ad Britanniam[z] pro Christo [12] peregrinari volens[a], enavigavit. Qui [13] et a puero [14] Christiano deditus tirocinio, et sapientiæ studiis integritatem corporis et animæ puritatem, Deo donante, custodiens, quamvis in terra positus, cœlestibus se aptum moribus ostendebat. Erat enim aspectu angelicus, sermone nitidus, opere sanctus, ingenio optimus, consilio magnus, per annos xxxiv.[b] insulanus miles [15] conversatus. Nullum etiam unius horæ intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi, incumberet. Jejunationum[c] quoque et vigiliarum [16] indefessis [17] laboribus sine ulla [18] intermissione [19] die noctuque [20] ita occupatus, [21] ut supra humanam possibilitatem uniuscujusque pondus specialis [22] videretur operis. Et inter hæc omnibus carus, hilarem [23] semper faciem ostendens [24] sanctam, Spiritus Sancti gaudio [25] intimis lætificabatur præcordiis.

[8] *usque ad* Nave *violenter deletus in* S. *om.* D. [9] A. F. Macanaua C. [10] A. Culedreibhne C. D. Culae drebinae S. Cule-drehtinæ *male* Colg. Boll. [11] Scothea S. Hybernia D. [12] perigrinare A. [13] etiam C. D. [14] deditus Christiano C. [15] est versatus C. conversatus est F. D. conservatus S. [16] indefesis A. indefessus C. [17] laborationibus C. D. F. S. [18] intermisione A. [19] diu C. [20] occupatus ita C. [21] erat *add.* F. [22] operis videretur C. [23] *om.* F. semper hilarem D. [24] sanctorum specie Sancti Spiritus C. sancto Boll. [25] in *add.* D.

[x] *Culedrebinæ bellum.*—The battle of Cooldrevny was fought in the year 561. See the note on the name, i. 7, *inf.*

[y] *Aetatis suæ xlii.*—"Navigatio Coluim-cille ad insulam Ia etatis sue xlii."—*Tighernach*, ad an. 563.

[z] *Ad Britanniam.*—"Venit de Hibernia . . . . . Columba Brittaniam."—Bede, H. E. iii. 4. This one statement ought to have been sufficient at any time to prove where *Scotia* lay.

[a] *Peregrinari volens.*—St. Columba's removal to Scotland, though it could hardly be called a change of country in his day, has proved a fruitful subject for legendary speculation, which O'Donnell and Keating have detailed at length.—(Vit. S. Col. Lib. ii. c. 1–10, Tr. Th. p. 408; History of Ireland, reg. Aedh.) With these should be consulted the judicious observations of O'Donovan on the Four Mast. at 557 (vol. i. p. 197); the extract in Ussher's Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17 (Works, vi. p. 466); Act. SS. Jun. ii. pp. 194 *b*–197 *a*; Lanigan, Ec. Hist. vol. ii. p. 144; King's Church Hist. vol. i. p. 79. The present expression implies that the saint left Ireland of his own accord; and this opinion is confirmed by a passage in the Life from the Salamanca MS.: "Postquam vir sanctus ad ea, quæ quondam mente proposuerat, implenda ad peregrinationis videlicet propositum, et ad convertendos ad fidem Pictos opportunum tempus adesse videret, patriam suam reliquit, et ad insulam Ionam, prospero navigavit cursu."—Cap. 6. (Tr. Th. p. 326 *a*.)

[b] *Per annos xxxiv.*—Bede says: "Post annos circiter triginta et duos ex quo ipse Brittaniam prædicaturus adiit."—(H. E. iii. 4.) But the number in the text is confirmed by Adamnan at iii. 22, 23, *infra.*

[c] *Jejunationum.*—A curious legend, illustrative of his extreme abstinence, is related in the Leabhar Breac, fol. 108 *b*. See O'Donnell, Vit. S. Columbæ, iii. 34 (Tr. Th. p. 437 *a*.)

[1]NUNC PRIMI LIBRI [2]CAPITULATIONES[d] ORDIUNTUR.

De virtutum miraculis brevis narratio[e].
De sancto Finteno abbate, Tailchani filio, quomodo de ipso sanctus Columba [3]prophetavit.
De Erneneo, filio Craseni, [3]prophetia ejus.
De adventu Cainnichi quomodo prænuntiavit.
De periculo sancti Colmani gente Mocusailni sancto Columbæ revelato.
De Cormaco nepote Letha [3]prophetationes ejus.
De bellis[f].
De regibus[g].
De duobus pueris secundum verbum ejus in fine septimanæ mortuis.
De Colcio[h] filio Aido Draigniche, et de quodam occulto matris ipsius peccato.
De signo mortis ejusdem viri [3]prophetia sancti Columbæ.
De Laisrano hortulano.
De Ceto magno quomodo [3]prophetavit.
De quodam Baitano, qui cum cæteris ad maritimum remigavit desertum.
De quodam Nemano ficto [4]pœnitente, qui postea secundum verbum sancti carnem equæ furtivæ comedit.
De illo infelici viro qui cum sua genitrice peccavit.
De I vocali littera quæ una in [5]Psalterio defuit.
De libro in [6]hydriam[i] cadente.
De corniculo atramenti inclinato.

[1] *Omnia usque ad cap.* 2 *desunt in* C. D. F. S. *Elenchus in* Colg. Boll. *ad numerum capitulorum expletus est.* [2] Kapitulationes A. [3] profet. A. [4] penetente A. [5] salterio A. [6] ydriam A.

[d] *Capitulationes.*—These summaries are evidently genuine. They differ in expression from the headings of the chapters, in two cases embrace several chapters under a single title, and at the close leave seven chapters unnoticed. In one instance they supply a proper name not mentioned in the narrative. Capitulationes of Books ii. and iii. are wanting in the Reichenau MS., but are supplied by the Cod. Brit., though of lower authority. Colgan and the Bollandists, following S. White's copy, have altered this table so as to correspond exactly with the chapters, supplying deficient titles from the sequel.

[e] *Narratio.*—Chap. 1. This and the succeeding five tituli follow the order of the narrative.

[f] *De Bellis.*—Comprehends chaps. 7, 8. The chapters are not numbered in the original, but for the convenience of reference, figures are employed in the present work.

[g] *De regibus.*—Chapters 9–15.

[h] *De Colcio.*—This title and the following one belong to chap. 17.

[i] *Hydriam.*—"Aquarium vas" in chap. 24.

De adventu alicujus Aidani qui jejunium solvit.
De aliquo misero viro, qui ad fretum clamitabat, mox morituro.
De civitate Romanæ partis, super quam ignis de cœlo [7]cecidit.
De Laisrano filio Feradaig, quomodo [8]monachos probavit in labore.
De Fechno [9]Binc.
De Cailtano monacho.
De duobus peregrinis.
De Artbranano sene, quem in Scia insula [10]baptizavit.
De naviculæ transmotatione juxta stagnum Loch-diæ[k].
De Gallano filio Fachtni quem dæmones rapuere[l].
De Lugidio Claudo[m].
De Enano[n] filio [11]Gruth.
De [12]presbitero qui erat in Triota.
De Erco furunculo.
De Cronano poeta.
De Ronano filio Aido[o] filii Colcen, et Colmano Cane filio Aileni, [13]prophetia Sancti.

INCIPIT PRIMI LIBRI TEXTUS, DE [13]PROPHETICIS REVELATIONIBUS.

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS BREVIS NARRATIO.

VIR itaque venerandus qualia virtutum documenta dederit, in hujus libelli primordiis, secundum nostram [1]præmissam superius [2]promissiunculam[p], bre-

[7] cicidit A. [8] manacos A. [9] *obscure* A. [10] babtizavit A. [11] *sic* A. [12] prespitero A. [13] profetia A. [1] præmisam A. [2] promisiunculam A.

[k] *Loch-diæ.*—This title belongs to chap. 34, but the name does not occur there, so that this must be regarded as an original authority.

[l] *Rapuere.*—Chap. 35. So far the order is observed from cap. 17.

[m] *De Lugidio Claudo.*—Chap. 38. But 36 and 37 are unnoticed in this recital.

[n] *De Enano.*—Chap. 39, where the name is "Nemano filio Gruthriche."

[o] *De Ronano filio Aido.*—Chap. 43. The order is observed from chap. 38, but the seven remaining chapters are unnoticed. Colgan and Baertius have supplied the deficiency. On the genitive form *Aido* see note, p. 8, on *Ferguso*, and i. 10, 43, 49.

[p] *Promissiunculam.*—He refers to the passage

viter sunt demonstranda. Diversorum namque infestationes [3]morborum homines, in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, virtute orationum, perpessos sanavit[r]: dæmonumque[s] infestas ipse unus homo, et innumeras contra se belligerantes catervas, [4]oculis corporalibus visas, et incipientes mortiferos super ejus [5]cœnobialem cœtum inferre morbos, hac nostra de insula retrotrusas primaria[t], Deo auxiliante, repulit[u]. Bestiarum furiosam rabiem, partim mortificatione, partim forti repulsione, Christo adjuvante [6]compescuit[w]. Tumores quoque fluctuum, instar montium aliquando in magna tempestate consurgentium, ipso ocius orante, sedati humiliatique sunt[x]; navisque ipsius, in qua et ipse casu navigabat, tunc temporis, facta [7]tranquillitate, portum appulsa est optatum. In regione Pictorum aliquantis diebus manens, inde reversus ut magos confunderet, contra flatus contrarios [8]venti erexit velum, et ita veloci cursu ejus navicula enatans festinabat, ac si secundum habuisset ventum[y]. Aliis quoque temporibus, venti navigantibus contrarii in secundos, ipso orante, conversi sunt[z]. In eadem supra memorata regione lapidem de flumine candidum detulit, quem ad aliquas profuturum benedixit sanitates[a]: qui lapis, contra naturam, in aqua intinctus, quasi pomum supernatavit. Hoc divinum miraculum coram

[3] membrorum Colg. Boll. [4] occulis A. [5] cenubialem A. [6] conpiscuit A. [7] tranquilitate A. [8] ponti Colg. Boll.

in the 2nd Preface, which has been noticed at foot of p. 7. But the present chapter is wanting in all the MSS. except A. (for B. is mutilated in this part), and Lanigan questions its genuineness on the grounds that "besides the difference of style between it and the rest of the work, the subjects mentioned in it are not in general of that kind, of which Adamnan professes to treat in the first book."—(Ec. Hist. ii. p. 110.) The former of these objections is easily disposed of by denying any material difference of style, the very word *promissiuncula* for instance, being quite Adamnanic (see the Index, voce *Diminutiva*); this chapter, moreover, being a dilation of the 25th chapter of Cummineus, and in many places adopting his very words.—(Mabillon, Act. SS. Ben. Ord. vol. i. p. 346; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 323 *b*; Act. SS. Junii ii. p. 188 *b*; Pinkerton, Vit. Antiq. p. 43.) As to the second objection, Adamnan's own words referred to above are a decisive answer. The copies which John Fordun and O'Donnell used contained this chapter, for they both relate the story of Oswald, and cite Adamnan by name as their authority.—(Scotichron. iii. 42, vol. i. p. 149; Vit. S. Col. iii. 66, 67, Tr. Th. p. 443 *b*.)

[r] *Sanavit.*—See ii. 4, 5, 6, 18, 31, 33, 40.

[s] *Dæmonum.*—See ii. 11, 16, 17, iii. 8, 13.

[t] *Primaria.*—The supremacy of Hy among the Columbian monasteries is thus expressed by Bede: "In quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret."—H. E. iii. 4.

[u] *Repulit.*—Related below at iii. 8.

[w] *Compescuit.*—Two instances, ii. 26 and 27.

[x] *Humiliati sunt.*—Related below at ii. 12.

[y] *Ventum.*—On Loch Ness, ii. 34.

[z] *Conversi sunt.*—See i. 4, ii. 15, 45.

[a] *Sanitates.*—Related in ii. 33.

Brudeo rege[b], et familiaribus ejus, factum est. In eadem itidem provincia, [9]cujusdam plebei credentis mortuum puerum suscitavit[c], quod est majoris miraculi, vivumque et incolumem patri et matri assignavit. Alio in tempore idem vir beatus juvenis diaconus, in [10]Hibernia apud Findbarrum sanctum episcopum commanens, cum ad sacrosancta mysteria necessarium defuisset vinum, virtute orationis, aquam puram in verum vertit vinum[d]. Sed et cœlestis ingens claritudinis lumen, et in noctis tenebris, et in luce diei, super eum, aliquando quibusdam ex fratribus, diversis et separatis vicibus, apparuit effusum[e]. Sanctorum quoque angelorum dulces et suavissimas frequentationes luminosas habere meruit[f]. Quorumdam justorum animas crebro ab angelis ad summa cœlorum vehi, Sancto revelante Spiritu, videbat[g]. Sed et reproborum alias ad inferna a dæmonibus [11]ferri sæpenumero aspiciebat[h]. Plurimorum in carne mortali adhuc conversantium futura plerumque prænuntiabat merita, aliorum læta[i], aliorum tristia[k]. In bellorumque terrificis fragoribus hoc a Deo virtute orationum [12]impetravit, ut alii reges victi, et alii regnatores efficerentur victores[l]. Hoc tale [13]privilegium non tantum in hac præsenti vita conversanti, sed etiam post ejus de carne transitum[m], quasi cuidam victoriali [14]et fortissimo propugnatori, a Deo omnium sanctorum condonatum est honorificatore. Hujus talis honorificentiæ viro honorabili ab Omnipotente cœlitus collatæ etiam unum proferemus exemplum, quod [15]Ossualdo[n] regnatori Saxonico, pridie quam contra

[9] *om.* Colg. Boll. [10] Ebernia A. [11] *om.* Colg. rapi Boll. [12] inpetravit A. [13] praevilegium A. [14] *om.* Colg. Boll. [15] Oswaldo Colg. Boll.

[b] *Brudeo rege.*—The Pictish king, i. 37, ii. 35.

[c] *Suscitavit.*—Related in ii. 32.

[d] *Aquam in vinum.*—*Infra*, ii. 1.

[e] *Lumen effusum.*—*Infra*, iii. 17 to 21.

[f] *Frequentationes meruit.*—*Infra*, iii. 3, 4, 5, 16, 22.

[g] *Vehi videbat.*—*Infra*, iii. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14.

[h] *Ferri aspiciebat.*—*Infra*, i. 35, 39, ii. 23, 25.

Læta.—*Infra*, i. 3, 10, 11, 31, 46, ii. 39.

[k] *Tristia.*—*Infra*, i. 16, 21, 22, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 47, ii. 22.

[l] *Victi, victores.*—*Infra*, i. 7, 8, 12.

[m] *De carne transitum.*—Some of St. Columba's posthumous virtues are recorded in ii. 45, 46.

[n] *Ossualdo.*—Aedilfrid, king of Bernicia, who had unjustly excluded his brother-in-law Edwin from the throne of the Deiri, was slain by Redwald, King of the East Angles, in 616; whereupon the kingdom of Northumbria reverted to Edwin; and the children of the deceased king, of whom Oswald, then twelve years old, was the second, were compelled to take refuge in Scotland, where, during the lifetime of Edwin, they remained in exile. After seventeen years' ineffectual efforts to shake off the Saxon yoke, Cadwalla, the British king, revolted, and, with the aid of Penda, king of Mercia, gained a decisive victory, and slew Edwin at Hatfield, in Yorkshire, Oct. 12, 633.—(Bede, H. E. ii. 12, 20.) In the ensuing year Cadwalla cut off Osric, son of Aelfric, who had

[16]Catlonem[o] Britonum regem fortissimum præliaretur, ostensum erat. Nam cum idem Ossualdus rex esset in procinctu belli castra metatus, quadam die in [17]suo papilione supra pulvillum dormiens, sanctum Columbam in visu videt forma coruscantem angelica; cujus alta proceritas[p] vertice nubes tangere videbatur. Qui scilicet [18]vir beatus, suum regi proprium revelans nomen, in medio

[16] Cathlonem Fordun, iii. 42. Cathonem Boll. [17] sua A. [18] *om* Colg. Boll.

succeeded to the throne of Deira; and, in 635, slew Eanfrid, King of Bernicia, Oswald's eldest brother. Proceeding to lay waste Northumbria, he encountered Oswald, on whom the united government had devolved, and was slain in battle.—See note [z], p. 16 *infra*.

[o] *Catlonem.*—"Cædualla, quamvis nomen et professionem haberet Christiani, adeo tamen erat animo ac moribus barbarus, ut ne sexui quidem muliebri, vel innocuæ parvulorum parceret ætati, quin universos atrocitate ferina morti per tormenta contraderet, multo tempore totas eorum provincias debacchando pervagatus, ac totum genus Anglorum Brittaniæ finibus erasurum se esse deliberans."—(Bede, H. E. ii. 20.) The battle of Hæthfelth, under its British name, is thus recorded by Nennius: "Duo filii Edguiin erant, et cum ipso corruerunt in bello *Meicen*, et de origine illius nunquam iteratum est regnum, quia non evasit unus de genere illius de isto bello, sed interfecti omnes sunt cum illo ab exercitu Catguollauni, regis Guendotæ regionis."—(Hist. Brit. § 61. Ed. Stev.) Bede and the Saxon Chronicle give 633 as the date, but Tighernach 631, and the Annals of Ulster, and of Cambria 630:

A. D. 629. "Obsessio Catguollaun regis in insula Glannauc" [Priest-holme, near Anglesey].—*Ann. Camb.*

A. D. 630. "Gueith [Hibernice cath, 'prælium'] Meiceren; et ibi interfectus est Etguin cum duobus filiis suis. Catguollaun autem victor fuit."—*Ann. Camb.*

A. D. 631. Cath ꝏiꝑ Ꝼꝼuin mac Ailli [prælium inter Eduin filium Ailli] regem Saxonum qui totam Britanniam regnavit, in quo victus est a Cathlon rege Britonum et Panta Saxono. —*Tighernach.*

A. D. 630. Bellum filii Ailli.—*Ann. Ult.*

[p] *Alta proceritas.*—Though the "nota major imago" was of old an acknowledged property of the shades (Virgil, Æn. ii. 773; Ovid, Fast. ii. 503; Juvenal, xiii. 221; Tacitus, Ann. xi. 21; Hist. i. 86), it might be that Oswald, fresh from Scotland, and probably from Iona, was impressed by the description he had heard of S. Columba's personal appearance, which, being matter of only thirty-six years' tradition, was likely to be fresh and true. He had heard that the saint had mingled a good deal in military matters before his departure from Ireland, and that he had the credit of more than once turning the scale of victory by his prayers. The tradition of S. Columba's great stature may subsequently have given a character to the vision which Alexander II. saw in the island of Kerara, when on his way against Haco, in 1263: "King Alexander, then lying in Kiararey Sound, dreamed a dream, and thought three men came to him. He thought one of them was in royal robes, but very stern, ruddy in countenance, something thick, and of midling size. Another seemed of a slender make, but active, and of all men the most engaging, and majestic. The third again, was of *very great stature*, but his features were distorted, and of all the rest he was the most unsightly. The Hebridians say that the men whom the King saw in his sleep were St. Olave King of Norway, St. Magnus Earl of Orkney, and St. Columba."—(Norw. Account of Haco's Expedition, by Johnstone pp. 10–13.)

castrorum stans, eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate, [19]sui protegebat fulgida veste[r]; et hæc confirmatoria contulit verba, eadem scilicet quæ Dominus ad Jesue [20]Ben Nun ante transitum Jordanis, mortuo Moyse, [21]prolocutus est, dicens: Confortare et age viriliter; ecce ero tecum[s] etc. Sanctus itaque Columba, hæc ad regem in visu loquens, addit: Hac sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede; hac enim vice mihi Dominus donavit ut hostes in fugam vertantur tui, et tuus [22]Catlon inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris, et feliciter regnes. Post hæc verba [23]experrectus rex senatui congregato hanc [24]enarrat visionem; qua confortati omnes, totus populus promittit se post reversionem de bello crediturum et [25]baptismum suscepturum[t]: nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia gentilitatis et ignorantiæ tenebris obscurata erat[u], excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum duodecim viris[w], qui cum eo Scotos inter [26]exulante[x] [27]baptizati sunt. Quid plura? eadem subsecuta nocte Ossualdus rex, sicuti in visu edoctus fuerat, de castris ad bellum, cum admodum pauciore exercitu[y], contra [28]millia numerosa progreditur; cui a

[19] suos Colg. sua Boll. sui Fordun. [20] A. Fordun. annum Colg. *om.* Boll. [21] proloqutus A. [22] Cathlon Ford. Cathon Boll. [23] *prius* expergitus in A. [24] enarravit Colg. Boll. [25] babtismum A. baptisma Ford. [26] exsolante A. exulantes Ford. [27] babtizati A. [28] milia A.

[r] *Fulgida veste.*—Like the vision in iii. 1.

[s] *Ecce ero tecum* —Joshua, i. 9.

[t] *Suscepturum.*—Bede, Hist. Ec. iii. 2.

[u] *Obscurata erat.*—Edwin, with all his nobles and a great number of the people, received baptism from Paulinus at York, in 627. But on his death Paulinus fled, and the conversion of the nation was checked by the apostacy of Osric and Eanfrid, his successors (Bede, H. E. iii. 1). "Nulla ecclesia, nullum altare in tota Berniciorum gente erectum est, priusquam hoc sacræ crucis vexillum novus militiæ ductor, dictante fidei devotione, contra hostem immanissimum pugnaturus statueret."—(*Ib.* iii. 2.) The words in the text refer to Northumbria, including Bernicia and Deira.

[w] *Duodecim viris.*—Not only ecclesiastics, but even laymen, adopted the apostolic number, as in the present instance, and when Oswald's brother Eanfrid went out to meet Cadwalla, "cum duodecim lectis militibus."—(Bede, H. E. iii. 1.) See the note on iii. 4, *infra.*

[x] *Scotos inter exulante.*—"Tempore toto quo regnavit Æduini, filii præfati regis Ædilfridi qui ante illum regnaverat, cum magna nobilium juventute apud Scottos sive Pictos exulabant, ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum catechizati et baptismatis sunt gratia recreati."—Bede, H. E. iii. 1. "Misit ad majores natu Scottorum, inter quos exulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes. . . . Pulcherrimo sæpe spectaculo contigit, ut evangelizante antistite qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non noverat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpres verbi existeret cælestis: quia nimirum tam longo exilii sui tempore linguam Scottorum jam plene didicerat. . . . . Monachus ipse episcopus Ædan, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hii, destinatus."—*Ib.* iii. 3.

[y] *Pauciore exercitu.*—"Quo, post occisionem fratris Eanfridi, superveniente cum parvo exercitu, sed fide Christi munito, infandus Brittonum dux cum inmensis illis copiis quibus

Domino, sicut ei promissum est, felix et facilis est concessa victoria, et rege trucidato [29]Catlone[z], victor post [30]bellum reversus, postea totius Britanniæ imperator[a] a Deo ordinatus est[b]. Hanc mihi [31]Adamnano[c] narrationem meus decessor, noster abbas Failbeus[d], indubitanter enarravit, qui se ab ore ipsius Ossualdi regis, Segineo[e] abbati eamdem enuntiantis visionem, audisse protestatus est.

[29] Cathone Boll. Cadwallone Ford. [30] bella Ford. [31] Ford. Adomnano A.

nihil resistere posse jactabat, interemptus est." —Bede, H. E. iii. 1.

[z] *Trucidato Catlone.*—"In loco qui lingua Anglorum *Denisesburna*, id est, Rivus Denisi vocatur."—Bede, H. E. iii. 1. The British gave it a different name: "Osuuald filius Eadfred regnavit novem annis, ipse est Osuuald Lamnguin [pulchræ manus]; ipse occidit Catgublaun regem Guenedotæ regionis in bello *Catscaul* cum magna clade exercitus sui."—Nennius, H. B. § 64 (Ed. Stev.) Bede and the Saxon Chronicle place the battle in 635, but the Irish and Welsh Annals earlier:

A. C. 632. Cath la [bellum per] Cathlon et Anfraith, qui decollatus est, in quo Osualt mac Etalfraith victor erat, et Cathlon rex Britonum cecidit.—*Tighernach.*

A. C. 631. Bellum Cathloen regis Britonum et Ainfrit.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. C. 626. Gum [vulnus lethale] Catluam. —*Ann. Inisfall.*

A. C. 631. Bellum Cantscaul, in quo Catguollaan corruit.—*Ann. Cambr.*

Geoffrey of Monmouth, perverting Bede's narrative, states that Oswald, having overcome Cadwalla at Heavenfield, was afterwards defeated at Burne, and killed by Penda. He also represents Cadwalla as surviving Oswald many years, and dying in the arms of peace; while he reserves the final prostration of the Britons for the twelfth year of his son's reign. —(Hist. Brit. xii. 16.)

[a] *Totius Britanniæ imperator.*—"Denique omnes nationes et provincias Brittaniæ, quæ in quatuor linguas, id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum divisæ sunt, in ditione accepit."—Bede, H. E. iii. 6. The present passage is cited by Mr. Hallam as "probably a distinct recognition of the Saxon word *Bretwalda;* for what else could answer to Emperor of Britain? It seems more likely that Adamnan refers to a distinct title bestowed on Oswald by his subjects, than that he means to assert as a fact, that he truly ruled over all Britain." But this idea is not in harmony with Adamnan's or Bede's assertion. Mr. Hallam certainly errs in asserting that Cummineus' Life of St. Columba "is chiefly taken from that by Adamnan."—Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 350 (Lond. 1853). See Saxon Chron. A. D. 827, where Oswald is set down as the sixth king "who was Bret-walda."—(Monum. Hist. Br. p. 343); Lingard, Hist. Engl. cap. ii.

[b] *A Deo ordinatus est.*—This divine right is expressed at i. 36, of a sovereign of Ireland; and at iii. 5, of a prince of Dalriada.

[c] *Mihi Adamnano.*—The writer speaks in the first person again at chaps. 2, 3, 49, ii. 45, 46, iii. 19, 23. On the name, see the *Introduction.*

[d] *Failbeus.*—Failbhe, son of Piopan, eighth abbot of Hy, presided from 669 to 679. His festival is March 2, at which day Colgan has collected the few particulars of his history which are recorded (Act. SS. p. 719). He is mentioned again in cap. 3, as the channel of information from Segineus.—See the *Appendix.*

[e] *Segineo.*—Seghine, son of Fiachna, fifth abbot of Hy, governed from 623 to 652; so that the reign of Oswald, which was from 634 to 642, fell within the term of his presidency. His

Sed et hoc etiam non prætereundum videtur, quod ejusdem beati viri per quædam Scoticæ [32]linguæ [33]laudum ipsius carmina[f], et nominis [34]commemorationem, quidam, quamlibet scelerati laicæ conversationis homines et sanguinarii, ea nocte qua eadem decantaverant cantica, de manibus [35]inimicorum qui eamdem eorumdem cantorum domum circumsteterant sint liberati; qui flammas inter et gladios et lanceas incolumes evasere, mirumque in modum pauci ex ipsis, qui easdem sancti viri [36]commemorationes, quasi parvi pendentes, canere [37]noluerant decantationes, in illo æmulorum impetu soli disperierant. Hujus miraculi testes non duo aut tres, juxta legem, sed etiam centeni, et eo amplius, adhiberi potuere. Non tantum in uno, aut loco, aut tempore, hoc idem [38]contigisse comprobatur, sed etiam diversis locis et temporibus in Scotia et in Britannia, simili tamen et modo et causa liberationis, factum fuisse, sine ulla ambiguitate exploratum est. Hæc ab expertis uniuscujusque regionis, ubicumque res eadem simili [39]contigit miraculo, indubitanter didicimus.

Sed, ut ad [40]propositum redeamus, inter ea miracula quæ idem vir Domini, in carne mortali conversans, Deo donante, [41]perfecerat, ab annis juvenilibus cœpit etiam prophetiæ spiritu[g] pollere, ventura prædicere, præsentibus absentia

[32] lingæ A. [33] laudem Colg. carmina laudem ipsius Boll. [34] commendationem Colg. Boll. [35] *om.* Colg. eorum Boll. [36] commemorationis A. [37] noluerunt Colg. Boll. [38] contegisse conprobatur A. [39] contegit. [40] propossitum A. [41] perficerat A.

festival is Aug. 12. He is called *Segeni* by Bede (H. E. iii. 5); and *Segienus* in the superscription of Cummian's Paschal Epistle.—(Ussher, Syll. xi.) See chap. 3, and ii. 4, *infra*.

[f] *Carmina.*—O'Donnell identifies these with the panegyric composed by Dallan Forgaill, called the *Amhra Choluimcille*, or 'Laudes S. Columbæ.'—Vit. iii. 67 (Tr. Th. p. 444). The author, who was also called Eochaidh Eigeas, was a contemporary of the saint, and is said to have written this poem at the time of the convention of Druimceatt. Copies of it, largely glossed, are preserved in the Liber Hymnorum and Leabhar na hUidhre, which attest its antiquity; besides which, its language is so old as to have elicited from Colgan, who was an accomplished Irish scholar, the following acknowledgment: "Est penes me unum exemplar hujus operis egregie scriptum, sed seclusis fusis, quos habet annexos, Commentariis, hodie paucis, iisque peritissimis, penetrabile." (A. SS. p. 204 *b*, n. 12.) The virtues which the Irish believed to reside in the recital of the Amhra and the poems of S. Columba, are stated in the arguments prefixed to the several compositions. Leabhar na hUidhre, fol. 8; Leabhar Breac, fol. 109; Liber Hymnor. p. 21; MS. H. 2, 16, p. 680, Trin. Coll., Dubl.; Colgan, Tr. Th. pp. 473, 476. For an account of the *Amhra*, see Colgan, A. SS. p. 203; Harris' Ware's Works, ii. pt. ii. p. 20; O'Reilly's Irish Writers, p. 39.

[g] *Prophetiæ spiritu.*—Giraldus Cambrensis states that he was one of the four Irish saints whom the natives believed to have been endowed with the gift of prophecy (Hib. Exp. ii. 33; also ii. 16). Compare Tighernach, A. C.

nuntiare; quia quamvis absens corpore, præsens tamen spiritu, longe acta [42]pervidere poterat. Nam, juxta Pauli vocem, Qui adhæret Domino unus spiritus est[h]. Unde et idem vir Domini sanctus Columba, sicut et ipse quibusdam paucis fratribus, de re eadem aliquando percunctantibus, non negavit, in aliquantis dialis gratiæ speculationibus totum etiam mundum, veluti uno solis radio collectum, sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato, manifestatum perspiciens speculabatur.

Hæc de sancti viri hic ideo enarrata sunt virtutibus, ut avidior lector breviter perscripta, quasi dulciores quasdam prægustet dapes: quæ tamen plenius in tribus inferius libris, Domino auxiliante, enarrabuntur. Nunc mihi non indecenter videtur, beati viri, licet præpostero ordine, prophetationes effari, quas de sanctis quibusdam et illustribus viris, diversis prolocutus est temporibus.

[1]DE SANCTO FINTENO, ABBATE, FILIO TAILCHANI.

SANCTUS [2]Fintenus[a], qui postea per universas Scotorum ecclesias valde [3]noscibilis[b] habitus est, a puerili ætate integritatem carnis et animæ, Deo adjuvante, custodiens, studiis [4]dialis [5]sophias deditus[c], hoc propositum, in annis

[42] prævidere Colg. Boll.

[1] *titulus desideratur in* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] finntanus D. [3] nocibilis D. [4] A. D. F. S. dialecticalis C. [5] sofias A. F. S. sophie D.

587. The *Buile Choluim-cille*, or 'Ecstasy of Columkille,' supposed to contain predictions of the sovereigns of Ireland, was attributed to him. (Tr. Th. p. 472 *b*.)

[h] *Spiritus est.*—So the Vulgate, and version in the Book of Armagh, at 1 Cor. vi. 17.

[a] *Fintenus.*—St. Fintan, more commonly known by the name Munna, is commemorated in the Irish calendar at Oct. 21. He is noticed in the calendar prefixed to the Breviary of Aberdeen, at the same day, under the name *Mundus abbas.* Sir Harris Nicholas places him as "Fintan or Munnu" at Oct. 21, and as "Munde, abbot in Argyle," following Camerarius and Keith, at April 15. (Chronol. of Hist. pp. 149, 164.)

[b] *Noscibilis.*—His Life relates that when a boy, S. Columba blessed him, and said "Vocaberis inter majores sanctos Hiberniæ."—Cap. 2 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 127 *a b*; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 460 *b*.) At the synod of Campus Albus, where he upheld the old Irish observance of Easter, S. Laisre of Leighlin, his opponent, declared to him, "Non ibimus ad judicium tuum, quum scimus quod per magnitudinem laboris tui et sanctitatis, si diceres ut Mons Marge [Slievemargy] commutaretur in locum Campi Albi, et Campus Albus in locum Montis Mairge, hoc propter te Deus statim faceret."—Chap. 25. (Cod. Marsh. fol. 129 *a b*); Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. cap. 17 (Works, vi. p. 505); Religion of Anc. Irish, chap. 9 (Works, iv. pp. 342–344).

[c] *Dialis sophias deditus.*—See *Glossary.* In his Life it is stated that he studied successively under S. Comgall at Bangor, S. Columba at Cillmor-dithreamh, and S. Sinell at Claoininis [Cleenish], with the last of whom he remained eighteen years.—Cap. 5, 6. (Cod. Marsh. fol.

[6]juventutis conversatus, in corde habuit, ut nostrum sanctum Columbam, [7]Hiberniam deserens, peregrinaturus adiret. Eodem æstuans desiderio, ad quemdam vadit seniorem sibi amicum, in sua gente prudentissimum venerandumque clericum, qui Scotice [8]vocitabatur [9]Columb Crag[d], ut ab eo, quasi prudente, aliquod audiret consilium. Cui cum [10]suos tales denudaret [11]cogitatus, hoc ab eo responsum [12]accepit: Tuum, ut æstimo, [13]a Deo inspiratum devotumque desiderium quis prohibere potest, ne ad sanctum Columbam [14]transnavigare [14]debeas? [15]Eadem hora casu duo adveniunt monachi sancti Columbæ, qui de sua interrogati ambulatione, Nuper, aiunt, de Britannia remigantes, hodie a Roboreto [16]Calgachi[e] venimus. Sospes [17]anne est, ait [18]Columb [19]Crag, vester Columba sanctus pater? Qui valde illacrymati, cum magno dixerunt mærore, Vere salvus est noster ille patronus, qui his diebus nuper ad Christum [20]commigravit. Quibus auditis, [21]Fintenus et [22]Columb et omnes qui ibidem inerant, prostratis in terram vultibus, amare [23]flevere. Fintenus consequenter percunctatur dicens: Quem post se successorem reliquit? [24]Baitheneum, aiunt, suum alumnum[f]. Omnibusque clamitantibus, Dignum et debitum; [25]Columb ad Fintenum [26]inquit: Quid ad hæc, Fintene, facies? Qui respondens ait: Si Dominus permiserit, ad Baitheneum virum sanctum et sapientem

[6] juventatis A. [7] C. D. F. S. heverniam A. [8] dicitur D. [9] colũm crãg A. Columba Cragius *O Donnellus in Vit. S. Columbæ*, iii. 65, *vertente Colg.* columbus (crag. *om.*) C. D. F. S. [10] suas D. [11] cogitationes D. [12] accipit A. [13] adeo C. [14] adeas D. [15] *omnia desunt usque ad* idem sanctus, *cap.* 3 D. [16] *om.* C. F. S. [17] ne C. [18] Columbus C. F. S. [19] *om.* C. F. S. [20] migravit ad Christum C. [21] Finten A. [22] Columbus C. F. S. [23] fleverunt F. S. [24] Battheneum C. F. [25] Columbus C. F. S. [26] ait C.

127 *b a;* Ussher, Works, vi. p. 503; Tr. Th. p. 460 *b;* Calend. Dungal. Nov. 12.) See Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 407.

[d] *Columb Crag.*—It may be inferred from the narrative that his church was near Derry, and at the sea side. In the absence of his specific name from the calendar, Colgan conjectures that he was the Coluim ꝑaccaꝛc o Ea-nach, 'Colum, priest of Eanach,' of Sept. 22. The chapel of Enagh, situate beside the lake of the same name, lies about two miles N. E. of Derry, in the parish of Clondermot. (Ord. Surv. s. 14; Reeves' Colton's Visitation, pp. 29, 31.)

[e] *Roboreto Calgachi.*—Cap. 20 *inf.* At ii. 39 the name is given in the Irish form *Daire Calgaich*, where see note. Ꝺaiꝛe Calꝷaich was the name by which the modern Londonderry was known among the Irish till the middle of the tenth century, when the Pagan part of the compound was exchanged for a Christian equivalent, and the name became the Ꝺaiꝛe Choluim ḉille of succeeding times. Compare Four Mast. 948 and 950.

[f] *Alumnum.*—Ꝺalta *alumnus.* Thus Tighernach, Naciuicaꝛ baiṫhine ꝺalta Choluim-cille,—A.C. 536. "Reverendus pater abbas Baithinus ab infantia sua in verbo Dei et discipuli ab abbate præclarissimo Columba diligenter instructus est."—Act. S. Baithenei. (Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 237 *a.*)

enavigabo, et si me susceperit, ipsum abbatem habebo. Tum deinde supra memoratum [27]Columb osculatus, et [28]ei valedicens, navigationem præparat, et sine morula ulla transnavigans, [29]Iouam devenit insulam. Et necdum, in id temporis usque, nomen ejus in his locis erat notum. Unde et imprimis quasi quidam ignotus hospes hospitaliter [30]susceptus, alia die [31]nuncium ad [32]Baitheneum mittit, ejus allocutionem facie ad faciem habere volens. Qui, ut erat affabilis, et peregrinis appetibilis, jubet ad se adduci. Qui statim adductus, primo, ut [33]conveniebat, flexis genibus in [34]terra se prostravit; [35]jussusque a sancto seniore, surgit, et residens interrogatur a [36]Baitheneo, adhuc inscio, de gente et provincia, nomineque et conversatione, et pro qua causa inierit navigationis laborem. Qui, ita interrogatus, omnia per ordinem enarrans, ut susciperetur humiliter expostulat. Cui sanctus senior, his ab hospite auditis, simulque hunc esse virum cognoscens de quo pridem aliquando sanctus Columba prophetice vaticinatus est, Gratias, ait, Deo meo agere debeo quidem in tuo adventu, fili; sed [37]hoc indubitanter scito quod noster monachus non eris. Hoc audiens [38]hospes, valde contristatus, infit: Forsitan ego indignus tuus non mereor fieri monachus. Senior consequenter inquit: Non quod, ut dicis, indignus esses hoc dixi; sed quamvis maluissem te apud me retinere, mandatum tamen sancti Columbæ mei [39]decessoris profanare non possum; per quem Spiritus Sanctus de te prophetavit. [40]Alia [41]namque die mihi soli seorsim, sic prophetico profatus ore, inter cætera, dixit: Hæc mea, O [42]Baithenee, intentius debes audire verba; statim namque post meum de hoc ad Christum sæculo expectatum et valde desideratum transitum, quidam de Scotia frater, qui nunc, bene juvenilem bonis moribus [43]regens ætatem, sacræ lectionis studiis satis [44]imbuitur, nomine Fintenus, [45]gente Mocumoie[g], cujus pater Tailchanus[h] vocitatur, ad te, inquam, perveniens, humiliter expostulabit ut ipsum sus-

[27] columbum A. C. S. [28] *om.* C. [29] A. C. F. S. [30] susceptus est Colg. Boll. [31] internuncium C. F. S. [32] battheneum C. F. baithenum S. [33] veniebat C. [34] terram C. F. S. [35] visus C. [36] battheneo C. [37] et hoc C. [38] *om.* C. [39] defensoris C. [40] aliqua F. aliaque C. [41] *om.* C. [42] batthenee C. [43] agens C. [44] imbutus C. [45] *ad* vocitatur *om.* C. F. S.

[g] *Mocumoie.*—Colgan proposes *Mac-Ua-Maine*, as Fintan's mother was of the race of Maine: but we find 'Laisranus Mocumoie' at cap. 18 *inf.* It is probably a clan name derived from Maan, a progenitor of S. Fintan. See next note.

[h] *Tailchanus.*—"Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis nomine Munnu de claro genere Hyberniæ, id est, de Nepotibus Neill. Pater ejus vocabatur Tulchanus, qui de semine Conalli filii Neill ortus fuit. Mater sancti Munnu nominabatur Fedelyn, quæ de eadem gente nata est, id est, de semine Manii filii Neill."—Vit. cap. i. (Cod. Marsh. fol. 127 *a b;* Colg. A. SS. pp 452 *a*,

cipiens inter cæteros adnumeres monachos. Sed hoc ei in Dei præscientia prædestinatum non est ut ipse [46]alicujus [47]abbatis monachus [48]fieret[i]; sed ut monachorum abbas, et animarum dux ad cœleste regnum, olim electus a Deo est. [49]Noles itaque hunc memoratum virum in his nostris apud te retinere insulis[k], ne et Dei voluntati contraire videaris: sed, hæc ei intimans verba, ad Scotiam in pace remittas, ut in Laginensium vicinis mari finibus monasterium construat[l], et ibidem Christi [50]ovinum pascens gregem, innumeras ad patriam

[46] sit *add.* S. [47] *om.* C. F. S. [48] *om.* S. [49] nolis F. nobis C. [50] ovium C. Colg. Boll.

606 *b*, n. 3; Tr. Th. p. 373 *b*, n. 23.) His descent is thus given in the book of Leacan: Munnu Tigi Munnu mac Tulchain mic Trena mic Deza [illegible] Maain [*a quo* Moc-U-Moie?] mic Saeidi mic Feidlimid Rechtaid mic Tuatail Teotmair. With which agrees the pedigree prefixed to the Life in the Cod. Marsh. But in both there is a chasm of at least twelve generations, for Fedhlimidh Rechtmar was King of Ireland in 164, whereas Conall Gulban, who was slain in 464, was *tenth* in descent from him, and S. Columba fourth from Conall. Supposing Saeide to be son of Conall, we have materials to complete the line. Mention is made of Tulchan and his son Munnius in the Life of S. Cainnech, cap. 24. (Edited by the late Marquis of Ormonde, pp. xiv. 14; Colg. A. SS. p. 606 *b*; Tr. Th. p. 483 *a*.)

Fieret.—Fleming concludes from this statement that S. Fintan was the author of a monastic rule. (Collectan. p. 437 *a*.)

[k] *Retinere insulis.*—The story is told as follows in the Life of S. Fintan: "Post hæc S. Munna perrexit ad insulam Hy, ut ibi apud S. Columbam monachus fieret. Sed S. Columba ante adventum ejus migravit ad cœlum: et ante obitum suum prophetavit de S. Munna, talia verba dicens ad beatum Baitheneum: Post obitum meum veniet ad vos de Hibernia quidam juvenis, moribus sanctus, ingenio clarus, corpore quidem capite crispus, et genis rubicundus, cujus nomen est Munna, quem sæpe in terra vidi, sed sæpius spiritualiter in cœlo inter angelos Dei. Ad hoc autem ipse huc veniet, ut hic monachus fiat; sed ne recipiatis eum, quamvis multum sibi displiceat. Et tu dices illi: Revertere fili ad Hiberniam, quia caput magni populi ibi eris. Et ipse vadat ad australem plagam Laginensium, quæ dicitur Cennselach; quia ibi erit honor ipsius, et resurrectio. Et quamvis mea parrochia major est in terra quam sua, tamen, meus amor, et mea potestas, apud Deum non est major quam ipsius. Et ita omnia illa contigerunt."—Chap. 7. (Cod. Marsh. fol. 127 *bb*; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 461 *a*.) The third lesson of the Office of S. *Mundus*, in the Breviary of Aberdeen, contradicts the earlier authorities by stating that "ad yonam insulam in scocia pervenit in qua a beato columba habitum suscepit religionis."—Propr. SS. Part. Est. f. 131 *bb* (Reprint 1852).

[l] *Construat.*—Namely, *Teach Munna*, or 'House of Munna,' in Ui Ceinnselach, now called Taghmon (pronounced *Tamún*), situate about seven miles west of Wexford, and giving name to a prebend in the cathedral of Ferns. (Ord. Surv. Co. Wexford, s. 41.) It is referred to in the Lives of S. Maidoc and S. Molua, as the abode and burial-place of S. Munna. (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 211; Fleming, Collect. p. 379 *a*.) Besides this church, S. Fintan or Munna was the founder of one at Ath-caoin in the island of Coimirighi, at Achadh-leicce, and at Teach-Telli, now Tehelly, near Durrow. (Cod. Marsh. fol. 127 *bb*; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 373 *b*, n. 24; Act. SS. pp. 15 *b*, n. 10, 606 *a*.)

animas cœlestem perducat[m]. Hæc audiens sanctus junior, Christo, lacrymas fundens, [51]agit gratias, inquiens: Secundum sancti Columbæ propheticam fiat mihi et mirabilem præscientiam. [52]Iisdemque [53]diebus verbis sanctorum obtemperans, et a [54]Baitheneo accipiens benedictionem, in pace ad Scotiam [55]transnavigat[n].

[56]Hæc mihi quodam narrante religioso sene presbytero, Christi milite, Oisseneo[o] nomine, Ernani filio, gente Mocu Neth Corb[p], indubitanter didici: qui

[51] ait F. S. [52] hisdemque A. F. S. his denique C. Colg. Boll. [53] *om.* C. [54] battheneo C. [55] A. transnavigavit Colg. Boll. [56] *cetera desiderantur in* C. F. S.

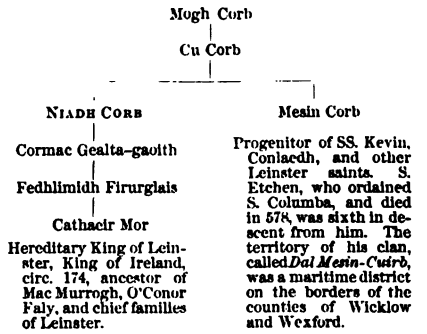
He was also fourth in a succession of Fintans who were abbots of Cluaineidhneach, or Clonenagh, in Queen's County. (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 356 *a*.) The parish of Taghmon in Westmeath likewise derives its name from him. His principal church in Scotland was Kilmond, now Kilmun in Cowall, to which the Breviary of Aberdeen assigns his burial (Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 132 *aa*); where local tradition even marks the supposed place of his sepulture by the name of *Sith-Mun* (Old Stat. Survey, vol. ii. p. 383); and where a half-markland was held in virtue of the custody of his crosier. (Innes, Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 72.) The old parish of Elanmunde, on the confines of Argyle and Inverness, derived its name from an island in Loch Leven, on which there was a church called after S. Mund. (*Ibid.* p. 170.)

[m] *Perducat.*—"Centum quinquaginta veros martyres, qui sub magisterio S. Mundi filii Tulchani vixerunt, et super quos nullus audet quempiam sepelire invoco in auxilium meum."—Litany of Ængus. (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 453 *b*, n. 6; Vardæi Acta S. Rumoldi, p. 205.) "Fintanus filius Tulchani, cum suis monachis qui sub jugo ejus fuerunt ccxxxiii., quos non uret ignis judicii: quorum nomina sunt ista Lasranus, Commanus, etc."—Martyrol. Tamlact. Oct. 21. (Colg. Act. SS. p. 453 *b*.)

[n] *Transnavigat.*—In after years he was affected with leprosy, on account of which he was styled Lobar: and with his disease he was taunted by Suibhne son of Domhnall, lord of Hua-Mairche, at the synod of Campus Albus. (Ussher, Works, vi. p. 504; Fleming, Collect. p. 379 *b*.) He died in 635, at which year Tighernach records the *Quies Fintain i. e., Mundu filii Tulchain in xii. Cal. Nov.* So also the Annals of Ulster, and of the Four Masters, at 634. His acts are to be found in the Codex Marsh. fol. 127–129 *b*; Cod. Salmant. fol. 137–140; and the latter portion in Cod. E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl., fol. 105 *a*. The Breviary of Aberdeen has six lessons at his festival. Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 131 *ab*—132 *aa*.

[o] *Oisseneo.*—Possibly, Oissene Foda, abbot of Cluain-Ioraird [Clonard], who died in 654, and is commemorated in the Calendar at May 1.

[p] *Mocu Neth Corb.*—That is, Mac U Neth corb, denoting that he was of the clan *Ui Niadh-corb*, whose origin, and relation to the chief family of Leinster, may be thus shown:



Enna Cinsealach, great-grandson of Cathaeir

se eadem supra memorata verba ejusdem ab ore sancti Finteni, filii Tailchani, audisse [57]testatus est, ipsius monachus[r].

[1]DE ERNENEO FILIO CRASENI SANCTI COLUMBÆ PROPHETIA.

ALIO in tempore vir beatus, in mediterranea[a] [2]Hiberniæ parte [3]monasterium, quod Scoticè dicitur [4]Dair-mag[b], divino fundans nutu, per aliquot [5]demoratus menses, libuit animo visitare fratres qui in [6]Clonoensi sancti [7]Cerani

[57] testatur, Colg.

[1] *titulum om.* C. F. S. Boll. [2] eberniae A. [3] monasteriorum A. [4] dairmagh C. F. S. [5] demoratur C. [6] cloensi C. F. S. [7] cherani S.

Mor, gave name to the Hy-Cinsealach, in whose territory Taghmon was situated; so that Oissene, one of his race, would, in all likelihood, be familiar with S. Fintan's history.

[r] *Monachus.*—Ussher proposes to read: "qui et ipse monachus ejus extitit."—Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 17. (Works, vi. p. 503.)

[a] *Mediterranea.*—The *Umbilicus Hiberniæ*, which has been variously placed at Ushnagh Hill, Clonmacnoise, and Birr, belonged to the south-west of the great plain of Meath. See note on iii. 9 *infra*.

[b] *Dair-mag.*—Written in Irish records Ďaṛ maġh, or Ďeaṛ maġh. Adamnan employs the Latin equivalent *Roboreti Campus* at i. 29, 49, ii. 39, iii. 15; and *Roboris Campus* at ii. 2. Speaking of Columba, Bede says: "Fecerat autem, priusquam Brittaniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus roborum, cognominatur."—(H. E. iii. 4.) The modern name is *Durrow*, and belongs to a parish of the diocese of Meath, situate in the barony of Ballycowan, on the north of King's County, and extending a short way into Westmeath. It anciently formed part of the territory Fer-Ceall, which was included in the kingdom of Teathbha [Teffia]. On the death of Crimthann, in 533, the lordship descended to his nephew Aedh, whose father, Brendan, survived till 576, but does not appear to have enjoyed the supreme power. (Conf. Four Mast. 556, 573, with Tighernach, 562, 576, and Annal. Ult. 561, 575.) According to Tighernach, Ꞇeḋh mac ḃṛeanḋaiṅ ṛiġh Ꞇebhꞇa aḋṛo bhaiṛꞇ Ďaṛmach ḋo Cholum chilli, "Aedh son of Brendan, King of Tebhtha, who bestowed Darmach on Colum-cille," died in 589. S. Columba removed to Iona in 563: Aedh became lord of Teffia in 553: it follows, therefore, if Bede's statement be correct, that Durrow was founded between these dates. But the present narrative, while it describes S. Columba as "fundans," couples the date of the occurrence with the presidency of Alithir at Clonmacnoise, who did not succeed to that office till June, 585. Consequently, we must either understand this expression in the sense of *confirming*, or suppose an inaccuracy in Bede. If it could be proved that Brendan was lord of Teffia, Bede would be shown to be in error, for that prince lived till 576; so that his son Aedh would not have the right of donation before that date, which was thirteen years subsequent to S. Columba's departure. A similar conclusion would follow from the identification of the visit mentioned in the text with the following, which is recorded in the Life of S. Ciaran: "Post longum tempus, cum S. Columba cum sua familia in Hiberniam ab insula Hia venisset, præparata est eis cœna magna in monasterio S. Kierani in sua civitate Cluain; et cum illi venissent

cœnobio[c] commanebant. [8]Auditoque ejus accessu, universi undique ab agellulis monasterio vicinis[d] cum his qui ibidem inventi sunt congregati, cum omni alacritate suum consequentes abbatem Alitherum[e], sancto [9]Columbæ, quasi angelo Domini, obviam, egressi vallum monasterii[f], [10]unanimes pergunt; humiliatisque in terram vultibus eo viso, cum omni reverentia exosculatus ab eis est; hymnisque et laudibus resonantes, honorifice ad ecclesiam [11]perducunt; quamdamque de lignis pyramidem[g] erga sanctum deambulantem constringentes, a quatuor viris æque ambulantibus supportari fecerunt: ne videlicet sanctus senior Columba ejusdem fratrum multudinis constipatione molestaretur. Eadem

[8] audito itaque C. [9] *om.* C. F. S. [10] unanimiter Colg. Boll. [11] perducebant C.

ad cœnobium S. Kierani suscepti sunt in magna hilaritate et diligentia, et illa cœna refecti sunt largissime, et fama ipsius refectionis per totam civitatem, et ejus circuitum late divulgabatur." —Cap. 31. (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *b a*; Tr. Th. p. 457 *b*.) It is certain that S. Columba was established in Hy when the "magna domus" of Durrow was a-building. See i. 29, iii. 15, *inf.*

[c] *Cerani cœnobio.*—Clonmacnoise was founded in 548 by Ciaran mac an c-ṗaoiṡ 'Filius Artificis.' King Diarmait (i. 14, 36 *inf.*), his chief patron, granted the site and endowments. The saint died on the 5th of Sept., 549, in the 34th year of his age. He was esteemed one of the chief saints of Ireland, and his monastery rose to the highest importance. Cummian's Paschal epistle calls him *Queranus Coloniensis*, and ranks him among the "Patres priores" of the Irish. (Ussher, Syll. xi.) The old adjectives *Clonoensis* and *Coloniensis* are formed from *Cluain*, the first component in the name Cluain mic Noiṡ, 'Meadow of son of Nos,' which was derived from Nos son of Fiadach, one of the Dealbhna-Eathra, the tribe in whose district, now known as the barony of Garrycastle in King's County, the abbey was situate. Later Irish writers added even another element to the name (as Four Mast. 1461); but legal records are generally content with the form *Cluanensis*, or *Clonensis:* hence, as the See of Cloyne, which in Irish is Cluain-uamha, is also latinized by *Clonensis*, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between it and Clonmacnoise, which was also a bishop's See.

[d] *Agellulis vicinis.*—Agriculture was probably a leading occupation under St. Ciaran's, as well as St. Columba's rule, attracting to the neighbourhood the external dependents who are alluded to in the text.

[e] *Alitherum.*—Fourth abbot of Clonmacnoise, having succeeded Mac Nissi, who died June 12th, 585. His death is recorded by Tighernach at 599: Ailiṫiṙ abb Cluana mac Noiṡ ṗauṡac. do Muṡcṙaiḋi do, 'Ailithir, abbot of Cluain-mic-Nois rests. He was of the Muscraidhe.'—(Annal. Ult. 598; Four Mast. 595.) He appears in the Calendar at May 12: Eliṫiṙ Muicinṡi ṗoṙ Loċ Deirg dero, 'Elithir, of Muicinis on Loch Deirg-derc' [now Lough Derg in the Shannon]—Marian. Gorm.; Calend. Dungall.

[f] *Vallum monasterii.*—The rampart which is described by Bede as enclosing St. Cuthbert's little monastery in Farne may be taken as the type of the Irish monastic vallum. (H. E. iv. 28; more fully in Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 17.) For an interesting account of this kind of structure, called a caiṡiol, or *cashel*, see Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 440-446. Cf. Reeves' Eccles. Antiqq. pp. 182, 197. See ii. 19 *infra.*

[g] *Pyramidem.*—Du Cange has one example of the word, which he explains by *ciborium*, or

hora quidam valde despectus vultu et habitu, puer familiaris, et necdum senioribus placens, retro, in quantum valuit se occultans, accessit, ut videlicet vel illius [12]amphibali[h] fimbriam, quo vir beatus induebatur, occulte, et si fieri possit ipso nesciente et non sentiente, tangeret. Sed hoc tamen Sanctum non latuit, nam quod corporalibus oculis retro se actum intueri non potuit, [13]spiritalibus [14]perspexit. Unde subito restitit, et post se extendens manum, cervicem pueri tenet, ipsumque trahens ante faciem suam statuit. Omnibusque qui ibidem [15]circumstabant dicentibus, [16]Dimitte, dimitte, quare hunc infelicem et [17]injuriosum retines puerum? [18]Sanctus e contra hæc [19]puro pectore verba depromit prophetica, Sinite, fratres, sinite modo. Ad puerum vero valde tremefactum dicit, O fili aperi os, et porrige linguam. Jussus tum puer, cum ingenti tremore aperiens os, [20]linguam porrexit; [21]quam Sanctus, sanctam extendens manum, [22]diligenter benedicens, ita prophetice profatur, dicens, Hic puer quamvis vobis nunc [23]despicabilis et valde vilis videatur, nemo tamen ipsum ob id despiciat. Ab hac enim hora non solum vobis non displicebit, sed valde placebit; bonisque moribus, et animæ virtutibus paulatim de die in diem crescet: sapientia quoque et prudentia magis ac magis in eo ab hac die adaugebitur, et in hac [24]vestra congregatione grandis est futurus [25]profectus; lingua quoque ejus salubri [26]et doctrina et [27]eloquentia [28]a Deo [29]donabitur. Hic erat [30]Erneneus, [31]filius [32]Craseni[i], postea per omnes [33]Scotiæ ecclesias famosus et valde

[12] anfibali A F. *more Hibernico: sic* anfibalo *Lib. Armacan fol.* 209 *a b.* [13] A. F. S. spiritualibus C. [14] A. C. F. S. respexit Colg. Boll. [15] circum astabant F. S. circiter astabant C. [16] dimittite *bis* C. [17] A. C. F. S. Colg. juniorem Boll. [18-19] idem sanctus ad fratres suos conversus duro D. *priorem partem cap. ii. ad verbum* adeas *excipiens.* [19] *ad syllabam* ro *infit* B. [20] suum *add.* C. D. S. [21] ad *add.* D. [22] et *add.* C. D. S. [23] despectibilis D. [24] nostra C. [25] provectus C. [26-27] doctrinali eloquentia B. [28-29] fulgebit D. [30] A. B. F. S. ereneus C. hylerianus D. [31] *om.* C. D. F. S. [32] A. B. cresceni Colg. Boll. *om.* C. D. F. S. [33] hybernie D.

'canopy of the altar.' In the present instance it signifies simply 'a canopy.' "Ad eum modum, quo nos umbella seu baldachino utimur in Processionibus, causa venerationis erga SS. Sacramentum, atque ad arcendam turbam, pluviam, et solis ardorem."—Baertius *in loco.* (Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 202 *b.*) See *Glossary.*

[h] *Amphibali.*—Ussher explains the word by "vestis externæ genus quoddam, qua clerici et monachi olim utebantur."—(Wks. vi. p. 59.) See *Glossary.* The desire "amphibali fimbriam tangere," expressed here, and at ii. 6, was created by the ἥψατο τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ of St. Mat. ix. 20, and xiv. 36, and seems to have generally prevailed towards distinguished saints. Thus Gregory of Tours says of St. Trajan: "Si novum, ut adsolet, amphibolum induisset, cum quo processurus diœcesim circumiret, fimbriæ hujus vestimenti a diversis diripiebantur."—*De Glorios. Confess.* c. 59. (Opp. col. 941, Paris, 1699; Bibliotheca Vet. Pat. xi. p. 884, Lugd. 1677.)

[i] *Erneneus filius Craseni.*—His day in the Irish calendar is Aug. 18: Erinn .i. Mernóc ó Raith Naoi i nUib Garrcon .i. i Focartaib Laigen: ocur o Chill Dpaigneach i nUib

notissimus; qui hæc omnia suprascripta verba [34]Segineo abbati de se prophetata enarraverat, meo [35]decessore Failbeo[k] intentius audiente, qui et ipse cum [34]Segineo præsens [36]inerat; cujus [37]revelatione et ego ipse cognovi hæc [38]eadem quæ [39]enarravi. Sed et multa alia [40]iisdem diebus quibus in [41]Clonoensi cœnobio [42]Sanctus hospitabatur, revelante prophetavit Sancto Spiritu; hoc est, de illa, [43]quæ post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter [44]Scotiæ ecclesias, [45]discordia[l]: et de quibusdam [46]angelicis frequentationibus sibi manifestatis, quibus quædam intra ejusdem cœnobii septa ab angelis tunc temporis frequentabantur loca.

[34] B. segeneo A. C. F. S. segeno D. [35] successore D. [36] erat D. [37] A. relatione B. C. D. F. S. [38] *om.* D. [39] narravi D. [40] hisdem A. B. isdem F. [41] A. B. cloensi C. *om.* D. [42] sancti kierani *add.* D. [43] discordia D. [44] scothicæ C. [45] *om.* D. [46] anglicis B.

ꝺꝺona, 'Ernin, i. e. Mernocc, of Rath-Naoi in Ui Garrchon, i. e. in the Fotharta of Leinster: and of Cill-draighnech in Ui Drona.'—Marian. Gorm.; Cal. Dungall. His parentage is given in the Calendars of Cashel and Tamlacht at the same day, as cited by Colgan: "Erneneus, id est Mernocus filius Gresseni, de Rath-naoi in Hi-Garchon in Lagenia, et de Kill-Droigneach, in Hi-Dronâ." (Trias Th. p. 373 *b.*) Thus also in the Feilire of Ængus, Mac Creṁne Meṅnocc, affording a fresh authority for the identification of the individual in question. His obit, which is unaccountably omitted by the Four Masters, is given by Tighernach, at the year 635: "*Quies Ernaine mic Cresene.*" So Annal. Ult. 634. His churches which are mentioned in the calendars are Rathnaoi, now called *Rathnew*, the parochial name of Wicklow; and Kill-droighneach, now *Kildreenagh*, a townland in Dunleckny parish, in the barony of Idrone East, county of Carlow. (Ord. Surv. s. 16.) The name is preserved in Scotland in the two Kilmarnocks, and Inchmarnoc. The festival "Sancti Mernoci epyscopi et confessoris patroni de Kilmernoch" is appointed in the Breviary of Aberdeen for the 25th of October.—Part. Estiv. fol. 132. It may be well to observe that the word Mernoc is a contraction of Mo-Ernin-occ, the prefix denoting *my*, and the suffix *little*, so that the name thus altered conveyed the additional expressions of affection and familiarity.

[k] *Failbeo.*—The same authorities have been mentioned in i. 1 (p. 16).

[l] *Discordia.*—The successive amendments which had been made on the Continent in the rule of Easter had, in St. Columba's time, left the British churches considerably in arrear; partly owing to their unwillingness to abandon ancient institutions, and partly to the circumstance alleged of the Irish by Wilfrid, that "nullus advenerat, qui eis instituti perfectioris decreta quæ sequerentur, ostenderet." (Bede, H. E. iii. 25.) St. Columba could hardly have been ignorant of the discrepancy, yet he evinced no desire to alter the existing practice, and such was the respect for his memory in after times, that the bare fact of his observance of the old rule operated, during more than a century, as the great obstacle to the adoption of the Roman Easter in the monastery of Hy and its dependencies; on the principle stated by Colman: "Numquid reverentissimum patrem nostrum Columbam, et successores ejus viros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo pascha fecerunt, divinis paginis contraria sapuisse, vel egisse, credendum est?" In fact this *discordia* was a protracted struggle between the chair of St. Peter and old associations, though the advantage of argument lay with the former. It was about

[1]DE ADVENTU SANCTI CAINNECHI, ABBATIS, DE QUO SANCTUS COLUMBA PROPHETALITER [2]PRÆNUNTIAVIT.

[3]ALIO [3]in tempore [4]cum in [5]Ioua insula, die fragosæ tempestatis et intolerabilis undarum magnitudinis, sedens in domo [6]Sanctus [6]et fratribus præcipiens [7]diceret, Præparate ocius hospitium, aquamque ad lavandos hospitum pedes [8]exhaurite; quidam ex ipsis [9]frater consequenter, Quis, ait, hac die

[1] *titulum om.* C. F. S. *hic sequitur in* D. iii. 10 *hujus edit.* [2] pronunciavit B. [3] quodam D. *in quo hæc narratio post* iii. 16 *hujus edit. sequitur.* [4] *om.* D. [5] A. C. iona B. [6] *om.* D. [7] dixit D. [8] haurite D. [9] A. B. C. fratribus D. Colg. Boll.

the period of St. Columba's visit to Clonmacnois that Columbanus, by his advocacy of the Irish rule at Luxeu in Burgundy, was beginning to draw down upon himself the displeasure of the neighbouring bishops, in reference to which he addressed some letters to Popes Gregory I. and Boniface IV. (Fleming, Collectan. pp. 110, 113, 157.) The Roman missionaries who visited Britain in 597 brought the merits of the rival systems under more immediate consideration, and as they were commissioned to exercise pastoral superintendence over the "Scots who inhabited Ireland," a remonstrance from the newly founded See of Canterbury, about 605 (Bede's H. E. ii. 4), seems to have had weight with a portion of the Irish Church, and a bishop called Terenanus was induced to adopt, and become a zealous advocate of, the reformed rule. (Vit. S. Laurent. ap. Ussher, Wks. iv. p. 422.) The question soon began to assume the form of a national controversy; and to give weight to the Roman side of it, Honorius I., about 630, sent a letter to Ireland urging upon the opposite party the consideration of their isolated position. (Bede, H. E. ii. 19.) At the same time Cummian appeared in a synod which was held at Campus Lene, or Magh-Lena, near the modern Tullamore, in the heart of Ireland, where he pleaded for uniformity with such effect that the assembly was on the point of pronouncing a favourable decision, when an individual of the company, whom he styles "quidam paries dealbatus," stood up and roused the dormant prejudices of some present, so as to cause an adjournment of the proceedings. (Ussh. Syll. xi.) Shortly after, another conference was held at Campus Albus, near Carlow, where the endeavours of Laisrean, Abbot of Leighlin, were overruled by the influence of Munna (the Fintenus of i. 2 *supr.*). (Vit. S. Munnæ, c. 25, Cod. Marsh, fol. 129 *a a*; Ussh. Wks. iv. p. 342, vi. p. 505.) By this time the inhabitants of the island had separated into two geographical parties, after the old civil division of the country into the Northern and Southern Halves; for Bede, in reference to an occurrence of 634, writes, that while the "septentrionalis Scottorum provincia" still adhered to the old practice, the "gentes Scottorum, quæ in australibus Hiberniæ partibus morabantur, jamjudum, ad admonitionem apostolicæ sedis antistitis, pascha canonico ritu observare didicerunt." (H. E. iii. 3.) This distinction we find practically recognised in the superscription of a letter sent from Rome in 640, which is addressed to eleven ecclesiastics, who are proved by Irish records to have belonged to the northern division of the island. (Bede, H. E. ii. 19.) Whatever effect this appeal may have had, it is certain that the Columbian monasteries continued steadfast in their profession, and from time to time gave evidence of their firmness by the character of the bishops whom they sent to Lindisfarne: Aidan in 634; Finan in 652; and Colman in

valde ventosa et nimis periculosa, licet breve, fretum[a] prospere transnavigare potest? Quo audito Sanctus sic profatur: [10]Cuidam sancto et electo homini, qui [11]ad nos ante vesperam [12]perveniet, Omnipotens tranquillitatem, [13]quamlibet [14]in tempestate, [15]donavit. Et ecce, eadem die aliquamdiu a fratribus expectata navis in qua [16]sanctus inerat [17]Cainnechus[b] juxta [18]Sancti prophetationem pervenit. Cui Sanctus cum fratribus obviam venit, et ab eo honorifice [19]et hospitaliter [20]susceptus est. Illi vero nautæ qui cum [21]Cainnecho [22]inerant, interrogati a fratribus de qualitate navigationis, sic retulerunt sicuti sanctus Columba prius de tempestate et tranquillitate pariter, Deo donante, in eodem mari, et [23]iisdem horis, mirabili [24]divisione prædixerat[c]; et tempestatem eminus visam non sensisse professi sunt.

[10-11] quidam sanctus et electus homo ad D. [12] veniat D. [13] *om* D. [14] ei *add.* D. [15] donabit C. D. [16] erat *add.* D. [17] cannechus B. chainnechus C. S. kainnichus D. cainnechus F. [18] *om.* D. [19] *om.* D. [20] que *add.* D. [21] cannecho B. chainnecho C. S. kainnicho D. [22] erant D. [23] hisdem A. B. [24] A. B. C. F. S. visione *syllaba prima erasa* D.

661. (*Ibid.* iii. 3, 17, 25.) The defeat of Colman at the synod of Whitby in 664, and the retirement of the Scotic monks from Ripon (*Ib.* iii. 26, v. 19) tended to circumscribe the influence of Hy; and at the close of the century, Adamnan, the ninth abbot, made an effort to reduce his fraternity to the Roman discipline, in which, though he failed, his endeavours were crowned with success in Ireland, "et pene omnes qui ab Hiiensium dominio erant liberi ab errore avito correctos ad unitatem reduxit catholicam." (*Ib.* v. 15, 21.) It was reserved for Egbert, in 716, to bring the Columbian monks to uniformity (*Ib.* iii. 4, v. 22), an event which Tighernach, at that year, curtly records: *Pascha in Eo civitate commutatur.* Thus terminated an observance to which Bede assigns a continuance of 150 years, dating its commencement from 565; the secret of which was that "*Qualiscunque fuerit ipse* [Columba], reliquit successores magna continentia ac divino amore regularique institutione insignes: in tempore quidem summæ festivitatis dubios circulos sequentes, *utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positis nemo synodalia paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat.*" (H. E. iii. 4.)

[a] *Breve fretum.*—The sound of Iona is an English mile across. See iii. 23, § 4 *infra.*

[b] *Cainnechus.*—St. Cainnech was the patron saint of the diocese of Ossory, and from him the city of Kilkenny and the parish of Kilkenny West derive their names. See ii. 13, 14, iii. 17 *inf.* His Life was printed for private circulation by the late Marquis of Ormonde from the Codex Salmanticensis preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, with various readings from the Codex Vitarum in Abp. Marsh's Library at Dublin (4to, 1853).

[c] *Prædixerat.*—"Alio die dixit Columba-kylle fratribus, Præparate cito hospitium et aquam ad lavandos pedes. Et post aliquod intervallum navis Kannechi ad eos venit et portum tenuit. In cujus obviam Columba cum fratribus venit, et ab eo honorifice susceptus est. Tunc fratres interrogaverunt familiam Kannechi dicentes, Quomodo potuistis hodie navigare? Illi responderunt, Nobis Dominus Omnipotens tranquillam viam fecit et placidam per immensas undas: nam in mari undique circa nos erat sæva tempestas; et ad longitudinem virgæ circa navem nostram ex omni parte erat mitis tranquillitas."—Vita, cap. 26 (p. 16).

[1]DE PERICULO SANCTI [2]COLMANI EPISCOPI[a], MOCUSAILNI[b], IN MARI JUXTA INSULAM QUÆ VOCITATUR RECHRU[c].

ALIA itidem die sanctus Columba, in sua commanens matrice ecclesia, repente [3]in [3]hanc subridens [4]erupit [4]vocem, dicens: Columbanus[d], [5]filius [5]Beognai, ad nos transnavigare incipiens, nunc in undosis [6]Charybdis [7]Brecani[e] æstibus valde periclitatur; [8]ambasque [9]ad cœlum, in prora sedens, palmas elevat; turbatum quoque et [10]tam formidabile [11]pelagus benedicit: quem tamen Dominus sic terret, non ut navis naufragio, in qua ipse [12]residet, undis obruatur; sed potius ad [13]orandum intentius suscitetur, ut ad nos, Deo [14]propitio, post transvadatum perveniat periculum.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] columbani B. [3] *om.* D. [4] in hac voce erupit D. [5] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] carubdis A. caribdis B. D. F. [7] *om.* C. D. F. S. [8] abbasque C. [9] in F. S. [10] *om.* D. [11] pilagus A. pelagum D. [12] resedit C. sedit D. [13] adorandum D. [14] propitiante D.

[a] *Episcopi.*—He is stated to have been a presbyter at the time of S. Columba's death. See ii. 15 *infra.*

[b] *Mocusailni.*—The clan name by which he was distinguished, Colman Ela mac Ui Seilli. —(Tighernach, 611; Annal. Ult. 610; Four Mast. 610.) He was descended from Eachach, son of Muiredhach, whose legendary destruction by the expansion of the river Bann gave to that sheet of water the name of Loch nEachach, now called *Loch Neagh.* His descendant in the sixth generation was Clothrach, who had two sons, each giving name to a sept; namely, Fedhlim *Saillne*, or *Salline*, the head of the *Dal Sailne*, or *Dal Selli;* and Fedhlim Buan, the head of the *Dal m-Buain.*—(Mac Firbis, Geneal. MS. pp. 102, 728 *b*; Irish Nennius, p. 268; Dinnseanchus in Book of Lecan, fol. 252 *b b.*) Every man in the clan Dal-Sailne was a mac Ui Sailne.

[c] *Rechru.*—*Rechrea* ii. 41 *inf.* It is the modern Rathlin of the maps, and Raghery of the natives; a large island lying north of Ballycastle, in the county of Antrim.

[d] *Columbanus.*—He is more commonly called *Colmanus*, as in the titulus; but the exchange is very frequent. Thus Bede's Colmanus (H. E. iii. 25, 26) is Columbanus in the Annals of Ulster, 667, 675, and Tighernach 676. Colman Mor of Irish history is Columbanus in Adamnan (i. 14). So ii. 15, 16, iii. 12. See Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17. (Wks. vi. p. 536.) This Columbanus is the Colman-Eala or Colmanellus of the Irish calendar, Sept. 26; and the patron saint of Kilcolmonell on the east of Knapdale in Argyle, and of Colmonell in Ayrshire. See the note on the name at ii. 15.

[e] *Charybdis Brecani.*—See the titulus of ii. 13, where Cod. B. adds, "in vortice Brecain." Called by the Irish Coire Brecain, 'Brecan's Cauldron,' from the peculiar motion of the water, and the tradition that Brecan son of Maine [ob. A.D. 440], son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was engulfed by it. Although the name has long since shifted to the strait between Scarba and Jura, just as *Scotia* has forsaken its original home, there can be no doubt that in Adamnan's day this Corry-Brackan was situate near the Irish coast: its connexion with the island of Rathlin in the title, and the expression "transnavigare *incipiens*" in the chapter, are sufficient proof of this. Part of the

[1] DE CORMACO.

ALIO quoque [2]in tempore [3]de Cormaco[a], [4]nepote [4]Lethani[b], viro utique sancto, [5]qui tribus non minus vicibus eremum in oceano laboriose quæsivit, nec tamen invenit, [6]sanctus Columba ita [7]prophetizans ait: Hodie iterum [8]Cormacus, desertum reperire cupiens, enavigare incipit ab illa regione quæ, ultra [9]Modam[c] fluvium [10]sita, [11]Eirros Domno[d] dicitur; nec tamen etiam hac vice quod quærit inveniet; et non ob aliam ejus culpam nisi quod alicujus religiosi abbatis monachum, ipso non permittente[e], [12]discessorem secum non recte comitari, navigio [13]susceperit.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om* D. [3-5] s. columba prophetizans de viro utique sancto cormaco qui D. [4] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6-7] *om.* D. [8] cormac A. cormaccus B. [9] modan B. modum D. [10] sita est C. D. [11] et cirros C. sirros S. [12] discessurum S. [13] suscepit D.

channel between Ballycastle and the island of Rathlin is at certain times so disturbed by the action of the tides, that even in the absence of wind no small craft could live in it. It is locally known by the characteristic name *Slugnamorra*, that is, Sloꝛ na mara, 'Gulp of the sea,' and is probably the *Jölduhlaup*, 'Breaking of waves,' of the Icelandic sagas. To this terror of sailors (of which there was until lately practical evidence in the extra pay received by the coast-guard of the station), Giraldus Cambrensis refers in the grand, and but moderately exaggerated, description: "Non procul ab insulis a parte boreali, est maris quædam admiranda *vorago:* ad quam a remotis partibus omnes undique marini fluctus tanquam ex condicto confluunt, et concurrunt, qui in secreta naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in abyssum vorantur." (Topogr. Hib. ii. 41.) The earliest notice of the transfer of the name is in Fordun, who, circ. 1390, writing of Scarbay, says, "juxta quam gurges oceani decurrit fortissima, *Corebrekane* nomine." (Scotichr. ii. 10.) It is a curious fact that the only place in Ireland where the name now exists is in the inland county of Monaghan, where a townland, in the parish of Magheracloone, having a fine earthen fort, is called *Corrybrackan*. (Ord. Surv. s. 30, 31.) Very vivid descriptions of the gulf are preserved in Irish in the Dinnseanchus, and Cormac's Glossary, the latter of which, with other illustrative matter, is printed in Reeves' "Eccles. Antiqq. of Down and Connor," pp. 289, 386. See also the extract from the Life of St. Kieran in Colgan (Tr. Th. p. 458 *a*); and O'Donnell's Life of S. Columba, iii. 21. (*Ibid.* p. 434 *b*.) For an account of the natural phenomenon, see Hamilton's Letters on the N. Coast of Antrim, p. 14. (Dubl. 1790.)

[a] *Cormaco.*—For his history see the notes on ii. 42, iii. 17.

[b] *Nepote Lethani.*—In Irish Ua Liaṫam, a clan name derived from his ancestor Eochaidh Liathanach, which afterwards assumed the form *Olethan*, and was applied to a cantred in the south-east of the county of Cork, and a rural deanery in the diocese of Cloyne, conterminous with the civil district. See note on title of ii. 42.

[c] *Modam.*—The river Moy, called in Irish Muaiḋe, rises in the county of Sligo, and becomes, a little south of Ballina, the boundary between the counties of Sligo and Mayo, until it falls into Killala Bay. Tirechan writes the word *Muada* and *Muaide* (Liber Armacan. fol. 14 *b a*, 15 *a a*); and Giraldus Cambrensis

DE BELLORUM FRAGORIBUS LONGE COMMISSORUM BEATI PROPHETIA VIRI.

POST bellum Cule Drebene[a], sicut nobis traditum est, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de [2]Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit[b], quadam die, hoc est, eadem hora qua in [2]Scotia commissum est bellum quod

[1] *capitulum totum desideratur in* C. D. F. S. [2] scocia B.

numbers the *Moadus* among the nine great rivers of Ireland (Top. Hib. i. 6). The Ui Fiachrach Muaidhe 'Hy-Fiachrach of the Moy,' now the barony of Tireragh in Sligo, occupied the right side of the river; and the Ui Amalgaidh, now Tirawley in Mayo, the left. Dr. Prichard widely errs in identifying the mouth of this river with Wexford Harbour.—Ethnog. Celt. Race, cited in O'Donovan's Hy Fiachrach, p. 410. Another Cormac founded a church beside the Moy. (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 752 *b*.)

[d] *Eirros Domno.*—Now the barony of Erris, in the county of Mayo. It is principally occupied by the enormous parish of Kilcommon, extending over 203396 acres. The Irish always styled the territory Iorrus Domnann, 'Erris of the Damnonii,' and supposed that it derived that name from the Fir Domnann, *Viri Damnonii*, a section of the Firbolgs. See Keating's History, vol. i. pp. 188, 190; also compare pp. 132, 144, 168, 368, 398. (Ed. Haliday.) *Inbher Domnonn*, the old name of the mouth of the Malahide river, near Dublin, now disguised in *Muldowney*, was derived from the same source. The word Iorrus or Irrus signifies 'a promontory,' and is applied, simply, or in composition, to many places on the coasts of Galway, Kerry, and Donegal. See Hardiman's West Connaught, pp. 73, 96, 97; Curry's Battle of Magh Leana, p. 35. Tirechan mentions the *Campus Domnon in regione filiorum Amolngid.* (Lib. Armacan. fol. 10 *b a*, 14 *b a*.) Conf. Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 59 *a*.

[e] *Permittente.*—In the Lives of the Irish saints, the formula *accepta licentia* generally accompanies the mention of a departure from a monastery.

[a] *Cule Drebene.*—Præf. ii. p. 9. The Calendar of Donegall, at June 10, states this place to have been between Drumcliff and Sligo: to which may be added Colgan's authority, "Est locus hic in regione Carbriæ in Connacia, non procul a Sligueusi oppido, versus Aquilonem situs." (Tr. Th. p. 452 *a*, n. 3.) The old church of Drumcliff is about four miles north of Sligo, so that the district in which the battle was fought is determined, though the name is locally forgotten. The circumstances of the battle are thus recorded by Tighernach: A. C. 560, "The death of Curnan son of Eochaidh Tirmcarna by Diarmaid son of Cerbuil, in violation of the protection of Colum-chille; and this was the cause of the battle of Cul-Dreimhne." A. C. 561, "The battle of Cul-Dreimhne against Diarmaid son of Cerbaill. Fergus and Domhnall, the two sons of Muircertach mac Earca, and Ainmire son of Sedna, and Ninnigh, son of Duach, and Aedh son of Eochaidh Tirmcarna, King of Connaught, were victors through the prayers of Colum-cille."

The engagement took place in Carbury, the territory of the Cinel Cairbre, a branch of the northern Hy Neill, on the confines of Connaught and the Cinel Conaill; between the chiefs of the northern and southern Hy Neill, probably at the instance of St. Columba, whose rights had been violated by Diarmait, the sovereign of Ireland, in the murder of Curnan. See O'Donnell, Vit. Columbæ, ii. 1 (Tr. Th. p. 408); Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. cap. 17 (Wks.

Scotice dicitur [3]Ondemone[c], idem homo Dei coram Conallo rege, filio Comgill[d], in [4]Brittannia conversatus, per omnia enarravit, tam de bello commisso, quam etiam de illis regibus quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit: quorum propria vocabula [5]Ainmorius filius [6]Setni[e], et duo filii Maic Erce, Domnal-

[3] A. B. Ussher (Opp vi. 236). ondemon Fordun (iii. 26). monamoire Colg. Boll. [4] bryttannia B. [5] anmorius B. [6] scetni B.

vi. p. 466); Miscellany Irish Archæol. Soc. pp. 3–15; O'Donovan on Four Mast. A. C. 555 (vol. i. p. 192.)

[b] *Enavigavit.*—That is, in the year 563. So Præf. ii. p. 9 *supra.*

[c] *Ondemone.*—So the name appears in the MSS., and so it was in the copy which Ussher used; but that which was employed by Colgan and the Bollandists seems to have changed it to *Monamoire*, in order to render it more conformable to the Annals. We find a similar compound, *Inde-mor*, at Four Mast. 497; Tigh. 503. The following record of the battle is found in Tighernach, immediately after the mention of St. Columba's departure to Hy: A. C. 563: "The battle of Moin-Daire-Lothaire against the Cruithne by the Hy-Neill of the North; in which seven kings of the Cruithne were slain, with Aedh Breac. Baedan son of Conn, with two of the Cruithne, fought against the Cruithne; and the Cinel Eoghain, and [Cinel] Conaill [were those] they fought; *conducti mercede* [of] the Lee and Ard-Eolairg." Some verses of Cennfaeladh upon the battle are then cited, from which we gather that the cause of the battle was an unjust partition, and that Elne, the territory between the Bann and the Bush, was, on the occasion, wasted with fire. The belligerants were the Cruithne or Dalaradians, and the northern Hy Neill; the latter of whom engaged in the strife at the instance of a Cruithnean chief, who seems to have been wronged by his own people, and who covenanted to surrender to his auxiliaries the territory of Lee and Ard Eolairg, on the west side of the Bann, which had been ceded to the Cruithne by the Hy Neill, after the battle of Ocha in 483. From the mention of Lee and Elne, it is likely that the scene of the battle was not far from the town of Coleraine. See the note on *Munitio Cethirni*, cap. 49 *infra.*

[d] *Conallo filio Comgill.*—He succeeded his uncle Gabhran, in 560, and was followed on the throne by his first cousin Aidan. The present passage gives some support to the statement in Tighernach that the grant of Hy was made by him rather than the Picts: A. C. 574, bapp Conaill mic Comgaill piġh Dalpiada [mors Conalli filii Comgalli regis Dalriadæ] xvi. *anno regni sui: qui obtulit insulam Ia Colaim-cille.* See Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 246; O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 473; Ogygia Vindicated, p. 104; Chalmers, Caledonia, i. p. 281; O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Script. i. pp. 127, 137; Todd's Irish Nennius, p. 277; Innes' Civil and Eccles. Hist. p. 151; Hussey on Bede, iii. 4 (p. 122, n. 30).

[e] *Ainmorius filius Setni.*—Sedna the father of Ainmire, and Fedhlim St. Columba's father, were brothers, being sons of Conall Gulban. Ainmire helped to win the battle of Sligo in 543, and was one of Dermot's successful opponents at Cooldrevny. After the battle mentioned in the text, he was reinstated in the possessions of his father Sedna. (Tighernach, 563.) These included the present barony of Keenaght, in which Druim-Ceatt was situate, and explain the cause why that district was chosen for the convention which was held in his son's reign. He became sovereign in 568, and reigned three years. *Tir Ainmirech*, the old name of the barony of Boylagh in the county of Donegal, was derived from him. (O'Donovan, Four Mast. 1343.) We have his name in the form *Ainmuireg* at iii. 5 *infra.*

lus et [7]Forcus[f]. Sed et de rege Cruithniorum[g], qui [8]Echodius Laib[h] vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, currui insidens evaserit, similiter Sanctus prophetizavit.

[1]DE BELLO [2]MIATHORUM[a].

[3]ALIO in tempore, [4]hoc [4]est [5]post multos [6]a supra memorato [7]bello annorum transcursus[b], cum esset vir sanctus [8]in [9]Ioua insula, subito ad suum dicit ministratorem [10]Diormitium[c], [11]Cloccam pulsa[d]. Cujus sonitu fratres incitati ad

[7] A. B. fergus Colg. Boll. [8] echuiuslaid B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. [2] maychorum Fordun iii. 38. [3] *hanc narrat. capiti* v. *subnectunt* C. D. F. S. [4] *om.* D. [5] idem *add.* D. [6-7] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] columba *add.* D. [9] iona B. D. [10] dermitium A. uermicium B. *om.* C. D. F. S. [11] clocam A. cloccum D.

[f] *Domnallus et Forcus.*—Muircertach, son of Muiredhach by Earca daughter of Loarn, was commonly known by the matronymic *Mac Eirc.* His two sons, here mentioned, represented the Cinel Eoghain, being great-grandsons of Eoghan; while Ainmire, their companion in arms, represented the Cinel Conaill. They won the battle of Sligo in 543, and that of Cuil Conaire in 549; besides those of Culdreibhne in 561, and Moin Daire Lothaire in 563. On the assassination of Dermot, in 565, they became joint monarchs of Ireland.

[g] *Cruithniorum.*—These were the Irish Picts, called by the natives Cruichne, who occupied Dalaradia in the modern counties of Antrim and Down, and had extended their dominions westwards towards Derry. See the word at chaps. 36, 49, *infra.*

[h] *Echodius Laib.*—Though this name does not appear in the account of the battle preserved in the Annals, it is no doubt authentic, for the Annals of Ulster, at 610, record the *Mors Eugain mic Echach Laibh*, affording an instance of the curious and undesigned coincidences with which these veracious records abound. The above quotation is from the Dublin MS.: O'Conor's text, which professes to follow the Oxford copy, has *Laibre.*

[a] *Miathorum.*—Abp. Ussher's ingenious, but modest, statement, "utrum *Mœatarum* Dionis, an aliorum, nunc non disquirimus," (Wks. vi. p. 253,) affords a satisfactory identification of this name. *Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστά εἰσι Καληδόνιοι και Μαιάται· καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα (ὡς εἰπεῖν) συγκεχώρηκεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι, ὁ τὴν νῆσον διχῇ τέμνει· Καληδόνιοι δὲ, μετ' ἐκείνους.*—Epit. Xiphilini, lxxvi. 12. This refers to A. D. 196. The position of the Mæatæ seems to have been immediately north of Severus' wall, which formed a line between the firths, and divided the Barbari from the Romans. T. Innes calls them *Midland Britons*, and places them in Valencia, between the two Roman walls: but this is too far south. (Civil and Eccl. Hist. pp. 4, 8, 9, 13–17, 31, 47, 155, 210.) Conf. Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. cap. 15 (Wks. vi. p. 203); Chalmers, Caledonia, i. pp. 184, 201; Mr. Herbert, in Irish Nennius, p. xxxii.

[b] *Transcursus.*—Above thirty years.

[c] *Diormitium.*—He is mentioned again in the same capacity at i. 12, 22, 25, 29, 30, 34; ii. 29, 30; iii. 11, 23. The *minister* of St. Comgall was Crimthann. (Vit. cap. 19. Fleming, Collectan. p. 306 *b.*) That of S. Aibhe was Buiairnen. (E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 135 *a a.*)

[d] *Cloccam pulsa.*—So "personante clocca," iii.

ecclesiam, ipso sancto præsule præeunte, ocius [12]currunt. Ad quos ibidem flexis genibus infit: Nunc intente pro [13]hoc populo[e] [14]et [15]Aidano[f] rege [16]Dominum oremus; hac enim hora ineunt bellum[g]. Et post modicum intervallum egressus oratorium, respiciens in cœlum inquit, Nunc barbari in fugam vertuntur; [17]Aidanoque, quamlibet [18]infelix, [19]tamen concessa victoria est. Sed et de numero de exercitu [20]Aidani interfectorum, trecentorum et trium virorum[h], vir beatus prophetice [21]enarravit.

[12] cucurrerunt D. [13-14] *om.* B. D. [15] aedano D. aldano C. [16] populoque suo *add.* D. [17] aedano D. aldano C. [18] infelici C. D. regi *add.* D. [19] *om.* D. [20] aedani D. aldani C. [21] narravit B. C. D. F. S.

23. Compare Bede, H. E. iv. 23. The Irish word is clocc or cloȝ, akin to the English *clock*. Some ecclesiastical bells as old as the time of St. Columba are preserved in Ireland. They are formed of sheet iron, bent into a four-sided form, like the modern bullock-bells of Spain, and the sheep-bells of Wiltshire, fastened with rivets, and brazed. One of the most original passages in the legends of the Breviary of Aberdeen occurs in the office of St. Lughaidh or Moluoc, an Irishman, the founder of the Scotch Lismore, who died in 592: "Sed et die quadam cum *ferream* campanam et *quadratam* sue ecclesie pernecessariam fabricandam haberet."—Proprium SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 6 *a a*. The quadrangular bell of St. Gall, the Irish missionary to Switzerland, who died circ. 646, is preserved in the monastery of the city which bears his name, but perverted from its original design by being attached to a wall, for all the ancient Irish bells were *hand-bells*. Though the accommodation of such bells was only one of the purposes for which the Round Towers served, yet they procured for those peculiar structures the name of Cloic-ṫeaḋ, or 'bell-house.' For drawings of ancient bells see St. Patrick's Bell (Belfast, 1850); Ulster Journal of Archæol. vol. i. pp. 179, 271; Transact. R. Irish Acad. vol. xiv. pt. 2, p. 46–47; Archæolog. Scot. iv. p. 107.

[e] *Hoc populo.*—The context leaves it doubtful whether this refers to Aidan's Scots, or to the Miathi as his allies; and whether the term *barbari*, which follows, is applicable to the latter, or to a common foe. Cummineus, however, from whom the substance of the anecdote is copied, expressly says, "pro Aidano et populo *ejus*."—cap. 25. (Act. SS. Bened. Ord. i. p. 346; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 324 *a*.) So Fordun also.—Scotichr. iii. 29.

[f] *Aidano.*—*Hib.* Aeḋan, a diminutive of Aeḋ. See Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. p. 281. "Ædan rex Scottorum qui Brittaniam inhabitant."—Bede, H. E. i. 34. "Aegthan," Sax. Chron. 603. See next chap. and i. 49, iii. 5.

[g] *Bellum.*—Fordun copies this chapter almost verbatim, and identifies the subject of it with the battle of Wodenysburgh, which was fought, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 591. He places it near Chester, whither Aedan marched to the support of Cadwalla, the British king. (Scotichr. iii. 29.) But such a supposition is inadmissible, if the identity of the Miathi and Mæatæ be allowed. Ussher proposes "the battle of Lethrigh by Aedan the son of Gabhran," which Tighernach records at 590, and Ann. Ult. at 589; and subsequent writers adopt the suggestion, especially Chalmers, who makes it history, and, on his own authority, fills up the blanks: "In fighting, again, in support of the Britons, he defeated the Saxons, in 590, at the battle of Leithredh, when his two sons, Arthur, and Eocha-fin, were, however, slain, with rather more than three-hundred men."

[1]DE FILIIS AIDANI REGIS SANCTI COLUMBÆ PROPHETIA.

ALIO [2]in tempore ante supra dictum bellum Sanctus [3]Aidanum regem[a] [4]interrogat de regni successore. Illo se respondente nescire quis esset de tribus filiis suis regnaturus, [5]Arturius, an [6]Echodius Find, an [7]Domingartus[b], Sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo: Nullus ex his tribus erit [8]regnator; nam in bellis cadent ab inimicis trucidandi: sed nunc si alios juniores habes ad me veniant, et quem ex eis elegerit Dominus regem, subito super meum irruet gremium. Quibus [9]accitis[c], secundum verbum Sancti [10]Echodius [11]Buide ad-

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. *in quibus tenor cap.* v. *continuatur.* [2] quoque C. D. *om.* F. [3] aedanum D. aldanum C. [4] interrogavit D. [5] arcúrius B. *ad* [7] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] A. B. eochodius Colg. Boll. [7] A. B. domangarthus Colg. Boll. [8] rex D. regnaturus C. F. S. [9] accersitis D. [10] A. B. euchodius C. D. F. S. eochodius Colg. Boll. [11] A. B. buidhe Colg. Boll. *om.* C. D. F. S.

(Caledonia, i. p. 282.) But there is an entry in Tighernach which supersedes all such speculation: A.C. 596, *Jugulacio filiorum Aedan, i. e. Bran et Domangart et Eochaidh Find et Artur* 1 cach [in prælio] *Chirchind in quo victus est Aedan.* Chircinn is, most probably, the modern Kirkintulloch, a parish N. E. of Glasgow, on the borders of Dunbarton and Stirling, in which there is supposed to have been a Roman station on the Wall of Antonine. See Orig. Paroch. Scotiæ, i. p. 49. T. Innes follows Fordun, and supposes the Mæatæ to have been a portion of the British troops in King Aidan's army.—p. 210.

[h] *Virorum.*—Among the allied forces at the battle of Cattraeth was a body of 300 men called "the retinue of Mynyddawg," and three leaders, Peredur, Gwawrddur, and Aeddan.—Gododin, 325 (Ed. Williams, pp. 31, 129). Of these it is said:

> "But of the retinue of Mynyddawg, greatly to be deplored,
> Out of three hundred men, only one returned."
> *Ib.* 583 (pp. 50, 162.)

Mr. Skene is disposed to identify the battle of Cattraeth with that recorded in this chapter, and has kindly favoured the present writer with some very ingenious communications in support of his theory; the publication of which, by their learned author, together with the result of his other investigations into the history of this obscure, but important period, is earnestly to be desired.

[a] *Aidanum regem.*—See last chapter, and note on iii. 5.

[b] *Domingartus.*—This name, though a common one in the family, does not appear in the Irish enumeration of Aedan's sons. Fordun calls him *Griffinus*, and states that he commanded his father's forces at the battle of Fethanleg. (Scotichr. iii. 28.) Also, that his daughter, Fyn Wennem, was mother, by Conanrodus, the king of Demetia's son, of St. Drostan. (*Ib.* 38.) See Innes, Civ. Ec. Hist. p. 206.

[c] *Accitis.*—Besides the four sons mentioned in the text, Tighernach has preserved the names of Bran, slain in 596 (595 An. Ult.), and Conang, drowned in 622 (621 An. Ult.). The Irish tract on the "Men of Alba" enumerates seven: Aoḋan tra ṗeaḋt mec leṁ .i. ḋa Eachḃaiḡ .i. Eachaiḋ buiḋe, aguṙ Eochaiḋ ṗionn, Tuaṫal, Ḃran, Ḃaoiṫine, Conaing, aguṙ Ḡarṫnait, 'Aedhan, now, had seven sons, viz., two Eochaidhs, namely Eochaidh Buidhe and Eochaidh Finn, Tuathal, Bran, Baoithine, Conaing, and Gartnat.'—Lib. Ballymot. fol. 84 *b a*; Mac Firbis, MS. Geneal. p. 401.

veniens in sinu ejus recubuit. Statimque Sanctus eum [12]osculatus benedixit, et ad patrem ait: Hic est superstes, et rex post te regnaturus, et filii ejus[d] post eum regnabunt. [13]Sic omnia [14]post, suis temporibus, plene adimpleta sunt. Nam [15]Arturius et Echodius [16]Find, non longo post temporis intervallo, [17]Miatorum superius memorato in bello, trucidati sunt[e]. Domingartus vero in Saxonia bellica in strage interfectus est[f]: [18]Echodius [19]autem [19]Buide post patrem in regnum successit[g].

[1]DE DOMNALLO FILIO AIDO[a].

[2]DOMNALLUS filius [3]Aido[a], adhuc puer, ad sanctum Columbam [4]in Dorso [5]Cete[b] per nutritores adductus est: quem intuens percunctatur inquiens, Cujus

[12] osculans D. [13] hec D. [14] postea D. [15] *ad* sunt *om.* C. D. F. S. [16] fint A. [17] micitorum B. [18] et euchodius C. F. S. euchodius D. [19] *om* C. D. F. S.

[1] *titul. om.; capit. numeratur* vi. *in* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] donaldus D. [3] aeda D. [4-5] *om.* C. D. F. S.

[d] *Filii ejus.*—His sons Connadh Cerr, Domhnall Breac, and Conall, were, afterwards, kings of Dalriada. See Irish Nennius, p. 278; O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 477; Chalmers, Caledonia, i. p. 278; O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Script. i. p. 127. The immediate successor of Connadh Cerr was his son Ferchar, whom Chalmers erroneously represents as the son of a nondescript Eogan, of the house of Loarn. (*Ib.* and p. 284.)

[e] *Trucidati sunt.*—The record of their death, cited from Tighernach under last chapter, places the event in 596; but St. Columba died in 595, and the battle, according to Adamnan, occurred in his lifetime. Either, therefore, the event is misplaced in the annalist, or the biographer, writing a century after it, is chargable with an anachronism. The former is more likely, as the text in O'Conor is both corrupt and unfaithfully printed.

[f] *Interfectus est.*—Agreeably with the first clause of the entry in Tighernach, the Ann. Ult. have, at A. C. 595, *Jugulatio filiorum Aedain* .i. bpain ocup Domangaipc [Brani et Domangarti], but they take no notice of the other two brothers, or of Chircind. It is very possible that the supplemental clause by right belongs to a former year, but that Tighernach, copying from some authority whose chronology was in arrear, has referred all to the same event. It is to be observed that the marginal chronology in the printed Tighernach, which was constructed by O'Conor, differs materially in British occurrences from the computation of Bede and the Saxon Chronicle. Fordun records the death of Domangartus under a different name: "Eochodius Buyd in regno patri post annum successit, alio ejus fratre majore, *Griffino* nomine, in bello Saxonico prius interempto."—Scotichr. iii. 38.

[g] *Successit.*—A. C. 606, bapp Aedhain mic Gabpain [mors Aedani filii Gabhrani] *anno xxxviii. regni sui. ætatis vero lxxiiii.*—Tighernach. So Ann. Ult. 605; Ann. Cambr. 607. He was buried at Kilcheran, near Campbelton in Cantire. (Fordun, Scotichr. iii. 38; Ussher, Wks. vi. pp. 254, 602; Innes, Orig. Paroch. ii. pt. i. p. 12.) Eochaidh Buidhe succeeded, and reigned till 629. It is a curious fact that he is styled *Rex Pictorum* in Ann. Ult. 628, from the

est filius hic quem adduxistis? Illis respondentibus, Hic est [2]Domnallus [6]filius [7]Aido, qui ad te ideo perductus est, ut tua [8]redeat benedictione [9]ditatus. Quem cum Sanctus benedixisset, continuo ait, Hic [10]post super omnes suos fratres superstes erit[c], [11]et rex valde famosus[d]; nec unquam in manus inimicorum tradetur, sed morte placida, in senectute, et intra domum suam, coram amicorum familiarium turba, super [12]suum morietur [13]lectum[e]. Quæ omnia secundum beati vaticinium viri de eo vere adimpleta sunt.

[6-7] *om.* C. *in marg.* D. [7] aeda D. [8] *om.* D. [9] ditatis A. ditatur D. [10] *om.* C. D. F. S. [11] *om.* D. [12] stratum *add.* D. [13] *ad. fin. cap. om.* D.

Liber Cuanach; while, during his own lifetime, his son Connadh Cerr is called *Rex Dalriadæ.* (Tigh. 627.)

[a] *Domnallus filius Aido.*—Ainmire, his grandfather, was St. Columba's first cousin. Concerning his father, see next chapter. *Aido*, properly Aeðo, is the old genitive of Aeð, like *Ferguso* in Præf. ii. (p. 8 *supr.*), and i. 43, 49. So *Fedelmtheo*, or *Fedelmedo*, from Fedelmidh, *Fergosso* from Fergus. (Lib. Armacan. fol. 16 *a b*, 16 *b b*.) See O'Donovan, Ir. Gram. p. 95; Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. pp. xxxii., 254, 269.

[b] *Dorso Cete.*—*Hib.* Ðpuim Ceacc. See i. 49, ii. 6. Aidus, father of Domnall, was sovereign of Ireland when the famous convention was held here. Colgan and O'Flaherty, followed by Chalmers and others, have assigned 590 as its date. The Annals of Clonmacnoise notice it at 587; but the Annals of Ulster place it at 574: Magna monðail .i. *conventio Dromacheta, in qua erant Colum-cille* ocup mac Ainmipeach [et filius Ainmirei]. This date is confirmed by a poem cited in the preface to the *Amhra.*—MS. Trin. Coll. Dub. H. 2. 16 (p. 680). Fordun blunderingly calls the place "Insula Dorcete." (Scotichr. iii. 41.) The precise spot where the assembly was held is the long mound in Roe Park, near Newtownlimavaddy, called *the Mullagh*, and sometimes *Daisy Hill.* (Ord. Survey, Londonderry, s. 9.) The memory of the event has totally perished in the neighbourhood, but in 1645 it was vividly preserved, for Colgan, writing at that date, says: "Druimchead est locus Diœcesis et Comitatus Derensis, ad Roam fluvium, hodiè et semper venerabilis, maximè ob multas peregrinationes et publicam Theophoriam, quæ in festo omnium sanctorum in prædictæ synodi memoriam ibidem celebratæ in eo quotannis fit, cum summo omnium vicinarum partium accursu."—Act. SS. p. 204 *b*, n. 13. The convention was held in this neighbourhood, partly for the convenience of King Aedan, but more especially because this was the patrimonial territory of the Irish monarch. See note [c], p. 32 *supra.*

[c] *Superstes erit.*—Conall Cu, his eldest brother, surnamed *Clogach* or 'Delirious,' who opposed St. Columb at Druimceatt, was defeated by Colman Rimidh at the battle of Sleamhain [Slewin], near Mullingar, in 602, and died in 604. Cumuscach, his second brother, was slain by Brandubh at Dun Bucat [Dunboyke], in Wicklow, in 597. Maelcobha, the third, succeeded to the throne in 612, and, after three years' enjoyment of it, was slain at the battle of Belgadin or Sliabh-Truim [now Bessy Bell] in Tyrone, by Suibhne Meann, who held the sovereignty till 628, when he was slain, and Domhnall, mentioned in the text, became monarch of Ireland.

[d] *Famosus.*—He won the battle of Dun-Ceithern in 629 (see chap. 49 *infra*), and the more important one of Magh Rath in 637. See note on *Bellum Roth*, iii. 5 *infra.*

[e] *Morietur lectum.*—A natural death was of rare occurrence among the sovereigns of Ire-

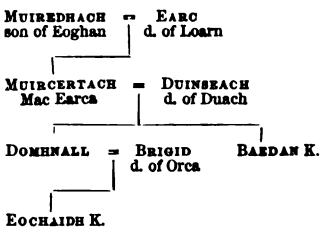
[1]DE DUOBUS ALIIS REGNATORIBUS, QUI DUO NEPOTES [2]MUIREDACHI[a] VOCITABANTUR, BAITANUS FILIUS [3]MAIC ERCE ET [4]ECHODIUS FILIUS DOMNAIL, BEATI [5]PROPHETATIO VIRI.

ALIO in tempore, per asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens, quæ dicitur [6]Artdamuirchol[b], et suos audiens comites Laisranum utique, filium Feradachi[c], et, [7]Diormitium ministratorem, de duobus supra memoratis regibus[d] in via sermocinari, hæc ad eos verba depromit: O filioli quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini? nam illi ambo reges, de quibus nunc sermocinamini, nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperierunt. In hac quoque die aliqui de Scotia[e] adventantes nautæ hæc eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus. Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de [8]Hibernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur Muirbolc Paradisi[f] pervenientes, supra scriptis ejus binis comitibus, et in eadem navi cum Sancto navigantibus, de [9]iisdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

[1] *omnia ad cap.* 16 *om.* C. D. F. S. [2] muirethachi B. [3] maicerce B. [4] euchudius B. [5] prophetia B. [6] ardamuircol B. [7] dermitium A. [8] evernia A. [9] hisdem A.

sory. This, however, is incorrect, for Colman, lord of Ossory, his father, died, according to Tighernach, in 605, which was seven years after the death of King Aidus. If the death of Aidus was the cause of his liberation (which seems to be implied in the text), then the "aliqua exilii tempora" would denote the period which elapsed between 598 and 605. It is remarkable that a similar expulsion and restoration of his father Colman is related in the Life of St. Cainnech (chap. 44, p. 27, Ed. Ormonde), and in that of St. Mochoemog, (chap. 30, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 594 *b*.)

[a] *Nepotes Muiredachi.*—Ainmire, father of Aidus, was slain in 569; upon which Baedan, and Eochaidh, his nephew, became joint sovereigns of Ireland. Their death, referred to in this chapter, is thus related by Tighernach: A. C. 572, Ꝺa hui Muiṗeꝺaiġh [duo nepotes Muiredaci] *i.e. Baetan mac Muircheartaigh et Eochaidh Find mac Domhnaill* [*anno*] *tertio regni sui* [*occisi*]. *Cronan mac Tigernaigh* ṗiġh [rex] *Cianachta occisor eorum erat.* These sovereigns were of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall, as is thus shown:



[b] *Artdamuirchol.*—So ii. 10. *Art-muirchol*, ii. 22. Now Ardnamurchan, a peninsular district on the northern boundary of Argyleshire. The name in the text seems to signify 'Height of the two sea-hazels,' but the modern one 'Height of the sea-calf.' In 1292 it was called *Ardenmurich*, and in 1309 *Ardnamurchin*. The character of the district in Adamnan is fully borne out by modern description: "It consists chiefly

[1] DE OINGUSIO FILIO AIDO COMMANI SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

HIC namque de patria cum aliis duobus fratribus effugatus, ad Sanctum in Britannia peregrinantem exul venit; cuique benedicens, hæc de eo prophetizans sancto promit de pectore verba: Hic juvenis, defunctis ejus ceteris fratribus superstes remanens, multo est regnaturus in patria tempore; et inimici ejus coram ipso cadent; nec tamen ipse unquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed morte placida, senex, inter amicos morietur. Quæ omnia juxta Sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est [2]Oingusius cujus cognomentum Bronbachal[a].

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titulum om.* Boll. [2] oingussius A.

of mountains, hills, and high moors, in general more rugged and precipitous than of great elevation."—Old Stat. Surv. xx. p. 289. The old parochial name was Kilchoan, so called from the church, which stood on the south coast, near Kilchoan Bay. See C. Innes' Orig. Paroch. ii. pt. i. p. 194.

[c] *Laisranum filium Feradachi.*—See the note on the name i. 29 *infra*.

[d] *Supra memoratis regibus.*—As their names do not occur in the chapter, this expression proves that the titulus is an integral part of the narrative.

[e] *Scotia.*—Or, *Hibernia*, as in the next sentence, showing that Ardnamurchan was not *then* in Scotia.

[f] *Muirbolc Paradisi.*—Muirbolg nemeḋ? This is a very singular compound. We have *Muirbulcmar* at iii. 23 *infra*. The name has not been locally preserved, but it probably belonged to a sheltered bay in or near Ardnamurchan. The word Murbolg signifies a 'sea inlet,' and in Ireland is modernized *Murlough*. See Four Mast. A.M. 2859, 3501. The battle of Murbulg, between the Dalriada and Cruithne, recorded by Tighernach at 731, is referred to Scotland by Keating (Hist. An. 724).

[a] *Bronbachal.*—Colgan was unable to identify him, and proposes to read "Filius Colmani" in the title, so as to make him the son of Colman Mor, who was slain in 621; and in this he is followed by O'Donovan on the Four Masters, at 616. But the death of Colman Mor was a *jugulatio* (Ann. Ult. 620), whereas the subject of the present narrative died "placida morte." Mac Firbis, however, renders any emendation superfluous, and affords the following satisfactory information: Tuathal Maolgarb, mac Cormac Caoiḋ, ri Erenn, da mac laiṁ .i. Garban o ttadh Sgandail, ro gabrad an rigge, Ui Duibdhuin 7 Ui Duibhne cille erpuig bronn; agus Coman no Caeman atair Aoḋa ataṁ Aongusa bronbachall an naoiṁ, 'Tuathal Maolgarbh, son of Cormac Caoch, King of Ireland [A.C. 533–544], had two sons, namely, Garban, of whom was Sgandal [Four Mast. 665], who succeeded to the sovereignty; Ui Duibhduin [*Ibid.* 669], and Ui Duibhne of Cill-espuig-Brone [in the county of Sligo]; and *Coman*, or Caeman, *father of Aedh father of Aongus Bronbachall the religious.*'—Clann Cairbre. (Geneal. MS. p. 167.) To which the Annals of Ulster add: A.C. 648, *Mors Oengusa Bron-bachlae regis Ceniuil Coirpri.* The Cenel Cairbre, who gave name to the territory, now the barony, of Carbury in the north of Sligo, were descended from Cairbre son of Niall, and were a tribe of the Northern Hy Neill. In their territory the bat-

[1]PROPHETIA BEATI [2]VIRI DE FILIO DERMITI REGIS QUI AIDUS SLANE[a] LINGUA NOMINATUS EST [3]SCOTICA.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir beatus in [4]Scotia per aliquot demoraretur dies, ad supradictum Aidum, ad se venientem, sic prophetice locutus ait, Præcavere debes, [5]fili, ne tibi a Deo totius [6]Hiberniæ regni prærogativam monarchiæ prædestinatam[b], parricidali faciente peccato, amittas: nam si quandoque illud commiseris, non toto patris regno, sed ejus aliqua parte in gente tua, brevi [7]frueris tempore. Quæ verba Sancti sic sunt expleta secundum ejus vaticinationem. Nam post Suibneum filium Columbani dolo ab eo interfectum[c], non plus, ut fertur, quam quatuor annis et tribus mensibus[d] regni concessa [8]potitus est [9]parte[e].

[1] *capit. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [1-2] *voci* scotica *inferius subsequuntur* B. [3] scottica B. [4] scocia B. [5] filii A. [6] B. everniae A. [7] finieris B. [8-9] pocius est parce B.

tle of Cooldrevny was fought. The epithet bron-bachall, which O'Conor interprets *baculi dolorosi*, seems to have reference to the 'pilgrim's staff.' By supplying the word *filii* before Commani in the title we have the exact lineage given by Mac Firbis; while the word *mors* in the passage cited from the Annals, as opposed to *occisio* or *jugulatio*, indicates the natural death recorded in the text; and the date 648, reckoning even from the latest period of our saint's life, allows ample time for the subject of the prediction to become a *senex*. Such harmony in three independent records is a remarkable attestation of their accuracy.

[a] *Aidus Slane.*—Eldest son of Diarmait Mac Cerbhaill, by Mughaina (Vit. S. Aidi, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 420 *a*); and surnamed from the river Slaine, near which he was born. (Keating, An. 587.) As heir to the lordship of the Southern Hy Neill, he was a consenting party to the grant of Ceanannus, or Kells, to St. Columba. (O'Donnell, i. 64, Tr. Th. p. 400.) On his father's death he succeeded to that dignity, and, about the year 580, at the instance of St. Columba, possibly on the very occasion mentioned in the text, he granted to St. Colman-Elo the land of Fiodh-Elo in Ferceall, where the church of Lann-Elo or Lynally was subsequently built. (Vit. S. Colmaneli, MS. E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 106 *a b*; Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 530.) On the death of Aedh son of Ainmire, in 598, he, and Colman Rimidh, one of the Cenel Eoghain, were elected joint sovereigns. His abode was on an island in Loch Leibhinn, now Lough Lene, near Fore in Westmeath. (Vit. S. Fechini, Colgan, Act. SS. pp. 135 *b*, 141 *a*; Vit. S. Aidi, *ibid.* p. 421 *a*.)

[b] *Prædestinatam.*—King Oswald was said to be "a Deo ordinatus," (i. 1, p. 16 *supr.*) and so Diarmait, father of this Aedh (i. 36 *infr.*)

[c] *Interfectum.*—A.C. 600, Iugulatio Suibhne mic Colmain moir la hAedh Slaine a mbridam for Suanna. 'The assassination of Suibhne, son of Colman Mor, by Aedh Slaine at Bridamh on the Suainu.'—*Tighernach.* The individual on whom this "parricidale peccatum" was committed was his nephew. *Columbanus* in the text is an instance of the occasional use of that name for *Colmanus*.

[d] *Mensibus.*—The crime was committed in

[1] DE REGE RODERCO FILIO [2] TOTHAIL[a], QUI [3] IN PETRA CLOITHE[b] REGNAVIT, BEATI VIRI PROPHETIA.

ALIO idem in tempore [4] hic, ut erat sancti viri amicus[c], aliquam ad eum occultam per Lugbeum Mocumin[d] legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimi-

[1] *capit. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] totail B. [3] *om.* B. [4] *om.* B.

600, and the retribution followed in 604, as Tighernach relates: *Jugulatio* Aeda Slaine o Conall mac Suibhne for bru Locha Sembighe. Aed Gurban comalta Conaill Guthbind ocus baethgal bile fon gumertar *eum: unde dictum est:*

Conall fobii Aedh Slaine
Aedh Slaine fobi Suibne.

'The *jugulatio* of Aedh Slaine by Conall son of Suibhne on the brink of Lough Sewdy [in Westmeath]. Aedh Gusdan, foster-brother of Conall Guithbinn, and Baethgal Bile, wounded him: *unde dictum est:*

Conall slew Aedh Slaine
Aedh Slaine slew Suibhne.'

[c] *Parte.*—The reference is to his association with Colman Rimidh in the sovereignty. Such division of government was not unusual at this period. Colgan justly styles the harmony between this chapter and the Annals "mira consensio." (Tr. Th. p. 376 *a*, n. 54.)

[a] *Roderco filio Tothail.*—The *Rhydderch Hael* of the British, son of Tudwal [here called *Tothal*, from the Irish Tuathal], surnamed *Tutglud* [Tuaith Clud 'of the Clyde district'], *ap* Cedig *ap* Dyvnwal Hen *ap* Ednyved *ap* Maxen Wledig [or Maximus, King of Britain, 383–388]. He was of Irish extraction by his mother's side, for his sister Melangell, or Monacella, was daughter of Ethni, surnamed *Wyddeles*, 'the Irish woman.' (Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 269; Archæol. Cambr. iii. pp. 137, 224.) His surname *Hael* [Hib. fial] denotes 'Liberal;' hence he is called by Geoffrey of Monmouth *Rodarchus Largus*, and among the Welsh he was celebrated as one of the "Three Liberal Princes of the isle of Britain."—Triad xxx. (Myvyr. Archæol. ii. p. 63.) "Gloria enim et divitiæ in domo ejus, liberalitas in corde, urbanitas in ore, munificentia in manu ejus, eo quod benedixisset Dominus operibus manuum ejus. Unde non solum in fines circumjacentes terræ ejus, sed etiam ultra mare in Hyberniam exivit fama largitatis ejus."—Jocelin, Vit. S. Kentig. c. 37. (Pinkert. Vit. Ant. p. 277.) But his greatest honour was his patronage of religion: "Suscitavit super regnum Cambrinum in regem Rederch nomine; qui *a discipulis sancti Patricii in Hibernia baptizatus* fide Christianissima; qui, et in toto corde quæreret Dominum, et reparare studeret Christianismum." —Vit. S. Kentig. c. 29. (*Ibid.* p. 261; Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 226.) We find a Ruaidhri mac Muirminn (Roderic Mawr) King of the Britons in 876, 877. (An. Ult.)

[b] *Petra Cloithe.*—Called in the thirteenth century, from its occupants, *Dun-Breatan*, now Dumbarton. "Civitas Brittonum munitissima usque hodie quæ vocatur Alcluith."—Bede (H. E. i. 1.) "Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat Petram Cluith; est enim juxta fluvium nominis ilius."—(*Ib.* i. 12.) The ancient Scholiast on St. Fiech's Hymn in the Liber Hymnorum observes on the name *Nemthur*, the alleged birthplace of St. Patrick, cathir i mbretnaib tuaiscirt .i. Ail Cluade, 'a city in North Britain, i. e. Ail-Cluade' (fol. 29). In the early Irish annals we meet with Alo-

cis esset trucidandus[e], an non. At vero Lugbeus, a Sancto [5]interrogatus de eodem rege, et regno, et populo, [6]et respondens, quasi misertus, dicit, Quid de illo inquiris misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur, nullo modo [7]scire potest? Sanctus tum deinde profatur, Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum, sed in sua, super plumatiunculam, morietur domo. Quod Sancti de rege Roderco vaticinium plene adimpletum est: nam juxta verbum ejus [8]in domo sua morte placida obiit[f].

[5] intergatus B. [6] ejus B. [7] sciri B. [8] *om.* B.

cluaiche, the genitive of Ailcluaiche, in the notices of its kings. (Tigh. 694, 722; Ann. Ult. 657, 693, 721, 779, 869.) The surrounding tract was called Srath-Cluade, (An. Ult. 871), and *Arecluta*, (Colgan, Act. SS. pp. 178 *a*, 181 *a*, 188 *a*; Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 217.) The Calendar of Cashel is cited by Colgan for "SS. Medranus et Tomanus in una ecclesia in Britannia Arcluidensi."—Jun. 8. (Act. SS. p. 465 *a*, n. 31.) The early date assigned to the Christian settlement in Alcluid by the Origines Paroch. Scot. (i. p. 24) is founded on an erroneous reading of the Ann. Ult. 554: the place mentioned there is *Achadhcinn* in Ulster. See Eccl. Antiqq. Down and Connor, pp. 89, 322. For a detailed account of the Strathcluyd Britons, see Chalmers, Caledonia, i. pp. 235–249; Irish Nennius, pp. xxxiii.–xxxvi. lx.

[c] *Amicus.*—His special favourite was St. Kentigern, the friend of St. Columba, through whose agency Christianity became established in his dominions. See Vit. S. Kentig. 30, 31, 33, 37. (Pinkert. Vit. Ant. pp. 261, 264, 267, 277.) Merddin calls him *Rhydderch Hael rwysadur ffydd*, 'Ridderch Hael, champion of the Faith.' (Myvyr. Arch. i. p. 135.)

[d] *Lugbeum Mocumin.*—See i. 24, 28, 41 *infr.* Lugneus Mocumin, his brother, is mentioned at ii. 18, 27 *infra.*

[e] *Trucidandus.*—He waged war against Gwenddoleu ap Ceidian, whom he overcame and slew at the battle of Arderydd, circ. 577. Merddin Wylet, commonly called Merlin (who received also the name Laloiken, from *Llallogan*, 'twin-brother,' as he was addressed by his sister Gwenddydd,—Cyvoesi (Myvyr. Arch. i. p. 138; Vit. S. Kentig. c. 45; Fordun, iii. 31) took part in the battle against the Strathclyde king, of whom, from bitter experience, he makes frequent mention in his *Oian a Pharchellan*, vs. 10, 12, 25, (Myvyr. Arch. i. pp. 135, 138;) and in his *Afallen beren*, 13, (*Ib.* i. p. 151.) King Aidan, St. Columba's friend, was also opposed to Ridderch, in the battle of Arderydd. One of the "Three Expensive Battles of the isle of Britain was when Aeddan Vradog ['the Treacherous,' *Hib.* Breadach, in joining with the Saxons] went to Alclut to the court of Rydderch Hael: he consumed all the meat and drink in the palace, leaving not as much as would feed a fly, and he left neither man nor beast alive, but destroyed all."—(Triad. 46, 52. (Myvyr. Arch. ii. pp. 11, 66.) The message in the text may have had reference to Aidan's hostility.

[f] *Obiit.*—"Eodem anno quo pontifex sanctus decessit Kentegernus, et Rex [Rederech] ac Princeps [Morthec] prædicti obierunt; et in Glasghu sepulti sunt."—Jocel. Vit. S. Kent. c. 45 (Pinkert. Vit. Ant. p. 297.) This occurred circ. A. D. 601. The *Englynion y Beddau* have *In Aberich Rederch Hael*, 'In Aber Riderch Hael is' [buried]. (Myvyr. Arch. i. p. 79.) Which the Welsh place in Caernarvonshire, though it is more likely to have been in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

[1]DE DUOBUS PUERIS, QUORUM UNUS, JUXTA VERBUM SANCTI, IN FINE HEBDOMADIS OBIIT, PROPHETIA SANCTI.

[2]ALIO in tempore duo [3]quidam [4]plebei ad Sanctum [5]in [6]Ioua commorantem insula [7]deveniunt; quorum unus, [8]Meldanus [9]nomine, de filio suo qui præsens erat Sanctum interrogat, quid ei esset futurum. Cui Sanctus sic profatur: Nonne sabbati dies hodierna est? filius tuus sexta feria, in fine morietur septimanæ, octavaque die, hoc est, sabbato, hic sepelietur. Alter proinde plebeus, [10]nomine [11]Glasdercus[a], et ipse de filio quem ibidem secum habuit nihilominus interrogans, talem Sancti audit responsionem: Filius tuus [12]Ernanus suos videbit nepotes et in hac insula senex sepelietur[b]. Quæ omnia, secundum verbum Sancti, de pueris ambobus, suis plene temporibus sunt expleta.

[1]DE [2]COLCIO, AIDO DRAIGNICHE FILIO[c], A NEPOTIBUS [3]FECHUREG[d] ORTO; ET DE QUODAM OCCULTO MATRIS EJUS PECCATO, PROPHETIA SANCTI.

ALIO in tempore, supramemoratum Colgium, apud se in [4]Ioua commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua interrogat genitrice, si esset religiosa, an non. Cui

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *cap.* vi. *continuatur* C. D. F. S. [3] *om.* C. [4] plebeii F. S. [5] columbam *add.* D. [6] iona B. C. D. [7] veniunt D. [8] mellanus D. [9] *om.* D. [10-11] *om.* C. D. F. S. [11] A. glasdercis B. [12] *om.* C. D. F. S.

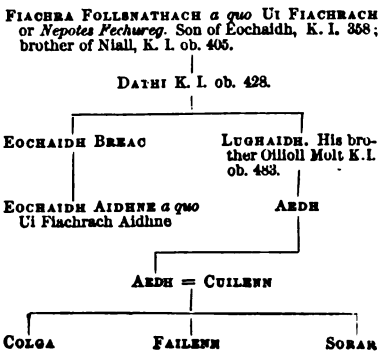
[1] *omnia ad cap.* 19 *om.* C. D. F. S. [2] colgio B. [3] A. B. [4] iona B.

[a] *Glasdercus.*—*Hib.* Glar Deirg, 'grey-eyed,' a family name in the Hy-Garrchon in the modern county of Wicklow.

[b] *Sepelietur.*—Even at this early period it was considered a privilege to be interred in Hy.

[c] *Colcio Aido filio.*—"Colcu, of Cluain-Colgan at Athcluana-Meadhraidhe, and Fael, and Sorar, three children of Aedh son of Aedh son of Lughaidh son of Uaitti son of Fiachrach, son of Eochaidh Muighmedoin." (Book of Lecan.) The same descent is assigned to his sister St. Faoilenn in the Calendar of Donegall. —Mar. 3. The surname *Draigniche* is *Hib.* Draigniże, gen. of Draigneach, 'blackthorn.'

[d] *Nepotibus Fechureg.*—*Hib.* Ui Fiachrach, a tribe inhabiting an extensive tract in the modern counties of Galway and Mayo. See O'Donovan's Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, and the exquisite Map prefixed. The name occurs again at iii. 20 in the same connexion. The following table shows Colga's lineage, and illustrates the admirable agreement of the biographer and the Irish genealogies:



ipse inquiens ait, Bene moratam, et bonæ famæ, meam novi matrem. Sanctus tum sic prophetice profatur, Mox, Deo volente, ad [5]Scotiam[c] profectus, matrem diligentius de quodam suo pergrandi peccato interroga occulto, quod nulli hominum confiteri vult. Qui, hæc audiens, obsecutus, ad [6]Hiberniam emigravit. Proinde mater, ab eo studiose interrogata, quamlibet primule infitiens, tamen suum confessa est peccatum[d], et juxta Sancti [7]judicationem, pœnitudinem agens, sanata, de se quod Sancto manifestatum est valde mirata est. Colgius vero, ad Sanctum reversus, per aliquot dies apud eum commoratus, de fine sui interrogans temporis, hoc a Sancto audit responsum: In tua, quam amas, patria primarius alicujus ecclesiæ[e] per multos eris annos; et si forte aliquando tuum videris pincernam[f] in cœna [8]amicorum ludentem, [9]hauritoriumque in gyro per collum[g] torquentem, scito te mox in brevi moriturum. Quid plura? Hæc eadem beati viri prophetatio sic per omnia est adimpleta, quemadmodum de Colgio eodem est prophetata.

[5] scociam B. [6] B. everniam A. [7] A. B. indicationem Boll. [8] amico cum *vitiose* Pinkert. [9] auritoriumque A. B.

[c] *Ad Scotiam.*—That is, "ad Hiberniam," as in next sentence.

[d] *Peccatum.*—Adultery. The tract of Ængus the Culdee *De Matribus Sanctorum Hiberniæ* supplies the following curious commentary on this passage: Cuilleanb maccaiṗ Cholcan mec Aeḋa ocuṗ Ḟailinḃi a ṡechaṗ i cill Colḡan ic Ath cliaṫ Meḋṗaiḋi, *ut dicitur:*

> Cuillenb maccaiṗ Colḡan cain
> Tocbaḋ i Muiḡ Uillenn eaḋ
> La Ḟailbe ḡan chaiṗḋ cuil
> Do luiḋ i Caiṡel aṗ cel.

'Cuillenn was mother of Colga son of Aedh, and of Failinn his sister, in Cill-Colgan at Ath-cliath-Medraidhi, *ut dicitur:*

> Cuillenn the mother of Colga the chaste
> Was reared at Magh Ullen for a time
> By Failbhe, without charge of guilt:
> She went to Cashel straying.'

Failbhe Flann, king of Munster, died in 637, having reigned 14 years. See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 381 *a*, where the last two lines of the above stanza are incorrectly translated.

[e] *Ecclesiæ.*—From Colga the parish church of Kilcolgan, and from his sister Faoilenn the adjoining parish of Killealy, both in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, which was coextensive with the civil territory of Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, derive their names respectively. They are situate in the county of Galway, barony of Dunkellin, south-east of the town of Galway. (Ord. Surv. s. 103.) The territory of Meadhraighe [pronounced *Maăree*], to which these parishes formerly belonged, does not now extend so far to the S. E., but is confined to the parish of Ballynacourty. See iii. 20 *infra*, and the notice of this Colga at Feb. 20, in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, p. 380.

[f] *Pincernam.*—Probably the same as the monastic officer called *cellarius* in the Lives of several Irish saints. See Vit. S. Colmani Dromorensis, c. 12 (Act. SS. Junii. ii. p. 27 *b*); Vit. S. Comgalli, c. 31 (Fleming, Collectan. p. 309 *b*); Vit. S. Colmani-Ela (E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dub. fol. 106 *b a*); Vit. S. Cronani (Act. SS. Apr. iii. p. 582 *a*.) The Life of St. Ailbhe relates that he and some other Irishmen, stay-

[1]DE LAISRANO [2]HORTULANO[a], HOMINE SANCTO.

VIR beatus quemdam de suis monachum nomine Trenanum[b], gente Mocuruntir[c], legatum ad Scotiam[d] exire quadam præcipit die. Qui, hominis Dei obsecutus jussioni, navigationem parat festinus; unumque sibi deesse navigatorem coram Sancto queritur. Sanctus hæc consequenter, eidem respondens, sacro promit de pectore verba, dicens, [3]Nautam, quem tibi non adhuc suppetisse dicis, nunc invenire non possum. Vade in pace: usquequo ad [4]Hiberniam pervenias prosperos et secundos habebis flatus. Quemdamque obvium videbis hominem eminus occursurum, qui primus præ ceteris navis proram tuæ tenebit in Scotia, hic erit comes tui [5]itineris per aliquot in [6]Hibernia dies; teque inde revertentem ad nos usque comitabitur, vir a Deo electus, qui in hoc meo monasterio per omne reliquum tempus bene conversabitur. Quid plura? Trenanus, accipiens a Sancto benedictionem, plenis velis per omnia transmeavit maria: et, ecce, appropinquanti ad portum naviculæ Laisranus Mocumoie[e], citior ceteris, occurrit, tenetque proram. Nautæ recognoscunt ipsum esse de quo Sanctus prædixerat.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] ortholano B. [3] nauta A. B. [4] eberniam A. [5] iteris A. [6] ebernia A.

ing at Rome, were on a certain occasion provided with materials for an entertainment by Pope Hilary: "Tunc sanctus Albeus ad sanctum Declanum et Colmanum dixit, Quis ex vobis erit noster *cellarius* in hoc prandio? At illi dixerunt nos omnes sumus lassi, et non possumus ministrare."—(E. 3, 11, T. C. D., fol. 133 *a b*). The larger monasteries had also a coic, *coquus*, and a peṅcigiṅ, *œconomus*, or 'steward,' whom the Annal. Ult. often call *equonimus*. See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 213 *b*, 393; Vit. S. Cannechi, c. 4 (p. 3, Ed. Ormonde); Vit. S. Moluæ, c. 46 (Flem. Collect. p. 377 *a*); Columbani Reg. Cœnob. c. 12 (*Ib.* p. 23 *b*). "Muiredhach mac Huairgaile, equonimus Jae," died in 781.—Annal. Ult.

[e] *Collum.*—The meaning of this obscure passage seems to be: When you see your butler making merry in a supper of his friends, and twirling the ladle round in the strainer, etc. The difficulty arises from our imperfect knowledge concerning the domestic utensils of the early natives.

[a] *Hortulano.*—The modern term would be gaṅdaḃóiṅ.

[b] *Trenanum.*—Ṫṅena of the Irish. A Trenanus is mentioned in S. Baitheneus' Life as one of his fraternity.—Cap. 2. (Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 237 *a*; Colgan, Act. SS. p. 726).

[c] *Mocuruntir.*—Mac-Ui-Runciṅ. The three magi who opposed St. Patrick are stated by Tirechan to have been of the *Generis Runtir.* (Lib. Armac. fol. 10 *a a.*) According to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick the *Dal-Ruinntir* occupied Cluain-chaoin in Fer Ross, now Clonkeen in the west of the county of Louth.—iii. 66. (Tr. Th. p. 162 *a.*)

[d] *Scotiam.*—"Hiberniam" lower down. Again *in Scotia*, and its equivalent "in Hibernia."

[e] *Mocumoie.*—Styled *Hortulanus* in the title.

[1]DE CETO MAGNO [2]QUOMODO SANCTUS PRÆSCIENS DIXERAT.

QUADAM die, cum vir [3]venerabilis in [4]Ioua demoraretur [5]insula, quidam frater, Berachus[a] nomine, ad Ethicam[b] proponens insulam navigare, ad Sanctum mane accedens, ab eo benedici [6]postulat. Quem Sanctus [7]intuitus, inquit, O fili hodie intentius præcaveto ne Ethicam cursu ad terram directo per latius coneris transmeare pelagus; sed potius, circumiens, minores secus naviges insulas[c]; ne videlicet, [8]aliquo monstruoso perterritus prodigio, vix inde possis evadere. Qui, a Sancto accepta benedictione, secessit, et navem [9]conscendens, Sancti verbum quasi parvipendens, [10]transgreditur; majora [11]proinde [12]Ethici transmeans spatia pelagi[d], ipse et qui ibi [13]inerant nautæ vident, et ecce cetus[e]

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] qũo B. [3] columba *add.* D. [4] iona B. D. [5] sua *add.* D. [6] postulavit D. [7] intuens D. [8] alio C. [9] ascendens C. D. [10] ingreditur D. [11] deinde D. [12] aethici A. [13] erant D.

This tribe name is applied to St. Fintan in chap. 2 *supra* (p. 20).

[a] *Berachus.*—Colgan supposes that this was St. Berach, founder of Cluain-Choirpthe, or Kilbarry, but on the very insufficient grounds that a dispute in which he was engaged was referred to Aidan son of Gabhran, who endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to detain the saint in Scotland. (Act. SS. p. 342 *a*; Tr. Th. p. 377 *a*, n. 61.) Berach, an abbot of Bangor, died in 663. Colgan interprets the name "directè et punctualiter ad scopum collimans, vel quasi alicujus mucrone punctum attingens."—(Act. SS. p. 346 *a*, n. 2.)

[b] *Ethicam.*—This word is not a substantive, as has been generally supposed: for further on we find *Ethici pelagi;* but an adjective agreeing with *insula* (twice in this chap., and iii. 8), or *terra* (once in this chap., and i. 36, ii. 15 twice, 39, iii. 8). It is an appellative formed from ech or ich, 'corn,' and signifies *tritici ferax,* the island being, as Fordun describes it, "insula ubi hordei magna copia;" or, as it is termed in a Gaelic poem, Cip iriol na h-orna, 'the low-lying land of barley.' It is mentioned in the Lives of several Irish saints as *terra, insula,* or *regio, Hyth,* or *Hith;* and from Cip ica, the Irish compound answering to *Terra Heth,* was formed the proper name, which has passed through the various stages of *Tirieth* (Reginald of Durham, 12th cent.), *Tyre-è* (Fordun, ii. 10), *Tyriad* (1343), *Tereyd* (1354), *Tyriage* (1390), *Tiereig* (1496), until it has been reduced to its present form of *Tiree.* The island Tiree is about eleven miles long, and varies in breadth from one to three. It is a low sandy tract, lying about twenty miles N.W. of Hy. *Artchain* (i. 36 *infra*), and *Campus Lunge* (i. 30, 41, ii. 15, 39, iii. 8), were situated in the Ethica terra. See the paper on "the Island of Tiree" in the Ulster Journal of Archæol. ii. pp. 233–244; Innes' Orig. Paroch., under Soroby and Kirkapoll (vol. ii. pt. 1, pp. 327–331.)

[c] *Insulas.*—The direct course to Tiree lies in the open sea: the circuitous route would lead northwards to Staffa, thence to the Treshnish isles, and from them westwards to the northern extremity of the island.

[d] *Spatia pelagi.*—It is nearly twenty miles across from Hy to Port-na-lung beside Soroby in Tiree. Observe the form *Ethici pelagi.*

miræ et immensæ magnitudinis, [14]se instar montis erigens, ora aperuit patula nimis dentosa, supernatans. [15]Tum proinde remiges, deposito velo, valde perterriti, [16]retro [17]reversi, illam obortam ex belluino motu fluctuationem vix evadere potuerunt, Sanctique verbum recognoscentes propheticum, admirabantur. Eadem quoque die [18]Sanctus [19]Baitheneo[f], ad supra memoratam insulam navigaturo, mane de eodem intimavit ceto, inquiens, Hac præterita nocte media, cetus magnus de profundo maris se [20]sublevavit, et inter [21]Iouam et Ethicam insulam se hodie in superficiem [22]eriget æquoris. Cui [23]Baitheneus respondens infit, Ego et illa bellua sub Dei potestate sumus. Sanctus, Vade, ait, in pace, fides tua in Christo te ab hoc defendet periculo. [23]Baitheneus [24]tum deinde, a Sancto benedictione accepta, a portu [25]enavigat: transcursisque non parvis ponti spatiis, ipse et socii cetum aspiciunt; perterritisque omnibus, ipse solus æquor et cetum, [26]ambabus manibus elevatis, benedicit intrepidus. Eodemque momento bellua magna, [27]se sub [28]fluctus immergens, nusquam deinceps eis apparuit.

[1]DE QUODAM BAITANO, QUI CUM CETERIS DESERTUM MARINUM APPETENS ENAVIGAVERAT, SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO in tempore quidam Baitanus[a], gente Nepos [2]Niath Taloirc[b], benedici a Sancto petivit, cum ceteris in mari eremum[c] quæsiturus. Cui valedicens

[14] *om.* D. [15] cum D. [16-17] retroversi C. [18] sancto F. [19] baitheno S. [20] sullivavit B. [21] ionam B. D. [22] erigit B. [23] baithenus F. [24] tunc beatus D. [25] enavigavit C. [26] ambis A. F. S. [27] *om.* D. [28] fluctibus C. D. F.

[1] *capitulum totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titulum om.* Boll. [2] mathaloirc B.

[e] *Cetus.*—See Martin's account of a Gallan whale which overturned a fishing boat, and devoured three of the crew.—West. Islands, p. 5.

[f] *Baitheneo.*—He was superior of the dependent monastery of Magh-Lunge in Tiree before his accession to the abbotship of Hy. See his Acts, cap. 7 (Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 237 *b*); and i. 30, 41, ii. 15, iii. 8, *infra.*

[a] *Baitanus.*—The Irish form of this name is Baotan; that of Baitheneus, Baoiṫin.

[b] *Nepos Niath Taloirc.*—That is, Ua Niadh Taloirc. *Nioth* occurs in Tirechan (Lib. Armac. fol. 14 *a b*, 15 *b b*). It signifies a 'champion,' and is often found as a component in ancient names. We find *Tolorg* in Four Mast. 842, 885; and frequently in the catalogue of the Pictish Kings. (Irish Nennius, pp. 160–164.)

[c] *Eremum.*—"In oceano desertum" further on. See i. 6, ii. 42. Such was the island of Hirth, now St. Kilda. Of Borera, which lies to the north-east, Martin writes: "In the *West* end of this isle is *Stallir-House*, which is much larger than that of the Female Warrior in St. *Kilda*, but of the same Model in all respects; it is all Green without, like a little Hill; the Inhabitants there have a Tradition that it

Sanctus hoc de ipso propheticum protulit verbum, Hic homo, qui ad quærendum in oceano desertum pergit, non in deserto conditus jacebit; sed illo in loco sepelietur ubi oves femina tra[illegible] sepulcrum ejus minabit[d]. Idem itaque Baitanus, post longos per ventosa circuitus æquora, eremo non reperta, ad patriam reversus, multis ibidem annis cujusdam cellulæ dominus [3]permansit, quæ Scotice Lathreginden[e] dicitur. [4]Iisdemque diebus accidit, [5]quibus, post aliqua mortuus tempora, sepultus est in Roboreto [6]Calgachi[f], ut propter hostilitatis incursum vicina ad ejusdem loci ecclesiam plebecula cum mulieribus et parvulis confugeret. Unde contigit ut quadam die mulier deprehenderetur aliqua, quæ suas per ejusdem viri sepulcrum nuper sepulti oviculas minabat. Et unus ex his qui viderant sanctus sacerdos dixit, Nunc prophetia sancti Columbæ expleta est, multis prius divulgata annis. Qui utique supra memoratus presbyter mihi hæc de Baitano enarrans retulit, Mailodranus[g] nomine, Christi miles, gente [7]Mocurin[h].

[1]DE NEMANO QUODAM FICTO PŒNITENTE SANCTI PROPHETATIO VIRI.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus ad Hinbinam insulam[a] pervenit, eademque die ut etiam pœnitentibus aliqua præcipit cibi consolatio indulgeretur[b]. Erat

[3] remansit B. [4] hisdemque A. [5] qui B. [6] B. calcagi A. [7] mocucurin B.
[1] *capitulum totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titulum om.* Boll.

was Built by one *Stallir*, who was a Devout Hermit of St. *Kilda;* and had he Travelled the Universe, he could scarcely have found a more Solitary place for a Monastick Life."—Voyage to St. Kilda, p. 42.

[d] *Minabit.*—See Glossary. In the passage "minavit eos a tribunali" (Acts, xviii. 16), the Book of Armagh reads *eminavit*, and adds the gloss immacc .i. *jecit.* (fol. 183 *a a.*)

[e] *Lathreginden.*—Not identified. The former part of the name seems to be Lathrach, which enters into the composition of the well-known names *Lathrach-Briuin* and *Lathrach-Odhrain*, so that the compound should be written *Lathreg-inden.* It is not found, however, in any of the native annals or calendars. Colgan's *Sathregin-den*, he corrects in his note, but his proposed reading, *Rath-regienden*, is inadmissible. The division of the name *Lath-reginden* in the Bollandists is also incorrect. It may be inferred from the narrative that the place was in the neighbourhood of Derry.

[f] *Roboreto Calgachi.*—See i. 2, *supra. Daire-Calgaich*, ii. 39, now Londonderry.

[g] *Mailodranus.*—The name Mael-Odrain, 'Servus Odrani,' occurs in the Irish Calendar at Jan. 10, May 31, Nov. 11.

[h] *Mocurin.*—If *Mocucurin*, the reading in B., be correct, this tribe name will be *Mac-U-Curin*, from Ui Cuirin, of which we have an instance in the Four Masters at 1196.

[a] *Hinbinam insulam.*—The name *Hinba* occurs at i. 45, ii. 24, iii. 5, 17, 18, 23, *infra.* See the note on name at i. 45. Adamnan frequently

autem ibi inter pœnitentes quidam Nemanus[c], filius Cathir, qui, a Sancto jussus, renuit oblatam accipere consolatiunculam. Quem Sanctus his compellat verbis, O Nemane, a me et Baitheneo indultam non recipis aliquam refectionis indulgentiam? Erit tempus quo cum [2]furacibus furtive carnem in sylva manducabis equæ[d]. Hic idem itaque, postea ad sæculum reversus, in saltu cum furibus talem comedens carnem, juxta verbum Sancti, de [3]craticula[e] sumptam lignea, inventus est.

[1]DE INFELICI QUODAM QUI CUM SUA DORMIVIT GENITRICE.

ALIO [2]in tempore fratres [3]intempesta nocte [4]suscitat Sanctus, ad quos in ecclesia congregatos dicit, Nunc Dominum intentius precemur; nam hac in hora aliquod inauditum in mundo peccatum perpetratum est, pro quo valde [5]timenda judicialis est vindicta. De quo peccato crastino die, aliquibus paucis percunctantibus, intimavit [6]inquiens, Post paucos menses cum [7]Lugaido[a] nesciente infelix ille homuncio ad [8]Iouam perveniet insulam. [9]Alia itaque die Sanctus ad [10]Diormitium, interjectis quibusdam mensibus, præcipiens [11]profatur, Surge citius, ecce [12]Lugaidus appropinquat, [13]dicque ei ut miserum quem secum in navi habet in Maleam[b] propellat insulam, ne hujus insulæ cespitem

[2] furantibus B. [3] graticula A.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] quoque D. [3] in tempesta B. [4] suscitavit D. [5] tremenda C. [6] dicens C. D. [7] lugido D. [8] A. C. F. S. ionam B. [9] alio C. [10] A. B. F. S. diarmatum D. iormitium C. [11] præfatur C. [12] lugidus D. [13] dicitque C.

puts the names of islands in the adjective form with *insula*. Thus *Ethica*, *Ioua*, *Malea*.

[b] *Indulgeretur.*—On the arrival of a visitor it was usual in St. Columba's monasteries to relax the strictness of dietary discipline. See i. 26, *infra*.

[c] *Nemanus.*—Others of this name are mentioned at i. 39, ii. 4, *infra*.

[d] *Equæ.*—A similar sentence was pronounced by St. Enna against a hypocritical layman who refused to accept the hospitality offered by Crumther Coelan of Echinis: "Tu qui cum cæteris fratribus cibum in charitate ministratum noluisti sumere, de carnibus equi, quem furaberis, manducabis, atque manducando jugulaberis."—Vita S. Endei, cap. 26. (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 709 *b*.)

[e] *Craticula.*—Hence Anglicè *Griddle*. "Alio die cum faber monasterii non esset prope, S. Comgallus uni de fratribus dixit: vade frater in officinam fabri, et fac nobis craticulam ad assandos pisces."—Vit. S. Comgalli, c. 33. (Fleming, Collectan. p. 310 *a*.)

[a] *Lugaido.*—He was the messenger of the monastery. See ii. 5, 38, *infra*.

[b] *Maleam.*—Like most of the names of islands in Adamnan, an adjective agreeing with *insulam*. See i. 41, ii. 22. It is the *Mull* of the present day, and the *Myl* of Northern writers. Fordun calls it *Mule*.—Scotichr. ii. 10. In

calcet. Qui, præcepto Sancti obsecutus, ad mare pergit. [14]Lugaidoque adventanti omnia Sancti prosequitur de infelici viro verba. Quibus auditis ille infelix juravit nunquam se cibum cum aliis accepturum nisi prius sanctum videret Columbam, [15]eumque alloqueretur. Quæ infelicis verba [16]Diormitius, ad Sanctum reversus, retulit. Quibus compertis Sanctus ad portum perrexit, Baitheneoque, prolatis sacræ Scripturæ testimoniis, [17]suggerenti ut miseri pœnitudo susciperetur, Sanctus consequenter inquit, O [18]Baithenee, hic homo [19]fratricidium in modum perpetravit [20]Cain, et cum sua matre mœchatus est. Tum [21]deinde miser in litore flexis genibus leges pœnitentiæ expleturum se promisit, juxta Sancti [22]judicationem. Cui Sanctus ait, Si duodecim annis[c] inter Brittones cum fletu et lacrymis pœnitentiam egeris, nec ad [23]Scotiam usque ad mortem reversus fueris, [24]forsan Deus peccato ignoscat tuo. Hæc dicens Sanctus, ad suos [25]conversus, [26]dicit, Hic homo filius est perditionis, qui quam promisit pœnitentiam non explebit; sed mox ad [27]Scotiam revertetur, ibique in brevi ab inimicis interficiendus peribit. Quæ omnia secundum Sancti prophetiam ita contigerunt: nam miser [28]iisdem diebus ad [29]Hiberniam reversus, in [30]regione quæ [31]vocitatur [32]Lea[d], in manus incidens inimicorum trucidatus est. [33]Hic de Nepotibus Turtrei[e] [34]erat.

[14] lugido D. [15] eique D. [16] diermitius A. dormitius B. diarmatius D. [17] suggerente D. [18] baithine D. [19] patricidium D. [20] chain B. [21] A. B. F. S. demum C. [22] A. B. D. F. S. indicationem C. [23] hiberniam D. [24] forsitan D. F. [25] *om.* D. [26] ait D. [27] hiberniam D. [28] hisdem A. B. [29] everniam A. [30] regionem D. [31] vocatur D. Boll. [32] léa B. leo D. [33-34] *om* C. D. F. S.

Ptolemy it appears as Μαλεός. Off the south-western extremity, called the Ross, lies the island of Iona.

[c] *Duodecim annis.*—This was a usual term of monastic penance or service. See i. 26, iii. 23, *infra*; Bede, H. E. v. 20; Hist. Ab. Uiremuth §§ 7, 14 (Hist. Ec. pp. 322, 329, Ed. Hussey); Vit. S. Munnæ, cap. 14, 16 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 128 *a b*).

[d] *Lea.*—In Irish Ui, or Maġ Ui, or from the inhabitants, Fir Ui. Giraldus Cambrensis employs the last name in the form *Ferly*. (Hib. Expug. ii. 16.) Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, calls it Uee (fol. 15 *a b*). The territory lay on the west side of the river Bann, being thus defined by Mac Firbis: Fir Ui o bhior go Camur, 'Fir-Li from Bior to Camus.' (Geneal. MS. p. 334.) The Bior is the Moyola River, locally called 'the Water,' which, rising in Ballynascreen, on the west of the county of Londonderry, flows eastward, and, passing Castledawson, falls into Lough Neagh. At the synod of Rathbreasil, in 1110, it was constituted, and still continues to be, in part, the northern limit of the diocese of Armagh. Camus, the northern boundary, is a well known churchyard on the Bann, about a mile south of Coleraine. See Colgan, Tr. Th. pp. 146 *a*, c. 127, 377 *b*, n. 69; Calend. Dungall. 9 Jan.; Four Mast. Ann. 2550, 893, 1178, 1181; O'Donovan, Book of Rights, pp. 123, 129, 135; O'Flaherty, Ogyg. iii. 76 (p. 361); Reeves, Eccl. Antiqq. pp. 293, 330; Reeves, Colton's Visitation, pp. 80, 125, 129.

[e] *Nepotibus Turtrei.*—In Irish, Ui Cuirtre. "Colla Uais [monarch of Ireland, A D. 332]

[1]DE I VOCALI LITERA.

QUADAM die Baitheneus, ad Sanctum accedens, ait, Necesse habeo ut aliquis de fratribus mecum Psalterium quod scripsi percurrens emendet. Quo audito, Sanctus sic profatur, Cur hanc super nos infers sine causa molestiam? nam in tuo hoc, de quo dicis, Psalterio nec una superflua reperietur litera, nec alia deesse, excepta I vocali[a], quæ sola deest. Et sic, toto [2]perlecto Psalterio, sicuti Sanctus prædixerat repertum exploratum est.

[1]DE LIBRO IN AQUARIUM VAS SANCTUS SICUTI PRÆDIXERAT CADENTE.

QUADAM itidem die, ad focum in monasterio sedens, videt Lugbeum, gente Mocumin[b], eminus librum legentem, cui repente ait, Præcave, fili, præcave, æstimo enim quod quem lectitas liber in aquæ plenum sit casurus vasculum. Quod mox ita contigit: nam ille supra memoratus juvenis, post aliquod breve

[1] *capitulum totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titulum om.* Boll. [2] perfecto B.

[1] *capitulum totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titulum om.* Boll.

had two goodly sons; Earc, on the north of the Mountain [Slieve Gallon; as in Four Masters, 1167], from whom descend the Mac Cartains of Loch Feabhail [Foyle]; and Fiachra *Tort*, on the south of the Mountain, *from whom descend the Hy Tuirtre and the Fir Li*, and the Fir Luirg, and the Hy-mac-Uais. It was by Fiachra that Conaille Muirtheimhne [now the county of Louth] was first seized, *tort* being a name for seizure."—Mac Firbis, Geneal. MS. (Reeves, Eccl. Antiqq. p. 292.) Anterior to the English invasion, the Hy Tuirtre were situated in Tyrone, on the west side of Lough Neagh and Lough Beg, adjoining the Fir Li on the south. *Fearsat Tuama*, 'the Ford of Toome,' now Toome Bridge, was the point of communication between the Hy Tuirtre and Dalaradia. In the twelfth century they were forced over to the east side of the Bann and Lough Neagh, and gave the name of *Hy Tuirtre* to the territory now known as the two baronies of Toome. The *Decanatus de Turtrye* in the early Taxations represented their extent. (Reeves, Eccl. Antiqq. pp. 82, 292–297.) In the middle of the twelfth century the Hy Tuirtre and Fir Li were under one chieftain, but subsequently they separated, and the latter were transferred to the lordship of O'Cahan. The English called the territory *Turteri*, as in a Pipe-Roll of 1261 (Ulst. Jour. of Archæol. vol. ii. p. 156); and in Writs of 1244, 1314 (Rymer, Fœd. vol. i. p. 256, ii. pp. 245, 262); *Turturia* in 1275 (*Ib.* i. p. 520). *Nepotes Tuirtri* occurs in Tighernach, A. C. 669, Annal. Ult. 668, 733, 744, 753. *Regiones Tuirtri, Filios Tuirtri*, Lib. Armacan. fol. 15 *b a*.

[a] *I vocali.*—This was the letter by which St. Brendan of Birr is said to have indicated to St. Columba the place of his future sojourn. See Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 462 *a*; Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 240; Innes, Civ. and Eccl. Hist. p. 170.

[b] *Lugbeum gente Mocumin.*—See i. 15, 28, 41.

intervallum, ad aliquam consurgens in monasterio ministrationem, verbi oblitus beati viri, libellus, quem sub [2]ascella[c] negligentius inclusit, subito in [3]hydriam aqua repletum cecidit.

[1]DE CORNICULO ATRAMENTI INANITER DEFUSO.

ALIA inter hæc die ultra fretum [2]Iouæ insulæ clamatum est[d]: quem Sanctus sedens in [3]tuguriolo[e] tabulis suffulto audiens clamorem dicit, Homo qui ultra clamitat fretum non est subtilis sensus, nam hodie mei corniculum atramenti inclinans effundet. Quod verbum ejus ministrator Diormitius audiens, paulisper ante januam stans, [4]gravem expectabat [5]superventurum hospitem, ut corniculum defenderet. Sed alia mox faciente causa, inde recessit; et post ejus recessum hospes molestus supervenit, Sanctumque osculandum appetens, ora vestimenti inclinatum effudit atramenti corniculum[f].

[1]DE ALICUJUS ADVENTU HOSPITIS QUEM SANCTUS PRÆNUNTIAVIT.

ALIO itidem tempore Sanctus [2]die tertiæ feriæ[g] fratribus sic profatus est, Crastina quarta feria jejunare proponimus[h], sed tamen, superveniente quodam

[2] axilla Boll. [3] ydriam A. *et* capitulationibus p. 10 *supra;* fossam B.

[1] *capitulum totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titulus deest in* Boll. [2] A. ione B. [3] tegoriolo A. tugurriolo B. [4] gravamen B. [5] super venturum B.

[1] *capitulum totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titulum om.* Boll. [2] *om.* Colg. Boll.

[c] *Sub ascella.*—That is, *sub axilla.* See ii. 8, *infra*, where "sub ascella" is explained "inter brachium et latus."

[d] *Clamatum est.*—So i. 26, 27, 32, 43, *infra.* In calm weather a strong voice may be heard across the strait, which is about an English mile wide. The only mode, however, now in use of making a signal for a boat is to raise a smoke, by burning a bundle of heather: and as each owner of a boat has a particular signal spot, it is at once known on the island whose services are required.

[e] *Tuguriolo.*—This hut was "in eminentiore loco fabricatum" (iii. 22, *infra*); and was the place where the saint was in the habit of writing (i. 35, ii. 16, iii. 15, *infra*).

[f] *Corniculum.*—Representations of ancient *ink-horns* are to be seen in the illuminations of some manuscripts. See Keller's *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten*, p. 92, plate vii. (Zurich, 1851.)

[g] *Tertiæ feriæ.*—That is, Tuesday.

[h] *Jejunare proponimus.*—"Quarta etiam et sexta feria et sabbato, frequenter Romanam plebem ipsius tempore jejunavisse, confirmat Augustinus in 36. epist. ad Casulanum. Ut inde ritum hunc a Patricio in Hiberniam traductum fuisse fiat verisimillimum."—Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 17. (Wks. vi. p. 444.) St. Augustin's words are: "Cur autem quarta et sexta maxime jejunet ecclesia," &c. (Opp. ii. p. 148 *b.*) Ædan, who brought to Lindisfarne

molesto hospite, consuetudinarium solvetur jejunium[c]. Quod ita ut Sancto præostensum est [3]accidit: nam mane eadem quarta feria, alius ultra fretum clamitabat proselytus[d], Aidanus nomine, filius Fergnoi[e], qui, ut fertur, duodecim annis[f] Brendeno ministravit Mocualti[g]; vir valde religiosus, qui, ut advenit, ejusdem diei, juxta verbum Sancti, jejunationem solvit.

[1]DE ALIQUO MISERABILI VIRO QUI ULTRA SUPRADICTUM CLAMITABAT FRETUM.

QUADAM quoque die, quemdam ultra fretum audiens clamitantem[a], Sanctus hoc profatur modo: Valde miserandus est ille clamitans homo, qui, aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta[b] petiturus pertinentia, ad nos venit: cui opportunius

[3] accedit A.

[1] *capit. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll.

the usages of Hy, established the practice "per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimæ paschalis, quarta et sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare."—(Bede, H. E. iii. 5.) Columbanus's Penitential prescribes: "Si quis ante horam nonam, quarta, sextaque feria manducat, nisi infirmus, duos dies in pane et aqua."—Cap. 13. (Fleming, Collectan. p. 23 *b*.)

[c] *Solvetur jejunium.*—Among the Irish Canons published by D'Achery is one intituled, *De solvendo jejunio*, in which the principle of this relaxation is expressed: "Synodus dicit: Humanitatis causa melius est advenientibus fratribus, dilectionis offerre virtutem, et abstinentiæ districtionem et quotidiani propositi rigorem dissolvere: etenim tunc Domino gratum jejunium est cum hoc fructibus charitatis fuerit consumptum." (Spicileg. tom. ix. p. 9, Par. 1669.) Lanigan instances the case of St. Apollon of Thebais, from Tillemont (tom. x. p. 38), as a parallel to the present. (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 178.) See T. Innes, Civ. and Eccl. Hist. p. 171. In the use of the word *proponimus* as regards the observance of the fast, and in the dispensing power exercised here and in chap. 21, *supra*, we perceive the great discretionary power which existed in heads of houses under the Irish monastic system.

[d] *Proselytus.*—See Præf. ii., i. 30. In i. 32 it is equivalent to *peregrinus, hospes*, and in i. 44 is applied to a bishop.

[e] *Aidanus filius Fergnoi.*—Colgan devotes two folio columns to the identification of this individual, and comes to the conclusion that, of the twenty-three Aedhans in the Irish calendar, he was the Aedhan Mac Ua Coinn, whose brother Meldan founded a church at Inis mac Ua Coinn in Loch Oirbsen [now Inchiquin in Lough Corrib]. (Tr. Th. p. 377 *b*, n. 72.)

[f] *Duodecim annis.*—See the note on the words, chap 22 *supra*, p. 52.

[g] *Brendeno Mocualti.*—This was St. Brendan, the famous voyager, and founder of Clonfert, who is commemorated in the Calendar at May 16. He is sometimes called *the son of Finnloga*, to distinguish him from St. Brendan of Birr, who was son of Neman; and sometimes *Mac-Ua-Alti*, which was his clan name, derived from Alta, his great-grandfather, son of Ogaman, of the race of Ciar son of Fergus. See the note on the name at iii. 17, *infra*.

[a] *Clamitantem.*—See the note on the words *Clamatum est* cap. 25 (p. 54).

erat veram de peccatis hodie pœnitudinem gerere; nam in hujus fine hebdomadis morietur. Quod verbum qui inerant præsentes advenienti misero intimavere. Sed ille parvipendens, acceptis quæ poposcerat, citius recessit; et, secundum Sancti propheticum verbum, ante finem ejusdem septimanæ mortuus est.

[1]DE ROMANI JURIS CIVITATE IGNI SULFUREO CŒLITUS PROLAPSO COMBUSTA SANCTI VIRI PROPHETIA.

ALIO itidem in tempore, [2]Lugbeus [3]gente [4]Mocumin, cujus supra mentionem fecimus[a], quadam ad Sanctum die post frugum veniens triturationem, nullo modo ejus faciem intueri potuit, miro superfusam rubore; valdeque pertimescens cito aufugit. Quem Sanctus complosis [5]paulum manibus [6]revocat. Qui reversus, a Sancto statim interrogatus cur ocius aufugisset, hoc dedit responsum, Ideo fugi quia nimis pertimui. Et post aliquod modicum intervallum, fiducialius agens, audet Sanctum interrogare, inquiens, Numquid hac in hora tibi aliqua formidabilis ostensa visio [7]est? Cui Sanctus [8]talem dedit [9]responsionem: Tam terrifica ultio nunc in remota orbis parte peracta est. Qualis, ait juvenis, vindicta, et in qua regione facta? Sanctus tum sic profatur: Sulfurea de cœlo flamma super Romani juris civitatem[b], intra Italiæ terminos sitam[c], hac hora effusa est; triaque ferme millia virorum, excepto [10]ma-

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] lugidus D. [3-4] *om.* C. D. F. S. [4] B. moccumin A. [5] paululum B. C. D. F. S. [6] revocavit D. [7] erat C. [8] A. B. F. S. tale C. D. [9] A. B. F. S. responsum C. D. [10] mulierum D.

[b] *Medicamenta.*—It would seem from this that St. Columba's monastery was resorted to for the relief of bodily infirmities.

[a] *Mentionem fecimus.*—At i. 15, 24, *supra*. See i. 41, *infra*.

[b] *Civitatem.*—We are indebted to Notker Balbulus for the modern name of this city. "Subversionem quoque civitatis quæ nunc *Nova* dicitur in Italia, in subitaneo stupore, terræ hiatu, imo cœlestis iræ respectu subversam conspexit, et aliis extasin ejus mirantibus id ipsum nuntiavit, sed et hoc prædixit, quod Gallici nautæ, sicut et factum est eandem rem pso anno in Scotia relaturi essent."—Martyrol. v. Id. Jun. (Canisii Antiq. Lect. vi. p. 854.) Some have supposed that the ancient name of this city was Æmonia, but J. L. Schönleben, Archdeacon of Lower Carniola, published an essay to show that that name belonged to Labacum, or Laubac, in Lower Carniola; but that *Alvum* of Ptolemy was the one in question. (Æmonia Vindicata, Salisburgi, 1674.) It is now called *Citta Nuova*, on the north of the river Quieto, in Istria. It became an episcopal see in the tenth century, and John, its first bishop, was styled "Episcopus Æmonensis." See Act. SS. Junii, tom. ii. p. 208 *b*; Maii, tom. vii. p. 14; Geogr. Blaviana, vol. viii. p. 57–58.

[c] *Sitam.*—"Est autem *Istria* Italicarum Provinciarum sub dominio Veneto una; atque hoc

trum puerorumque numero disperierunt. Et antequam præsens [11]finiatur annus, [12]Gallici nautæ, de Galliarum provinciis adventantes[d], hæc eadem tibi [13]enarrabunt. Quæ verba post aliquot menses veridica fuisse sunt comprobata. Nam idem [14]Lugbeus, simul cum sancto [15]viro ad Caput Regionis[e] pergens, nauclerum et nautas [16]adventantis [17]barcæ interrogans, sic omnia [18]illa de civitate cum civibus ab eis [19]audit enarrata, quemadmodum a prædicabili viro sunt prædicta.

[1]DE LAISRANO FILIO FERADACHI BEATI VISIO VIRI.

[2]QUADAM brumali et valde frigida die Sanctus, [3]magno molestatus mærore, flevit. Quem suus ministrator [5]Diormitius, de causa interrogans mæstitiæ, hoc ab eo responsum [4]accepit, Non immerito, O filiole, ego hac in hora contristor, meos videns monachos, quos [6]Laisranus[a] nunc gravi fatigatos labore in alicujus

[11] A. B. F. [12] gallice B. [13] narrabunt D. [14] lugidus D. [15] *om.* D. [16] adventantes D. [17] A. barce B. parce C. *al.* parce F. *in marg.* [18] *om* B. [19] audivit D. *om.* F.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *cap.* ix. *continuant* C. D. F. S. [3] columba *add.* D. [4] accipit A. [5] diarmatus D. [6] lasreanus D.

sensu hic dicitur Romani juris, i. e. *intra Italiæ terminos sita* fuisse civitas illa."—Baertius.

[d] *Adventantes.*—There existed, at this period, frequent intercourse between the British isles and Gaul. When St. Columbanus was at Nantes, and the authorities there wished to send him back to Ireland, a ship was found in the harbour ready for the purpose, "quæ Scotorum commercia vexerat."—Jonas, Vit. S. Columbani, cap. 22. (Fleming, Collectan. p. 236 *a*; Messingham, Florileg. p. 234 *b*.) Even at the inland Clonmacnois, "in illis diebus quibus fratres S. Kiarani segetes suas metebant, *mercatores Gallorum* venerunt ad S. Kiaranum, et repleverunt ingens vas de vino illo quod S. Kiaranus fratribus suis dedit."—Vit. S. Kiarani, c. 31 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *bb*).

[e] *Caput Regionis.*—Neither Colgan nor Pinkerton observed that this was a proper name: the latter proposes to supply "Insulæ Hyonæ." (Vit. Ant. p. 78.) The foreign editor, however, with more penetration, observed in Buchanan's Descript. Scot., "Ultra Cnapdaliam ad occidentem hibernum excurrit *Cantiera*, hoc est, *Regionis caput*," &c. (Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 209 *a*.) The vernacular name Cenn-ꞇire, or Cinꞇ-ꞇire, appears occasionally in the Irish Annals, as *Tighernach*, 574, 681; *Ulster*, 575, 680, 720; *Inisfallen*, 495; *Four Masters*, 620, 679, 1154. The Northmen called it *Satiri* (Johnstone's Olave, pp. 14, 18, 20, 22, 27; Haco's Expedition, p. 48). The earliest Scotch charters have it *Kentir*. (C. Innes, Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 1.) "Insula Kyntyre."—Brev. Aberd. (Propr. SS. Part. Hyemal. f. 67 *b a*.) Dunchadh Beg, of the house of Gabhran, king of *Cindtiri*, died in the year 721.—*Tighernach.* So Ann. Ult. 720.

[a] *Laisranus.*—Called in the title *filius Feradachi.* At i. 12, *supra*, we find him in Scotland. His father was son of Ninnidh son of Fergus son of Conall Gulban, and was therefore first cousin of St. Columba. Laisranus was promoted, in 598, from his subordinate charge at Durrow,

majoris domus[b] fabrica molestat; [7]quæ mihi valde [8]displicet. Mirum dictu! eodem momento horæ [9]Laisranus, habitans in monasterio [10]Roboreti Campi[c], quodammodo coactus, et quasi quadam pyra[d] intrinsecus succensus, jubet monachos a labore cessare, aliquamque cibationum consolationem [11]præparari; et non solum in eadem die otiari, sed [12]et in ceteris asperæ tempestatis diebus requiescere. Quæ verba ad fratres consolatoria, a [13]Laisrano dicta, Sanctus in spiritu audiens flere cessavit, et mirabiliter gavisus ipse in [14]Ioua insula commanens, fratribus, qui ad præsens [15]inerant, per omnia enarravit, et [16]Laisranum [17]monachorum benedixit consolatorem.

[1]DE FECHNO SAPIENTE [2]QUOMODO PŒNITENS AD SANCTUM COLUMBAM, AB EODEM PRÆNUNCIATUS, VENIT.

ALIO [3]in tempore Sanctus, in cacumine sedens montis qui nostro [4]huic monasterio eminus supereminet[a], ad suum ministratorem [5]Diormitium conversus, [6]profatus est, dicens, Miror quare tardius appropinquat quædam de Scotia navis, quæ quemdam advehit sapientem virum, qui in quodam facinore lapsus, lacrymosam gerens pœnitudinem, mox adveniet. Post [7]proinde haud [7]grande intervallum ad austrum prospiciens minister, velum navis videt ad portum[b]

[7] A. B. quod C. D. F. S. [8] A. C. D. S. displicent B. F. Colg. Boll. [9] lasreanus D. [10] campi roborete D. [11] præstare D. [12] *om.* D. [13] lasreano D. [14] A. S. iona B. D. [15] erant D. [16] lasreanum D. [17] A. B. monachum C. F. S. *om.* D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] viro *add.* B. [3] *om.* D. [4] *om.* C. [5] diarmatum D. [6] profatur B. [7-7] *om.* D.

to be Abbot of Hy, being the third who filled that office, which he held till 606. The omission of his name in the Annals of Ulster created a gap in Ussher's catalogue of the abbots of Hy, which has been perpetuated by his copyists.

[b] *Majoris domus.*—Mentioned again at iii. 15, where the title calls it *monasterium rotundum.*

[c] *Roboreti Campi.*—Ꝺaiṙ-maġh, now Durrow. See i. 3, 49, ii. 2, 39, iii. 15. This church was in Fer-Ceall in the King's County. There was another of the same name in Hy-Duach, a region of Ossory, also called Durrow. There was a Dearmach near Rath-Croghan in Roscommon, and there are townlands called Durrow in Drumnatemple, county of Galway; Drum, King's County; and Stradbally, Waterford. O'Donnell, in his Life of St. Columba, relates that when Scanlann was liberated after the synod of Druimceatt, St. Columba gave him his staff to serve as his safe-conduct, directing him to proceed to Dearmach, and deliver it to Laisranus.—iii. 13. (Tr. Th. 433 *b.*)

[d] *Pyra.*—For *igni*, an adaptation of πυρί.

[a] *Supereminet.*—The highest spot on the island is Dun-i, situated N. N. W. of the monastery. Its elevation is 330 feet, and it is a conspicuous object from the sea. However, the hill called *Cnoc-mor*, which overhangs Reilig-Orain on the west, is, more probably, the place intended.

[b] *Portum.*—Port-Ronain, near the village,

[8]propinquantis. [9]Quam cum Sancto adventantem demonstraret, cito [10]surgit, inquiens, Eamus proselyto[c] obviam, cujus veram Christus [11]suscipit pœnitentiam. At vero [12]Feachnaus[d], de navi descendens, Sancto ad portum pervenienti obvius occurrit; cum fletu et lamento, ante pedes ejus ingeniculans flexis genibus, amarissime ingemuit, et coram omnibus qui ibidem [13]inerant [14]peccantias [15]confitetur [16]suas. Sanctus [17]tum, cum eo pariter illacrymatus, ad eum ait, Surge fili, et consolare; dimissa sunt tua quæ commisisti peccamina; quia, [18]sicut scriptum est, [19]Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non [20]spernit[e]. Qui surgens, gaudenter a Sancto susceptus, ad [21]Baitheneum tunc temporis in Campo [22]Lunge[f] præpositum commorantem, post aliquot est emissus dies, in pace commigrans.

[8] appropinquantis C. [9] quem D. [10] A. C. F. S. surge B. surrexit D. [11] A. D. suscepit B. C. F. S. [12] fechnaus B. C. F. S. fiachna D. [13] erant D. [14] culpas B. peccata D. [15-16] sua confessus est D. [17] *om.* C. D. F. S. [18] *om.* D. [19-20] deus contritum non spernit et humiliatum cor B. [21] baythenum D. [22] longe D.

the usual landing-place, is nearly due south of Dun-i. If Cnoc-mor was the place of observation, Port-na-Mairtear, or Martyr's Bay, where the Free Church now stands, answers best to the description.

[c] *Proselyto.*—See Præf. 2, i. 26, 32, 44.

[d] *Feachnaus.*—He is styled "sapiens vir" twice. In the Irish Annals we frequently find the epithet ꝓaoi, *sapiens*, applied to ecclesiastics. Colgan, finding St. Fachnan of Ross styled *sapiens* in the Life of St. Mochaomoc, conjectured that he was the subject of the present narrative, but without good reason. Besides, *Fachtnan* and *Fiachna* seem to be different names.

[e] *Spernit.*—"Cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus non despicies." Psal. l. 18, Vulg.

[f] *Campo Lunge.*—Situate in *Ethica terra*, now Tiree (ii. 15, 39); a penitential station (ii. 39); Baitheneus superior of it (i. 41, iii. 8). "In monasterio quod Campus navis, id est Maglunga vocatur, quodque per S. Columbam in terra Heth fundatum est."—Vit. S. Baitheni, c. 7. (Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 237 *b.*) *Combustio Muighe Luinge.*—Tighernach, 673. (Ann. Ult. 672; Ann. Clonmacn. 669.) The Four Masters render it Loꝛccaḋ Maiġe luinġe, and, by its insertion, apply the notice to Ireland, A.C. 672: where see O'Donovan's note. Among the obits in the Annals of Ulster, at 774, is Conall Maiġi luinġi, 'Conall of Magh-luinge.' The "portus Campi Lunge" which is mentioned by Adamnan, at ii. 15, as lying opposite to Hy, is probably the little creek called *Port-na-lung*, which is close to the old burying-ground of Soroby, on the south-east side of the island, where there stands a very ancient cross, and in which are remembered the remains of the original parish church, near the spot now occupied by some curious sepulchral slabs. Among the thirteen Brigids mentioned by Ængus the Culdee is "S. Brigida de Mag Luinge," whom Colgan places in Dalriedia, by which, if he means the original territory of that name in the north of the county of Antrim, he is in error. (Tr. Th. p. 611 *b.*) In the farm of Cornagmore, on the north side of Tiree, is a place called *Kilbride*, where a small chapel formerly stood, and this is the true site of the "Ecclesia S. Brigidæ de Mag-luinge." See the paper on the Island of Tiree in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii. pp. 239–241, and the accompanying Map.

[1]DE CAILTANO EJUS MONACHO SANCTI PROPHETATIO VIRI.

ALIO [2]in tempore binos mittens monachos ad suum alium monachum, nomine [3]Cailtanum[a], qui eodem tempore præpositus erat in cella [4]quæ hodieque ejus fratris Diuni vocabulo vocitatur, stagno adhærens Abæ [5]fluminis[b], hæc per eosdem nuncios Sanctus commendat verba: Cito euntes ad [3]Cailtanum properate, [6]dicitoteque ei ut ad me sine ulla veniat morula. Qui verbo Sancti obsecuti exeuntes, et ad cellam [7]Diuni pervenientes, suæ legatiunculæ qualitatem [8]Cailtano intimaverunt. Qui eadem hora, nullo demoratus modo, Sancti prosecutus legatos, ad eum in [9]Ioua insula commorantem, [10]eorum itineris comes, celeriter pervenit. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum taliter locutus, his compellat verbis, O [11]Cailtane, bene fecisti ad me obedienter festinando: requiesce paulisper. Idcirco ad te invitandum misi, amans amicum, ut hic mecum in vera finias obedientia vitæ cursum tuæ. Nam [12]ante hujus [13]hebdomadis [14]finem ad [15]Dominum in pace transibis. Quibus auditis, gratias agens Deo, Sanctumque

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. *tenor cap.* x. *continuatur.* [2] *om.* D. [3] calteanum D. [4-5] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] dicite C. D. F. S. [7] *om.* C. D. F. S. [8] calteano D. [9] A. C. iona B. [10] *om.* F. [11] calteane D. [12] *om.* D. [13] ebdomadis A. B. D. F. S. [14] fine D. [15] A. B. deum C. D. F. S.

[a] *Cailtanum.*—Colgan seeks in vain to find for him a place in the Irish Calendar; but what he observes upon the form of the name is deserving of notice: "Observo quod vox *Caol, cail,* sive Coel (variè enim à priscis scribitur) quæ macilentum significat; et in proprium nomen usu transierat, duo derivata habeat diminutiva, viris propria, ut *Caolan, Cailan,* sive *Coelan,* et *Cailten,* sive *Coelten,* idem significantia."—Tr. Th. p. 379 *a*, n. 76. See also *ibid.* p. 597 *b*.

[b] *Stagno Abæ fluminis.*—Dr. Smith understands this of Loch Awe (Life of S. Columba, p. 151); and, after him, Dr. Lanigan (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 172). Or, Lochavich, formerly Loch-Affy, a smaller lake lying to the north-west, may be here intended. A charter of King Robert Bruce, circ. 1322, grants to Roderic son of Alan the lands of the latter as *Louchaby* in Argyle. (C. Innes, Orig. Paroch. ii. pt. i. p. 104.) The markland of Kilmun, lying near Lochavich, is the only place in that quarter which bears a name at all resembling the Cill-Diuni of St. Columba's age. The neighbouring church of Kilchrenan, formerly *Kildachmanan* and *Ecclesia S. Petri Diaconi de Loch Aw,* which has been a subject of discussion among Scottish antiquaries (Origines Paroch. ii. pt. i. p. 120) may have its origin in the *Cella Diuni* of the text. There is a lake in Mull called Loch Ba, at the north-west end of which is an old burial-ground on the lands of Knock, called Kill-Martin; and the style of the narrative seems to indicate a nearer position to Hy than Loch Awe. The Annals of Ulster, at 675, have the entry: *Multi Pictores dimersi sunt i Llaind Abae,* which may have reference to the lake mentioned in the text, but whose identification, like much of the ancient topography of Scotland, is, owing to the total absence of ancient Gaelic records, subject, as yet, to painful uncertainty. See note [b], p. 64.

lacrymans [16]exosculatus, [17]ad hospitium, accepta ab eo benedictione, [18]pergit: eademque subsecuta infirmatus nocte, juxta verbum Sancti in eadem septimana ad Christum [19]Dominum migravit.

[1]DE DUOBUS PEREGRINIS FRATRIBUS SANCTI PROVIDA PROPHETATIO VIRI.

QUADAM Dominica die ultra sæpe memoratum clamatum est fretum[a]. Quem audiens Sanctus clamorem, ad fratres qui ibidem [2]inerant, Ite, ait, celeriter, peregrinosque de longinqua venientes regione ad nos ocius adducite. Qui continuo obsecuti, [3]transfretantes adduxerunt hospites: quos Sanctus [4]exosculatus, consequenter de causa percontatur itineris. Qui respondentes aiunt, Ut [5]hoc etiam anno apud te peregrinemur, venimus. Quibus Sanctus hanc dedit responsionem: Apud me, ut dicitis, anni unius spatio peregrinari non poteritis, nisi prius [6]monachicum promiseritis votum. Quod qui [7]inerant præsentes valde mirati sunt [8]ad hospites eadem hora [9]adventantes dici. Ad quæ Sancti verba senior respondens frater ait, Hoc in mente propositum licet in hanc horam usque nullatenus [10]habuerimus, tamen tuum sequemur consilium, divinitus, ut credimus, inspiratum. Quid plura? Eodem horæ momento oratorium cum Sancto ingressi, devote, flexis genibus, votum [11]monachiale voverunt[b]. Sanctus tum [12]deinde, ad fratres conversus, ait, Hi duo proselyti[c] vivam Deo seipsos exhibentes hostiam, longaque [13]in [13]brevi Christianæ tempora militiæ complentes, hoc mox eodem mense ad Christum Dominum in pace transibunt. Quibus auditis ambo fratres, gratias Deo agentes, ad hospitium [14]deducti sunt: interjectisque diebus septem, senior frater cœpit infirmari, et, eadem peracta septimana, ad Dominum emigravit. Similiter et alter post

[16] osculatus est D. [17] et C. S. [18] perrexit D. [19] *om.* B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] erant D. [3] mandatum *add.* D. [4] exosculatos D. E. [5] et *add.* D. [6] monasticum D. [7] erant D. [8] *om.* D. [9] advenientes D. [10] habuimus D. [11] monachile B. C. [12] *om.* D. [13] *om.* D. [14] ducti D.

[a] *Fretum.*—See i. 25, 26, 27, 43.

[b] *Voverunt.*—Colgan observes that this is an instance of admission to the monastic profession without the year of probation: to which Baertius adds, that the period of probation varied originally at the discretion of the founder. Pope Alexander III. ordained that the term of a year's probation should always precede. At length, the Council of Trent (Sess. xxv. c. 15) decreed for Regulars that in cases where the year's probation was omitted, the profession should be invalid. (Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 208 *b.*)

[c] *Proselyti.*—Called also *peregrini* and *hospites* elsewhere in the chapter. See *Glossary.*

septem alios dies infirmatus, ejusdem in fine hebdomadis, ad Dominum feliciter [15]transit. Et sic secundum Sancti veridicam prophetiam, intra ejusdem mensis terminum, ambo præsentem finiunt vitam.

[1]DE QUODAM ARTBRANANO[a] SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

CUM per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur [2]Scia[b] vir beatus, [3]alicujus loci terrulam mari vicinam baculo percutiens, ad comites [4]sic ait, Mirum dictu, O filioli! hodie in hac hujus loci terrula quidam gentilis[c] senex, [5]naturale per totam bonum custodiens [6]vitam, [7]et baptizabitur, et morietur, [8]et sepelietur. Et ecce, quasi [9]post unius intervallum horæ, navicula ad eundem supervenit portum; cujus in prora [10]quidam advectus est decrepitus senex, [11]Geonæ[d] [12]primarius cohortis, quem bini juvenes, de navi sublevantes, ante beati conspectum viri [13]deponunt. Qui statim, verbo Dei a Sancto per interpretem recepto[e], credens, ab eodem baptizatus est, et post expleta baptizationis [14]minis-

[15] emigravit D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] scotia C. skia F. *om.* D. S. [3] columba *add.* D. [4] *om.* C. D. F. S. [5-6] per totam vitam naturale bonum custodiens D. [7] *om.* D. [8] ac D. [9] *om.* F. [10] *om.* D. [11] genere D. [12] insulæ *inserunt* Colg. Boll. [13] deposuerunt D. [14] A. misteria B. C. F. S.

[a] *Artbranano.*—This is a Gaelic as well as a Pictish name, being compounded of aɼc, which Cormac explains by uaɼal, 'noble,' or cloch, 'a stone' (Glossary, *sub voc.*), and bɼanan, the diminutive of bɼan, 'a raven': hence the whole name may be interpreted *Noble-raven, Hardy-raven*, or *Rock-raven*. We find the form *Artbran* in Tighern. 716, 758; Ann. Ult. 715, 757. See Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. pp. 78, 281.

[b] *Scia.*—The island Skye. Concerning the churches of S. Columba there see the note on ii. 26, *infra*. The word *Scia* appears from the form of the name in the following instances to be an adjective agreeing with *insula*. *Navigatio filiorum Gartnaith ad Hiberniam cum plebe Scith.* (Tigh. 668; *Sceth*, Ann. Ult. 667.) Sci, (Lib. Lecan. fol. 139 *a a.*) Sgáćaiġ (Trans. Gael. Soc. p. 118.) *Skid* (Haco's Exped. pp. 16, 46); ubi *Vestra-fyrdi* (Johnstone's Olave, p. 10.) *Skydu* (Death-Song of Lodbroc, p. 107). *Scaethi* (*Ib.* p. 23). C. Innes explains the name by "the winged isle." (Orig. Paroch. ii. pt. i. p. 350.)

[c] *Gentilis.*—A term which the writer frequently applies to the Picts. See i. 37, ii. 11 *bis*, 27, 33, iii. 14.

[d] *Geonæ cohortis.*—Colgan and the Bollandists insert *insulæ*, but without authority. Pinkerton seems to have never consulted them, for in his note on *Geonæ cohortis* he observes: "Sic MS. et editiones" (p. 82). If Geona be the name of an island, it may be the same as the modern Gunna. Gunna, however, between Tiree and Coll, is too small to be deserving of notice. The Geona cohors was probably a Pictish corps, deriving its name from the district to which it belonged.

[e] *Per interpretem recepto.*—This case saves that recorded in ii. 32, *infra*, from being "a solitary allusion to the diversity of Gaelic and Pictish" (Irish Nennius, p. 40). St. Columba was evidently unacquainted with the latter lan-

teria, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, eodem in loco consequenter obiit, ibidemque socii, congesto lapidum acervo[f], [15]sepeliunt. Qui [16]hodieque in [17]ora cernitur maritima; fluviusque ejusdem [18]loci in quo idem baptisma acceperat, ex nomine ejus, [19]Dobur [19]Artbranani[g] usque in hodiernum [20]nominatus diem, ab accolis[h] vocitatur.

[15] eum *add.* D. [16] hodie quoque D. [17] hora B. S. hac hora C. [18] *om.* C. D. F. S. [19] A. B. *om.* C. D. F. S. [20] B. Colg. Boll. nominatus est A.

guage; for the reference cannot be to the *Latin* language, because in such case the teacher could be his own interpreter. Ven. Bede, also, recognises the distinction, for he states the five *written* languages of Great Britain to be "Anglorum, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum" (H. E. i. 1); and the four *spoken* tongues to be "Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum" (*Ibid.* iii. 6). The Pictish was undoubtedly a Celtic dialect, but more nearly allied to the British or Welsh than the Gaelic. Of this the eastern topography of Scotland is satisfactory evidence: to which may be added the four recorded Pictish words *Cartoit* (.i. bealg .i. beapla Cpuiṫneaḋ, 'a pin, in the Pictish tongue'—Cormac, Gloss. in *voc.*); *Pean-fahel* (Bede, H. E. i. 12); and *Scollofthes* ("clerici qui Pictorum lingua cognominantur,"—Reginald. Dunelm. de Cuthberti Virt. p. 179, Surtees Soc. Publ.; Robertson, in Miscell. Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 56.)

[f] *Acervo.*—A sepulchral carn. See the account of one which was opened in the parish of Snizort in this island, Old Statist. Survey, vol. xviii. p. 186.

[g] *Dobur Artbranani.*—Ḋoḃaṙ, ainm coiṫḋenḃ iṫeṙ Ġaiḃelic ocuṙ Combṙec ḃ'uiṙce, *unde dicitur* ḃoḃaṙ-ḋu, ocuṙ ḃoḃaṙ-ci iṙ in Combṙec. "DOBHAR, a common name both in the Gaelic and Cymric for *water*: unde dicitur *Dobhar-chu* ['a water-dog,' i.e. 'an otter," in the Gaelic], and *Dobhar-chi* in the Cymric." —Cormac's Glossary (*voc.* Ḋoḃaṙ and Coin Ꝑoḃoiṙne). See the word Ḋoḃaṙ, and its compounds, in O'Brien's and O'Reilly's Dictionaries, also Ḋiṁḃeiṙ in the latter. The Welsh dictionaries, too, have the word, but spelled *Dywr*: also *Dywr-gi*, 'an otter.' See Lhuyd's Archæologia, pp. 43 *b*, 201 *d*, 288 *c*, 290 *a*, 351 *a*; Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerar. Cambr. i. 8; Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i., pp. 156, 160, 163. A stream in the west of Donegall, called Dobhar, probably the modern Gweedore (i. e. Ġaeṫ Ḋoḃaiṙ, 'estuary of the Dobhar'), was the northern boundary of Tir Boghaine, or Banagh (see Battle of Magh Rath, pp. 156, 158); but *Dour* is much commoner in British topography than its cognate word in Irish. There is a spring near one of the old churches in Skye, called *Tobar Bhrennan*, but the name seems to have a different origin. Indented as Skye is on all sides with loughs, and presenting, from its lobster shape, so extensive a line of coast, with the Out Isles on the west, Rosshire on the east, and Invernesshire on the south, it is very difficult, in the absence of local evidence, to conjecture from what side the old Chief came, or what was the part of the coast at which the interview took place. It is a curious feature in this, the largest island of Scotland, that there is not a spot in it four miles from the sea, and few parts more than two. Mugstot, a farm beside *Loch Choluimcille*, in the north of Skye, was the usual landing-place from the Long Island. On the east is Portree, in the inner bay of which is a small island called *Eilean Choluimcille*. On the north-west, at Skabost-bridge, on an island of the river Snizort, near its entrance into Loch Snizort, is an old church, anciently known as *Sanct Colmis Kirk in Snesfurd.*

[h] *Accolis.*—In the margin of D. is written in

[1]DE NAVICULA TRANSMUTATA SANCTO PRÆCIPIENTE.

ALIO in tempore trans Britanniæ Dorsum[a] iter agens, aliquo in desertis [2]viculo agellis reperto, ibidemque juxta alicujus marginem [3]rivuli stagnum[b] intrantis, Sanctus mansionem faciens, eadem nocte dormientes, semisopore degustato, suscitat comites, dicens, Nunc, nunc, celerius foras exeuntes, nostram quam ultra rivum naviculam[c] posuistis in [4]domum, huc citius advehite, et in viciniore [5]domuncula ponite. Qui continuo obedientes, sicut [6]eis præceptum est, fecerunt; ipsisque iterum quiescentibus, Sanctus post quoddam intervallum silenter Diormitium pulsat inquiens, Nunc stans extra domum aspice quid in illo agitur viculo ubi prius [7]vestram posuistis naviculam. Qui Sancti præcepto obsecutus, domum egreditur, et respiciens [8]videt vicum flamma instante totum concremari. Reversusque ad Sanctum quod ibidem agebatur retulit. Sanctus proinde fratribus de quodam narravit æmulo persecutore qui easdem domus eadem incenderat nocte.

[1] *capitulum totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] B. *et* A. *inferius* vehiculo A. Colg. Boll. [3] rivoli A. [4] domo B. [5] domucula A. [6] *om.* B. [7] nostram B. [8] vidit B.

an old hand, 'Accola non propriam; propriam colit incola terram.' But this does not apply here. See the word again in i. 35, *infra*.

[a] *Britanniæ Dorsum.*—Druim-bretain. See ii. 31, 42, 46, iii. 14; Tighernach, 717; Ann. Ult. 718. The vernacular name Drum-Bretain at an early date passed into the form *Drum-Alban*, which was in use until the thirteenth century, and was applied to the great mountain chain dividing Perthshire and Argyle, and terminating in the Grampian Hills. This range forms the backbone of Scotland, and from its sides the eastern and western waters respectively flow.

[b] *Stagnum.*—The name, which is omitted in this place, is supplied in the *Capitulationes* (p. 11, *supra*), as "stagnum Loch Diæ." It is found in the Annals of Ulster, A.C. 728: *Bellum Monitcarno juxta stagnum Loogdae inter hostem Nechtain et exercitum Aengusa, et exactatores Nechtain ceciderunt, hoc est Biceot mac Moneit, et filius ejus Finguine mac Drostain, Feroth mac Finnguine et quidam multi; et familia Aengusa triumphavit.*—(Cod. Dubl.) Chalmers, who never stops at a topographical difficulty, deals with the name as a familiar one, and describes the encounter as the "battle of Moncur in the Carse of Gowrie."—(Caledon. i. p. 211.) But there is no lake at Moncur, and the similarity of the name is more apparent than real. "Bellum Montis Carno."—(Annal. Cambr. 728.) *Pan vu vrwydyr ym mynyd Carn*, 'when there was a battle on Carn mountain.'—Brut y Tywysogion, 728. This is supposed to be the pass of the Grampians, in the west of Kincardineshire, called Cairn-o-mont, the *Mons Mound* of Giraldus Cambrensis, and the *Monoth* of Ann. Ult. 781, beside which is Glendye, through which flows the river Dye; but, unfortunately for the present identification, there is no lake there.

[c] *Naviculam.*—A currach, which, being made of wicker-work covered with hide, was easily carried. The river seems to have been an in-

[1]DE GALLANO FILIO FACHTNI QUI ERAT IN [2]DIŒCESI COLGION FILII [3]CELLAIG.

QUADAM itidem die Sanctus, in suo sedens [4]tuguriolo, [5]Colcio[a] eidem, lectitanti juxta se, prophetizans ait, Nunc unum tenacem primarium de tuæ præpositis [6]diœceseos[b] dæmones ad inferna rapiunt. At vero hoc audiens [7]Colcius

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] diocisi A. diocesi B. [3] A. cellachi B. [4] tegoriolo A. [5] A. colgio B. [6] diociseos A. [7] A. colgius B.

considerable one, as the messenger crossed it on foot to get the boat; unless we interpret *ultra* as meaning 'having crossed.'

[a] *Colcio.*—Here, and iii. 15, we have the Latin form of the name Colga, while in the title we have the Irish, in the genitive case. *Colgen* is the genitive in i. 43, *infra*. So *Cellaig* in the title, the genitive of Cellach, which is latinized *Cellachi* in iii. 15, *infra*. Colgan, the hagiologist's name, is properly Mac Colgan, 'son of Colga,' which the Annals of Ulster read *Mac Colgen* at 621. The subject of the present anecdote is mentioned again at iii. 15, under similar circumstances. Colgan notices him in his Acta at Feb. 20, but adduces nothing additional of importance. He supposes him to have been a bishop from the expression *tuæ diœceseos*, possibly Colga of Kill-cholgan in Dealbhna-Eathra or Garrycastle. (Act. SS. p. 381.) Dr. Lanigan, however, observes that "the phrase *your diocese* may mean no more than the diocese in Ireland to which Colgeus belonged, without his being bishop of it." (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 328.) But both suppositions are open to this grave objection, that diocesan episcopacy was unknown at this period in Ireland. See the following note. Tighernach, at 622, records the death of *Colga mac Ceallaig*. So Ann. Ult. 621; Four Mast. 617; and the two names in the same relation occur again in the Four Masters at 776, 849. The word *eidem* refers to the name in the titulus, and proves the genuineness of it. The Bollandists, who have thrown all these chapters into a continuous narrative, and have discarded the tituli, so as not to interrupt the tenor, occasionally create a defect in their text, by omitting, as in the present instance, the antecedent.

[b] *Diœceseos.*—The word used in the oldest Irish records to denote 'a diocese' is *parochia*. (S. Patricii Synod. 30, 34, Villanueva, pp. 5, 6. *Paruchia*, Lib. Armac. fol. 11 *a b*, 16 *a a*, 20 *b b*, 21 *b b*, 22 *a a*.) Sulpicius Severus uses *diœcesis* in the sense of 'parish,' and *parochia* of 'an episcopal seat.' (Vit. S. Martini, Lib. Armac. fol. 209 *b b*, 220 *a a*, 202 *b b*; pp. 578, 526, 550, Ed. Hornii.) In the present instance the term *diœcesis* seems, like the Greek διοίκησις, to be taken in the sense of 'administration,' or, secondarily, of 'district,' conveying the idea expressed by "quidam de *provincialibus tuis* clericis," iii. 7 *infra*. In this sense it is employed in the solitary instance in which it occurs in the ancient memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh (fol. 20 *b b*). In the case of widely extended monastic systems, like that of St. Columba, while the supreme government was vested in the superior of the mother church, there were local administrators, under whose direction the churches of a particular district or province were unitedly placed, and the present expression seems to have reference to such jurisdiction. Occasionally we read, in the Annals, of the Maor muinciri Patraic, 'Steward of the congregation of S. Patrick,' in a certain province. See Eccles. Antiqq. of Down

tempus et horam in tabula describens, post aliquot menses ad patriam reversus, Gallanum filium Fachtni eodem horæ momento obiisse, ab accolis ejusdem regionis percunctatus, invenit, quo vir beatus eidem a dæmonibus raptum enarravit.

[1] BEATI PROPHETATIO [2] VIRI DE FINDCHANO PRESBYTERO, ILLIUS MONASTERII FUNDATORE QUOD SCOTICE [3] ARTCHAIN[a] NUNCUPATUR, IN ETHICA TERRA.

ALIO in tempore supra memoratus[b] presbyter Findchanus[c], Christi miles, Aidum cognomento Nigrum[d], regio genere ortum, [4] Cruthinicum gente[e], de

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [1 2] *om.* B. [3] ardcaiin B. [4] A. B.

and Connor, pp. 136, 137; King's Primacy of Armagh, references in Index, under *Diocesan Episcopacy*.

[a] *Artchain.*—*Hib.* Ard Caoin 'altitudo amœna.' The name exists in Ireland, as belonging to a parish in the county of Down, in the form *Ardkeen*, but has been lost in the Ethica terra or Tiree. A spot on the north side of the island, a little south-east of the farm-house of Balphetrish, is called *Ardkirknish*, where a chapel and cemetery are known to have formerly existed. In the farm of Kenoway, south-west of Balphetrish, is a rocky space called *Kilfinnian*, having faint vestiges of a small building lying east and west. See the paper on the Island of Tiree in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii. p. 241, and map. T. Innes, who erroneously supposed the Terra Ethica to be Shetland (Civ. Eccl. Hist. pp. 204, 205), seems to have been satisfied of his correctness, for he four times makes mention of "Artchain in Shetland." (*Ibid.* pp. 179–181.)

[b] *Supra memoratus.*—This refers to the titulus, which the Bollandists omit, and thereby mutilate the text. Instances of this kind are frequent in the course of the Life.

[c] *Findchanus.*—Colgan assigns his festival to March 11, choosing that one from the five several days at which the name occurs in the Irish calendar, because on it Marian Gorman commemorates Finbchan gel oc gnaibnech, *Findchanus virgo, purus et amarosus;* and the Martyrology of Tamhlacht, Finnchan aire i fiemh, *Finnchanus qui fuit in angustiis* (sive *cruciatibus*) *diuturnis:* the expressions of suffering having reference, as he supposes, to the visitation recorded at the close of this chapter. (Act. SS. p. 584 *b*, n. 2.) Tiree was, in early times, greatly resorted to by Irish ecclesiastics. Besides the immediate followers of St. Columba, it was visited by St. Brendan, St. Cainnech, St. Comgall, St. Colmanela; and on the present occasion St. Findchan "brought Aidus Niger with him from Scotia to Britain," to his monastery on the island. Among the lowland Scotch this saint is commonly called St. Fink, and his name is preserved in *Kilfinichen*, a parish in the island of Mull, situate between Lochs Na Keal and Scridan; which is noticed in records under the forms *Keilfeinchen*, *Killinachan*, and *Killinchen*. The *Sancta Fincana*, proposed in the Origines Parochiales as the patron of this parish, seems scarcely possessed of equal claims with St. Findchan. (Vol. ii. pt. i. p. 314.)

[d] *Aidum Nigrum.*—Aedh buibh of the Irish. He was son of Suibhne, and was chief of the Dal Araidhe in 565. In 581 he became king of

Scotia ad Britanniam[f] sub clericatus habitu[g] secum adduxit, ut in suo apud se monasterio per aliquot peregrinaretur annos. Qui scilicet Aidus Niger valde sanguinarius homo et multorum fuerat trucidator[h]; qui et Diormitium filium

Uladh, and in 588 he lost his life. (*Tigh.* So Annal. Ult. 564, 587; Four Mast. 558, 592. See O'Donovan's note on last reference; and Reeves' Eccles. Antiqq. pp. 340, 353.)

[e] *Cruthinicum gente.*—The Dal Araidhe, inhabiting the southern half of the county of Antrim, and the greater part of the county of Down, were known among the Irish by the name of Cruithne, or Picts, also; and their territory by that of Cṙiṫ na Cṙuiṫne, 'region of the Picts.' See i. 7 (p. 33) *supra*, and the note on the name at i. 49 *infra*.

[f] *Britanniam.*—See the note on the word at Præf. 2, p. 9, *supra*.

[g] *Habitu.*—The Irish annals abound with examples of the exchange of the regal for the monastic condition. Niall Freasach, King of Ireland, after a reign of seven years, retired to Hy, and, having taken the religious habit, died in 778. So Selbach of the Dalriada, and Echtan of the Picts. (*Tigh.* 723, 724.) See Four Mast. 703. "Contemporaneus fuit Sancto Columbæ sanctus Constantinus rex Cornubiæ, qui, relicto regno terreno, regi cœlesti militari cœpit, et cum Sancto Columba ad Scotiam pervenit, et fidem Scotis prædicavit et Pictis."—*Fordun.* (Scotichr. iii. 26.)

[h] *Trucidator.*—His name first appears in the Annals as the murderer of King Dermot. In an ancient Life of this sovereign, preserved in the MS. H. 2. 16, Trinity College, Dublin, his future assassin is introduced at an early stage of his history, and a reason assigned for the vindictive feelings which he entertained. Ir h-e ḋno [.i. ḃec mac Ḋe] ṗo ṗaiḋ ḟṙi Ḋiaṙmuiḋ mac Ceṙṙbaill iṙin Ṫemṙaiġ, ḋia mbaṫaṙ in ṫ-oeṙ aṫmolṫa ac molaḋ an ṗiġ, acaṙ a ḟiḋa acaṙ a ḟoḃeṙ. Ro baí Aeḋ ḋub mac Suibni ṗiġ Ḋail n-Aṙaiḋe ḟoṙ a belaib ḃic, aṙ iṙeḋ Ḋiaṙmaiḋ ṗo maṙb in Suibni ṙin. Acaṙ ṗo ġab Ḋiaṙmaiḋ a mac ḟoṙ alṫṙom .i. Aeḋ ḋub mac Suibni. Co n-ebaiṙṫ ḃec:

Aṫ ḋiuṙa in coin conamail
Ḋoiṫḟeṙ in ṙiṫ ṙoineamail.

A ḃic cia cu, aṙ Aeḋ. Cu ṙecaiṙe, beṙ iṙ ṫu, aṙ ḃec. Caiḋe amae ol Ḋiaṙmaiḋ. nin. in lamṙa amne aṙ ḃec, Aeḋa ḋuib iṙi ḋo beṙa ḋiġ ṫonnaiġ iṫ beolu i ṫiġ ḃanban ḃriuġaḋ, acaṙ leni oen ṙoiṙni umaṫ, acaṙ ḃṙaṫ oen ṫaeṙaḋ umaṫ, acaṙ cuiṙm oen ġṙaindi aṫ chuṙn, acaṙ ṙaill muici na ṙo ġenaiṙ ḟoṙ ḋo meiṙ; acaṙ iṙi ochṫach .i. Ḟeiġi, in ṫiġi aṫai ṫuiṫḟeaṙ iṫ cenḋ iaṙ na ṫ-aiṙleach ḋo naimḋib. Aeḋ ḋub ḋo maṙḃaiḋ ol caḋ. Naṫo ol Ḋiaṙmaiḋ, aṫṫ ḃlomḟaiṫeṙ ḋó aṙ imḋ n-Eṙinḋ cheana acaṙ ni ṫaiġeolla cen ḃam beoṙa h-i. Cuiṙṫeaṙ iaṙṙin Aeḋ ḋub i ṫṙiṫh n-Alḃan ḟoṙ imḋaṙḃa la Ḋiaṙmaiḋ, acaṙ niṙ leiceaḋ i n-Eṙinn iaṙṙin ceim ḃai Ḋiaṙmaiḋ a ṙiġi. 'It was he, now, [Bec mac De] that said to Dermaid mac Cerbhaill at Temar, at a time that the panegyrists were praising the king, and his peaceful reign, and his accomplishments. Aedh Dubh, son of Suibhne, king of Dalaraidhe, was before Bec, and it was Dermaid who killed that Suibhne. And Dermaid then took his son in fosterage, namely, Aedh Dubh son of Suibhne. And Bec said:

I see the snarling hound
That will destroy the happy peace.

O Bec, what hound? said Aedh. A dog that desires; and it is thou, said Bec. What is it, pray, said Dermaid. It is, this hand alone of Aedh Dubh, said Bec, shall convey the draught of death to your lips in the house of Banban the knight; and a shirt of one pod upon you, and a cloak of one sheep on you, and the ale of one grain in your cup, and the fat of a pig that

Cerbulis[i], totius Scotiæ regnatorem[k], Deo auctore ordinatum[l], interfecerat. Hic itaque idem Aidus, post aliquantum in peregrinatione transactum tempus[m], accito episcopo[n], quamvis non recte, apud supradictum Findchanum presbyter

was never born, on your table. And it is the *ochtach* (i. e. ridge-tree) of the house in which you are that shall fall upon your head, after that you have been transfixed by your enemies. Let Aedh Dubh be killed, said all. Not so, said Dermaid, but he shall be sent out of Erin, however; and he shall not return to it while I am alive. Aedh Dubh, then, was sent into the country of Alba in banishment by Diarmait, and he was not allowed into Erin after that during Diarmait's reign.' (fol. 809.)

[i] *Diormitium filium Cerbulis.*—Diarmaic mac Cerbaill. His father was Fergus Cerbhall, son of Conall Crimthann, and grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages. This Diarmait (who is to be distinguished from Diarmait son of Cerbhall, lord of Ossory in 900) succeeded his kinsman Tuathal Maelgarbh as sovereign of Ireland in 544, and reigned 21 years. He was head of the Southern Hy Neill, and his descendants were represented in after ages by the O'Melaghlins of Meath. His reign is remarkable in the civil history of the country as the one in which Tara ceased to be a regal abode; and, in the ecclesiastical, for his patronage of St. Ciaran, and his alleged disputes with St. Columba and St. Ruadhan. His death is thus recorded by Tighernach: A. C. 565, Diarmaic mac Cerbaill *occisus est* i Raich bich a Muig Line la hAed nDub mac Suibne Araidhe ri Uladh: ocus a cend co Cluain, ocus ro adnacht a colaind a Conere: *cui successerunt duo filii* mic Erca .i. Fergus ocus Domhnall. 'Diarmait, son of Cerbhall, was slain at Rath-beg in Magh-Line by Aedh Dubh, son of Suibhne Araidhe, King of Uladh: and his head was conveyed to Cluain [mac nois], and his body was buried at Connor. To whom succeeded the two sons of Mac Erca, namely Fergus and Domhnall.' Rathbeg is situate beside Rathmor, the seat of the Dalaradian lords, about two miles east of Antrim, and seven south of Connor. The distance of Clonmacnois prevented the removal of his body thither, which was interred in St. Macnissi's church of Connor, the oldest and most important foundation in the neighbourhood; but his head, being more portable, was carried to St. Ciaran's church of Clonmacnois, which lay in his patrimony, and had been the special object of his bounty. There is a detailed account of the manner of Diarmait's death in the ancient Irish memoir already cited (MS. Trin. Coll. Dub. H. 2. 16, p. 809), from which it appears that he was for cuairt tigi beirill h-Erenn, 'upon a royal visitation, right-hand-wise, of Erin' at the time, and that his assassination occurred in Rathbeg, at the house of a chief called Banban. An extract from the story is given by Lynch in Cambrensis Eversus (p. 75, or vol. ii. p. 12 reprint.) See Eccles. Antiqq. Down and Connor, p. 279.

[k] *Regnatorem.*—Every province had a regular succession of kings, and under them were various degrees of subordinate chiefs, also styled kings. But superior to all was the King of all Ireland, who took his title from the regal seat of Tara, and held about the same relation to his inferiors that the Primate of all Ireland at present does to the various orders of the Church. In most respects the supremacy was more titular than real, and, unless accompanied by personal enterprise, was rather a mark for treason than an engine of government. Owing to some extraordinary influence the monarchy of Ireland was limited to the race of Niall, until the eleventh century, during all which period the dignity was ambulatory, with three or four exceptions, in the families of Conall Crimthann, head of the Southern Hy Neill, of Eoghan, head of the Cinel Eoghain, and of Conall Gulban, head of the Cinel Conaill, the

ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non est ausus super caput ejus manum imponere, nisi prius idem Findchanus, Aidum carnaliter amans, suam capiti ejus pro confirmatione imponeret dexteram[o]. Quæ talis ordinatio cum postea sancto

founders respectively of the kingdoms of Meath, Tyrone, and Tirconnell. Diarmait belonged to the first family, and was the eighth monarch of the race.

[l] *Ordinatum.*—Dr. Lanigan observes: "What will those who abet the fable of Columba's exciting a war against Diermit say of this transaction? Will they venture to assert, that he would not have scrupled to contribute to the death of that monarch, while he was fired with such indignation against the man who actually killed him?" (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 169.) The principle of war, however, is different from that of assassination, and the evidence in favour of St. Columba's exertions against Diarmait is too strong to be so easily set aside. The will of Providence in ecclesiastical appointment is recognised by our author in iii. 8, 19; and in secular in i. 1, 14, and the present case; which is the more remarkable, as at this period a vacancy was seldom created in royalty by natural causes, war and assassination being the usual avenues to the throne.

[m] *Transactum tempus.*—An early canon of the Irish Church ordained: "Omnes homicidæ, si toto corde conversi fuerint, septem annorum penitentiam districte sub regula Monasterii pœniteant." (D'Achery, Spicileg. tom. ix. p. 16. par. 1669.) See ii. 39 *infra.*

[n] *Accito episcopo.*—This monastery was regulated by the discipline of the parent institution, in which a presbyter was Superior, and, in virtue of his conventual rank, exercised jurisdiction over the associate bishops, without, however, the slightest attempt to usurp the functions of their order. The present narrative is a very valuable illustration of Bede's statement concerning the administrative economy of Hy (H. E. iii. 4), and the sagacious T. Innes fails not to turn to good account the evidence which it so decisively affords. He observes: "Since Findchan was resolved to have Aidus made priest at any rate, the ordaining him by Findchan himself, and the other presbyters and seniors of a monastery, in so remote a corner, might have made no noise anywhere else. Now when we see that Findchan, notwithstanding his earnestness to get Aidus ordained priest, and the importance of not divulging the ordination of a man so infamous for his crimes, could find no other means of having his ordination performed than by sending, and perhaps far enough, through the Picts and Scots, for a bishop, which could not fail to make a noise; and in the next place, that he engaged the bishop to perform the function, notwithstanding his reluctancy to take upon himself alone the guilt of an ordination (which it appears he doubted, at least, was criminal and sacrilegious) unless Findchan would at same time lay his right hand upon Aidus to bear a part, as it were, of the guilt and of the reproach. When we consider, I say, and ponder all the circumstances of this ordination, it seems not possible to conceive that Findchan, with all his qualities of priest, of founder, and of Superior of a Columbite monastery, and, by consequence, that any other Abbot, Superior, or Priest of Ycolmkill, or all of them together, destituted of the episcopal Character, ever so much as claimed, or pretended any right or power to ordain a priest, much less to ordain or consecrate a bishop." (Civil and Eccles. Hist. p. 181.)

[o] *Imponeret dexteram.*—Though there was an apparent compliance with the canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, which enacted that the presbyters present at the ordination of a priest "manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant," yet it would seem that regard was not had to it on the present occasion, because Findchan was required

intimaretur viro, ægre tulit: tum proinde hanc de illo Findchano et de Aido ordinato formidabilem profatur sententiam, inquiens, Illa manus dextra quam Findchanus, contra fas, et jus ecclesiasticum, super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet[p], et post magnos dolorum cruciatus ipsum in [5]terram [6]sepelienda præcedet; et ipse post suam humatam manum per multos superstes victurus est annos. Ordinatus vero indebite Aidus, sicuti canis, ad vomitum revertetur suum, et ipse rursum sanguilentus trucidator existet[q], et ad ultimum lancea [7]jugulatus, de ligno in aquam cadens, submersus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum promeruit vitæ, qui totius regem trucidavit Scotiæ. Quæ beati viri prophetia de utroque adimpleta est; nam presbyteri Findchani [8]dexter [9]per [9]pugnum [10]putrefactus in terram eum præcessit, in illa [11]sepultus insula quæ [12]Ommon[r] nuncupatur: ipse vero, juxta verbum Sancti Columbæ

[5] A. terra B. [6] sepeliendam A. [7] B. jugulentus A. jugulandus Colg. Boll. [8] A. B. [9] per pugnus A. prepugnus B. per pugnum Colg. Boll. [10] A. B. [11] A. B. [12] omon B.

to do so *prius* and *pro confirmatione*, for the reason assigned in the preceding note. That the decree of the Council of Carthage, which was generally adopted in the Western Church, was intended to be recognised in Ireland may be inferred from the Irish Canon, printed by D'Achery, *De Ordinatione Diaconi:* "Cum Diaconus ordinatur solus Episcopus qui eum benedicit manum super caput ejus ponat, quia non ad Sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur."—Spicileg. tom. ix. p. 7. (Par. 1669.)

[p] *Computrescet.*—The notion was probably borrowed from Job, xxxi. 22, and was very general among the Irish. For instance: S. Mac Nissi committed a grievous offence, and "Ecce res mira! manus Mac Nessii extemplo abscissa in terram cadit." (Vit. Trip. S. Pat. ii. 129, Tr. Th. p. 146 *b*.) When Saranus slew Brandubh, King of Leinster, S. Moedoc prayed "Utinam illa manus, quæ defensorem ecclesiarum etc. jugulavit, ex latere suo caderet . . . . Et cum dixisset, manus Sarani cecidit de latere ejus, sicut prius optavit S. Moedoc."—Vit. S. Maidoci, c. 47, 48 (Colg. A. SS. p. 213 *b*). "Crudelis homo et infælix aliquando jugulavit alium juxta S. Aedum: cui auriga S. Episcopi dixit; pereat manus tua, et cadat a te, quia non dedisti honorem sancto Dei."—Vit. S. Aidi, c. 28. (Colg. A. SS. p. 421 *a*.) S. Pulcherius pronounced against the slayer of his ward: "Manus ejus jam citius vindicta Dei a latere suo cadet, de qua istum occidit, et inde statim morietur. Et sic omnia facta. Slebinus autem, cadente dextera manu ejus a latere suo mortuus est.—Vit. S. Mochoemoci, c. 19 (Colg. A. SS. 592 *b*; Fleming, Coll. p. 385 *b*.) When St. Colman-Ela was a boy, a woman struck him as he came out of church, whereupon his master said: "Sinistra manus tua qua percussisti injuste Christi famulum cadet crastina die a latere tuo, et sic factum est. Acervus jam lapidum positus est super illam manum in signum virtutis."—MS. E. 3. 11, T. C. D. fol. 106 *a b*.

[q] *Trucidator existet.*—He returned to Ireland before 575, for he is represented in the Preface to the *Amhra Choluimcille* as one of the Aedhs who were reigning when the convention of Druimceatt took place. (H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl. p. 680.) On the death of Baedan son of Cairill, in 581, he usurped the sovereignty of Uladh, but eventually perished by the hand of Fiachna son of that Baedan.

[r] *Ommon.*—Not identified. Æmonia, the old name of Inchcolm, will not answer, for that

per multos post vixit annos. Aidus vero Niger, solummodo nomine presbyter, ad sua priora reversus scelera, dolo lancea transfixus, de prora ratis in aquam lapsus stagneam, disperiit[a].

[1]DE QUODAM SANCTI SOLAMINE SPIRITUS MONACHIS IN VIA LABORIOSIS MISSO.

INTER has prædicabiles prophetici spiritus prophetationes non ab re videtur etiam de quadam spiritali consolatione nostris commemorare literulis, quam aliquando sancti Columbæ monachi, spiritu ejus ipsis in via obviante, sentiebant. Alio namque in tempore, fratres, post messionis opera, vespere ad monasterium redeuntes, et ad illum pervenientes locum qui Scotice nuncupatur [2]Cuuleilne[a], qui utique locus inter occidentalem [3]Iouæ insulæ campulum[b] et

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] B. cuul eilne A. [3] A. ione B.

island is at the east side of Scotland. The place where S. Mac Nissi's hand was buried was called *Carn-lamha*, i. e. 'tumulus manus.' (Tr. Th. p. 146 *b*.)

[a] *Disperiit.*—A. C. 588, Ꝑuin Aeḋha Ḋuibh mic Suibhne Araiḋhe *qui* ḋo marbh Ḋiarmaiḋ mac Cerbuill. 'The mortal wound of Aedh Dubh son of Suibhne Araidhe, who slew Diarmait son of Cerbhall.'—*Tigh.* A. C. 587, *Jugulatio* Aeḋha *Nigri* mic Suibne i Luing [in navi].—*An. Ult.* A. C. 592, "Aedh Dubh son of Suibhne, King of Uladh, was slain by Fiachna son of Baedan."—*Four Mast.* Tighernach's is the true date. In a catalogue of the Kings of Uladh, copied by Mac Firbis from the Book of Saul, we meet with Aoḋh Ḋubh mac Suiḋne .uii. bliaḋna, a marḃaḋ i luing la Cruiṫne-cuiḋ. 'Aodh Dubh son of Suibhne [reigned] seven years. He was killed in a ship by the Cruithneans.' (Geneal. MS. p. 595.) Again, in a metrical series:

Aoḋh Ḋubh mac raiṁḋṙeṫach Suiḋne;
Seachṫ mbliaḋna a blaḋ ar biṫ cé.
Sluoḋṫ arm Cruiṫneaḋ ma ṫreḋṫoiḋ:
Ꝑarḃ luiṫmeaḋ i n-eḋṫaib é.

'Aodh Dubh son of mild-judging Suibhne;
Seven years was his fame on this earth.
The marks of Cruithnean weapons in his wounds:
Fierce and active in deeds was he.' (*Ib.* p. 590.)

The "aqua stagnea" which received him was most probably Lough Neagh, within two miles of which was his regal abode of Rathmore. Instances of penal drowning among the Picts of Scotland occur in the Annals of Ulster at 733, 738, and Chalmers concludes that this was a mode of punishment common among the Picts. (Caledon. i. p. 211.)

[a] *Cuuleilne.*—The word cuil, which Colgan always interprets *secessus*, signifies commonly 'a corner,' and there are three or four places in Iona to which it is still applied, but none in the position mentioned here. However, just half-way between the *Machar* and the Monastery, a little east of Cnoc-Orain, is a spot called *Bol-lethne*, which may be a corruption of the original name. From the narrative it would seem that here the most laborious part of the way commenced; and at *Bol-leithne* there is a considerable ascent, and the path becomes rugged.

[b] *Campulum.*—It is now called *the Machar*,

mum et quartum psalmum[k] decantare cœpit, mirumque in modum ita vox ejus in aere eodem momento instar alicujus formidabilis tonitrui elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti.

[1]DE QUODAM DIVITE QUI LUGUDIUS CLODUS VOCITABATUR.

ALIO in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot Sanctus demoraretur dies, alium currui insidentem[a] videns clericum, qui gaudenter peragrabat Campum Breg[b]; primo interrogans de eo quis esset, hoc ab amicis ejusdem viri de eo accipit responsum, Hic est Lugudius Clodus, homo dives et honoratus in plebe. Sanctus consequenter respondens inquit, Non ita [2]video; sed homuncio

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] A. vides B.

tiaci.' (Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. p. 278.) See Fiech's Hymn, vs. 11; Petrie's Tara, p. 40. In Mat. ii. 1, we have Ꝺꞇaoiċe for 'Wise men.' The memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh state that, at the time of his arrival, the monarch of Ireland had *scivos, et magos, et aurispices, et incantatores, et omnis malæ artis inventores*, in his service (fol. 2 *b a*). The contests between St. Patrick and the Magi are related at fol. 4 *a a*, &c. In an ancient hymn ascribed to St. Columba we find the following sentiment:

Ir e mo ꝺꞇai Cꞇiꞇċ mac Ꝺe.

'Christ the Son of God is my *druid*.'

(Miscell. Irish Archæol. Soc. vol. i. p. 6.)

This word ꝺꞇai is the origin of the term Druides, and not δρῦς, as Pliny suggests (N. H. xvi. 44), or דרש, as Vossius. Concerning the Magi and their vestiges among the Irish after the establishment of Christianity, see Colgan, Acta SS. p. 149 *b*, n. 15. On the word Druid see the Irish Dictionaries, *voce* Ꝺꞇaoi; Zeuss, Gramm. Celt. i. pp. 8, 17, 265, 271, 273, 274, 276; Cæsar, Bell. Gall. vi. 13.

[k] *Psalmum.*—That is, according to the order in the Septuagint and Latin Versions; but which is the 45th according to the Hebrew, and the Authorized English Version. This is proved by the quotation from the Psalms in iii. 23, *infra*, which is stated to be from the 33rd, and which is so in the Septuagint; but is the 34th in the Hebrew.

[a] *Currui insidentem.*—The memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh make frequent mention of his chariot (fol. 7 *b a*, 9 *b a*, 14 *a b*), and even name his driver (fol. 11 *a b*, 13 *b b*). St. Columba himself used such a conveyance in Ireland (ii. 43, *infra*). On the ancient *currus* of the Irish, see O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Scriptor. iv. p. 148. A spirited drawing of an ancient car is given from a monument at Meigle in the late lamented Patrick Chalmers' Sculptured Monuments of Angus. (Plate 18. Edinb. 1848.)

[b] *Campum Breg.*—See ii. 39, *infra*. Maꝺ ꝺꞇeꝺ, sometimes latinized *Bregia*, is reputed to have received its name from Bregha son of Breogan, a Milesian chief. (Keating, Hist. i. p. 286, Ed. Haliday.) The territory originally comprised five *triocha-cheds*, or cantreds, in the east portion of ancient Meath. In after times the name was applied to the extensive tract of country reaching from Dublin northwards to near Dundalk, and north-westwards to the Fews Mountains. It is still preserved in the territory, in the form *Slieve Bregh*, which belongs to a hill on the north-east of the county of Meath. (Ord. Surv. s. 13.)

miser et pauper, in die qua morietur, tria apud se vicinorum prætersoria[c] in una retentabit [3]maceria[d], unamque electam de vaccis [4]prætersoriorum occidi jubebit [5]sibi, de [6]cujus cocta carne postulabit aliquam sibi partem dari, cum meretrice in eodem lectulo cubanti[e]. De qua utique particula morsum accipiens, statim ibidem strangulabitur et morietur. Quæ omnia, sicuti ab expertis traditur, juxta Sancti [7]propheticum adimpleta sunt [8]verbum.

[1]DE NEMANO[a] FILIO [2]GRUTHRICHE SANCTI [3]PROPHETIA.

[4]HUNC [5]enim cum Sanctus de malis suis corriperet, parvipendens Sanctum subsannabat. Cui respondens vir beatus ait, In nomine Domini, Nemane, aliqua de te veridica loquar verba. Inimici tui [6]reperient te in eodem cum meretrice cubantem cubiculo, ibidemque trucidaberis. Dæmones quoque ad loca pœnarum tuam rapient animam. Hic idem Nemanus, post aliquot annos, in uno cum meretrice lectulo repertus in regione Cainle[b], juxta [7]verbum Sancti, [8]ab inimicis decapitatus, disperiit.

[3] A. B. maneria *suo jure* Boll. [4] prætersorium B. [5] *om.* B. [6] unius B. [7] prophetiam B. [8] *om.* B.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] gluteriche B. [3] prophetiæ verbum B. [4-5] nemanum filium grutricæ Boll. [6] periment B. [7] *om.* B. [8] vaticinium *add.* B.

[c] *Prætersoria.*—The present is the only example of the word in Du Cange, which he explains "Grex alienam segetem depascens." The Bollandists interpret it, "Grex aliena depascens." (*In loco*, and Index Onomast. Junii tom. ii.) All seem to borrow from Colgan, whose note on the present passage is: "Per prætersorium videtur intelligere par boum, vel gregem, depascentem segetem alienam." (Tr. Th. p. 379 *b*, n. 83.) 'Stray cattle,' or 'trespassing cattle.' "Electum autem de vaccis prætersoriorum, vitulum intelligo ex tali armento."—Baertius.

[d] *Maceria.*—*Hib.* caiſrıol, *cashel*, 'a walled enclosure.' The remarkable charter (A. D. 1004) which is entered in the Book of Armagh, styles the southern kings *Reges Maceriæ*, that is, 'Kings of Cashel.' (fol. 16 *b b.*) It is a curious fact that in Italy the fortified farm-houses which are scattered over the Campagna are still known by the name *Maseria.*

[e] *Cubanti.*—As this individual was a "clericus, dives, et honoratus in plebe," it would seem that self-denial was not an invariable ingredient, even at this early period, in the clerical character.

[a] *Nemano.*—*Hib.* Neman. Other individuals of the same name are mentioned at i. 21, ii. 4. A Neman was abbot of Lismore in Scotland in 610. (Four Mast.)

[b] *Regione Cainle.*—Called *Mons Cainle* at ii. 17, but without any clue to the identification. If the words at the commencement of next chapter refer to the mention of this district, it must be fixed in Ireland, and in the neighbourhood of Trevet. But they rather seem to point to *Campus Breg* of chap. 38, in which Trevet is situate, leaving the *Regio*

[1]DE QUODAM PRESBYTERO [2]SANCTI VIRI [3]PROPHETATIO.

ALIO [4]in tempore Sanctus, cum in [5]Scotiensium paulo superius moraretur memorata regione[a], casu Dominica die ad quoddam devenit vicinum monasteriolum[b] quod Scotice [6]Trioit[c] vocitatur. Eadem [7]proinde die quendam audiens

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] qui erat in triota *add.* B. [3] prophetia B. [4] *om.* D. [5] hyberniencium D. [6] A. F. triota B. trioint C. treoit D. [7] *om.* D.

Cainle unappropriated. *Mons* Cainle certainly would not suit the plain of Bregia, or the vicinity of Trevet. It was more probably in Scotland. In this view the word *vicinus* in next chapter will have reference to the Saint's previous place of sojourn, and not to the relation of the monastery and region, for Trevet was *in* Bregia.

[a] *Memorata regione.*—Probably, not the *regio Cainle* of last chapter, but the *Campus Breg* of chap. 38. It is worthy of observation that the shorter recension of Adamnan's text, represented by Canisius and Messingham, contains the present chapter, but omits all that have intervened between chap. 33 and it. Therefore we must in that text look to chap. 33, or one immediately preceding, for the correlative to the present words: but the island of Skye is the subject of chap. 33, and Hy of the preceding ones. It follows, then, that as the forementioned region is in this chapter identified with that in which Trevet is situate, neither Skye nor Hy can be the place referred to; and that there must be a chasm in the shorter text; in other words, that the shorter is an abbreviation of Adamnan's original, and not, as Dr. Lanigan would have it, that the present text is interpolated. (Eccl. Hist. ii. pp. 109, 246.)

[b] *Monasteriolum.*—Præf. 2, ii. 7. This diminutive is also found in Bede, where he describes Dicul the Scot as "habens monasteriolum permodicum in loco qui vocatur Bosanhamm, silvis et mari circumdatum, et in eo fratres quinque sive sex, in humili et paupere vita Domino famulantes." (H. E. iv. 13). So in the Life of St. Dega: "Huic autem monasterio [Daiminensi] aliquod secretum adjacet monasteriolum, quod schola dicitur." (Act. SS. Aug. tom. iii. p. 659 *a.*) The term was an appropriate one in the case of Trevet. See next note.

[c] *Trioit.*—Tṙeoit in Tighernach and Ann. Ult.; sometimes with the epithet moṙ 'great.' In the Four Masters the form Tṙeṙoit is occasionally found, which is agreeable to the etymon tṙi ṙoit 'three sods' given in some ancient authorities cited by O'Donovan (Four Mast. 734), and Petrie (Round Towers, pp. 97, 99). St. Lonan, who is commemorated at Nov. 1, was probably the founder: Lonan o Tṙeṙoit i mbṙeġaiḃ aġ boinn, 'Lonan of Trefoit in Bregia, on the Boyne.'—Cal. Dungall. It is styled *monasteriolum* in the text, and appears to have been, though an ancient, for some time an inconsiderable, establishment, as neither the name nor date of its founder occurs in the Annals, and the first time it is noticed is 739. However it subsequently rose to importance, and was administered by episcopal abbots in 769, 898, and 1004. From the supposed similarity of the name to Tredagh, the English form of Drogheda, O'Conor and others have been led to identify it with that town; but erroneously, for its true representative in modern topography is *Trevet*, a parish in the barony of Skreen, and county of Meath, a little south-east of the conspicuous church of Skreen. (Ord. Surv. s. 38.) This church of Skreen was formerly called *Scrin Coluim-cille*, and is mentioned by

presbyterum sacra eucharistiæ mysteria conficientem[d], quem ideo fratres, qui ibidem commanebant, ad missarum elegerant peragenda sollemnia, quia valde religiosum [8]æstimabant, repente hanc formidabilem de ore profert vocem, Munda et immunda pariter nunc [9]permisceri cernuntur, hoc est, munda sacræ oblationis [10]mysteria per immundum hominem ministrata, qui in sua [11]interim conscientia [12]aliquod grande occultat facinus. Hæc qui [13]inerant audientes tremefacti nimis obstupuere. Ille vero de quo hæc dicebantur verba coram omnibus [14]peccantiam compulsus est [15]suam confiteri. Christique commilitones, qui in ecclesia Sanctum circumstantes occulta cordis audierant manifestantem, divinam in eo scientiam cum magna admiratione glorificarunt.

[1]DE ERCO FURE [2]MOCUDRUIDI[a] QUI IN COLOSO INSULA COMMANEBAT SANCTI PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.

ALIO [3]in tempore Sanctus [4]in [5]Ioua commanens insula, [6]accitis ad se binis [7]de fratribus [7]viris, quorum vocabula [8]Lugbeus[b] et [9]Silnanus[c], eisdem præcipiens dixit, Nunc ad Maleam[d] transfretate insulam, et in campulis mari vicinis [10]Ercum quærite furacem; qui nocte præterita solus occulte de insula [11]Coloso[e] perveniens, sub [12]sua feno tecta navicula inter arenarum cumulos

[8] existimabant D. [9] misceri B. [10] B. C. D. F. S. ministeria A. [11] *om.* D. [12] adhuc *add.* D. [13] erant D. [14] peccatum suum B. [15] *om.* B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] A. mocudriudi B. [3] *om.* B. D. [4] columba *add.* D. [5] A. iona B. D. [6] accersitis D. [7] *om.* D. [8] A. C. lubbeus B. lugidus D. [9] A. C. F. S. selnanus B. sillanus D. [10] ertum B. [11] colosa D. [12] suo B. C.

the Four Mast. at 875, 1027, 1037, 1058, 1127, 1152. On the N. W. is "St. Columbkille's Well." (Ord. Surv. s. 32.)

[d] *Conficientem.*—See the expression at cap. 44, *infra*, and the note.

[a] *Mocudruidi.*—Mac-Ua-Druidi, the tribe-name of an obscure family.

[b] *Lugbeus.*—There were two brethren of this name, one styled *Mocumin* (i. 15, 24, 28), and the other *Mocublai* (i. 43).

[c] *Silnanus.*—His parentage is given at ii. 4, where he is described as sent on a longer errand. Sillan was the Irish form of the name, and was borne by three famous abbots of Ulster in the seventh century. Sillan, abbot of Bangor, who died in 610 (Tigh.), is called *Sinlanus* in the Antiphonary of Bangor. (Muratori, Opere, tom. xi. pt. iii. p. 251; Peyron, Ciceron. Orat. Fragm. ined. p. 225.)

[d] *Maleam.*—Agreeing with *insulam.* See note on the name i. 22 *supra* (p. 51). The district called the Ross, formed by the deep indentation of Loch Scridan, is a long narrow tract, running in a south-westerly direction, and terminating opposite the island of Iona.

[e] *Coloso.*—There are two islands called Colonsay within a moderate distance of Hy, namely, the large island lying south-east, between it and Islay, and another, called for distinction Little Colonsay, south of Ulva, opposite

per diem se occultare conatur, ut noctu ad parvam transnaviget insulam[f] ubi marini nostri juris vituli[g] generantur et generant; ut de illis [13]furenter occisis edax valde furax suam replens naviculam, ad suum repedet habitaculum. Qui hæc audientes, obsecuti, emigrant, furemque in locis a Sancto præsignatis absconsum reperiunt, et ad Sanctum, sicut illis præceperat, perduxerunt. Quo viso Sanctus ad eum [14]dicit, Quare tu res alienas, divinum transgressus mandatum, sæpe furaris? Quando necesse habueris, ad nos veniens necessaria accipies postulata. Et hæc dicens præcipit [15]verveces[h] occidi, et pro [16]phocis dari misero furaci, ne vacuus ad sua remearet. Et post aliquantum tempus Sanctus, in spiritu vicinam furis prævidens mortem, ad [17]Baitheneum[i] eo [18]in tempore præpositum commorantem in Campo [19]Lunge[k] mittit, ut eidem furi

[13] furanter A. furantur F. furtim C. [14] ait D. [15] berbices A. F. S. vervecem Boll. [16] focis A. F. S. furtis C. [17] baltenum C. baitenum D. [18] *om.* B. C. D. S. [19] longe D.

the entrance of Loch na Keal, on the west side of Mull. Of these the latter lies nearer to Hy, but does not answer the description here as well. 1st, it is likely Colosa was an inhabited island, which Little Colonsay is not; 2nd, there would be no advantage gained by crossing from Little Colonsay, because the islands on that side are nearer to it than to the shore, and his object in landing was to be near his work; 3rd, there are no "campuli mari vicini" or "arenarum cumuli" on the west coast of Mull near Hy. The name occurs again at ii. 22, where the larger island seems to be again intended.

[f] *Insulam.*—Most probably Erraid Isle, the largest of a little group of islands at the south entrance of the Sound, south-east of Hy, and close to the shore of Mull. Immediately opposite to this island the sand is abundant on the shore of Mull, but the coast is iron-bound higher up, and so continues for a long distance. The course from Colonsay was north-west, for about thirteen miles. The stranger landing on the near end of Mull could then conveniently cross over to the seal island. Selsey in Sussex was anciently called "Selæseu, quod dicitur Latine Insula Vituli marini." (Bede, H. E. iv. 13.)

[g] *Marini vituli.*—So Pliny calls seals (N. H. ix. 13). They are called *phocæ* lower down. The Irish term is ꝓon. These animals are frequently seen on the islands in the neighbourhood, but not so regularly or in such numbers as to constitute a preserve. Martin, writing in 1703, states that in Harris seals "are eat by the meaner people, who say they are very nourishing" (West. Islands, p. 36). On west coast of Harris is the island Eousmil, a rock, where is a yearly fishing of seals, which belong to the adjacent landholders. The parish minister has his choice of all the young seals, and that which he takes is called *Cullen Mory*, i. e. the Virgin Mary's Seal. So many as 320 have been killed at one time. The natives salt the fish with the ashes of burnt sea-ware. People of distinction eat the hams only. (*Ibid.* pp. 61–65.) See Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's West Connaught, pp. 27, 95, 96.

[h] *Verveces.*—The legends about the extreme abstemiousness of St. Columba appear to be without foundation. See Præf. 2 (p. 9) *supra.*

[i] *Baitheneum.*—See the note on the name, chap. 19 (p. 49), and the references there.

[k] *Campo Lunge.*—In *Ethica terra*, now Tiree. This island was much larger and more fertile than Hy; hence it was better calculated to

quoddam pingue pecus et [20]sex modios novissima [21]mittat munera. Quibus a [22]Baitheneo, sicut Sanctus commendaverat, transmissis, ea die inventus [23]est morte subita præventus furax misellus, et in exequiis ejus transmissa expensa sunt [24]xenia[1].

[1]DE CRONANO POETA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO [2]in tempore, Sanctus cum juxta Stagnum [3]Cei[a], prope ostium fluminis quod latine Bos dicitur,[b] die aliqua cum fratribus sederet, quidam ad eos [4]Scoticus poeta[c] devenit; qui cum post aliquam recessisset sermocinationem,

[20] vii. D. [21] *om.* B. [22] baltheneo C. baitheno D. [23] *om.* D. [24] A. C. F. S. exenia B. exennia D.

[1] *titulum om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] A. B. F. S. *om.* C. D. [3] ce D. [4] scotticus B.

furnish the supplies mentioned in the text. See the notes on *Ethicam*, p. 48, *supra*, and on *Campo Lunge*, p. 59; also Ulster Journal of Archæol. vol. ii. p. 237.

[1] *Xenia.*—See i. 50, *infra*, and the *Glossary*.

[a] *Stagnum Cei.*—Loch Ce in Moy-Lurg, commonly called *Lough Key*. The name is of frequent occurrence in the Annals and other Irish authorities. Lough Key is situate north-east of the town of Boyle, in the northern part of the county of Roscommon, and covers an area of 2276 acres. "In insula cujusdam lacus in Connacia siti," etc.—O'Don. i. 101. (Tr. Th. 405 *b*.) See ii. 19, *infra*.

[b] *Bos dicitur.*—At ii. 19, it is called by the Irish equivalent *Bo*. The river, which gives its name to the town and barony of Boyle, is always written in Irish Buill, and latinized *Buellia*. A monastery, anciently called *Ath-da-laarg*, from a ford on the river, became affiliated to Mellifont in 1161, and was subsequently known by the name of Mainipcep na Buille, 'Monastery of the Boyle.' See O'Donovan on Four Mast. 1174. The river runs out of Lough Key and enters the Shannon a little north-west of Kilmore, anciently called Cill-mop-Dichpaid, the *Cella Magna Deathrib* of i. 50, *infra*. The neighbourhood of this Columbian cell will account for the familiar mention of the lake and river here, and at ii. 19.

[c] *Scoticus poeta.*—*Hib.* File. O'Donnell, O'Roddy, and Colgan, regard the bards or poets as the representatives, under Christianity, of the old Pagan *magi* or druids of Ireland. (Vit. S. Columbæ, iii. 2, Tr. Th. p. 430 *b*; Act. SS. p. 149 *b*, n. 15.) They were a very influential class at all times, and from their numbers, when superadded to the clergy, a very oppressive one. From their exorbitant demands arose the legend of their Copi panci, 'Pot of covetousness,' which was the depository of their gains. They are said to have been in danger, on three occasions, of expulsion from the kingdom, and each time to have found in a king of Ulster a successful advocate of their cause. It is stated that one of the objects sought by King Aedh in holding the convention of Druimceatt was to procure from the chiefs of Ireland a formal sentence of banishment against the body, but that St. Columba appeared as their apologist, and procured a compromise of their suppression in a limitation of their number and demands. The account of his proceeding is given in the prefaces to that semi-bardic com-

fratres ad Sanctum, Cur, aiunt, [5]a [6]nobis regrediente [7]Cronano poeta aliquod ex more suæ artis canticum non postulasti modulabiliter decantari?[d] Quibus Sanctus, [8]Quare [9]et [10]vos nunc inutilia profertis verba? quomodo ab illo misero homuncione carmen postularem lætitiæ qui nunc, ab inimicis[11] trucidatus, finem ad usque ocius pervenit vitæ. His a Sancto dictis, et ecce [12]ultra flumen aliquis [13]clamitat homo dicens, Ille poeta, qui [14]a vobis nuper sospes rediit, hora [15]in hac ab inimicis in via interfectus est. [16]Omnes tunc qui præsentes inerant valde [17]mirati, se invicem intuentes obstupuere.

[1]DE DUOBIS TIGERNIS[a] SANCTI VATICINATIO VIRI, QUI AMBO MUTUIS VULNERIBUS DISPERIERANT.

ALIO itidem [2]in tempore, Sanctus in [3]Ioua [4]conversans insula, [5]repente inter [6]legendum summo, cum ingenti admiratione, gemitu ingemuit mæsto.

[5-6] *om.* D. [7] coronano C. [8] ait D. [9] ad D. [10] nos D. [11] A. C. F. S. trucidandus B. Boll. [12] ad D. [13] clamabat D. [14] *om.* C. [15] *om.* D. [16] *om.* D. [17] admirati D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* C. D. [3] A. C. F. S. iona B. D. [4] *om.* D. [5] conversatus D. [6] legendo D.

position, the Ambra Choluimcille, (Lib. Hymnor. fol. 67 *a*; Leabhar na h-Uidhre, fol. 8; H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 681; Highland Soc. MS. fol. 12 *bb*); and is to be found at full length in Keating's account of the convention of Druimceatt. (Hist. *reg.* Aedh.) The present anecdote does not indicate much cordiality between the ecclesiastic and the bard; but in the Life of St. Colman of Dromore there is a striking instance of the hostility which prevailed between the orders: "Ipso aliquando in quadam silva turbis prædicante, Poetæ impudentes supervenerunt, ac importune ab eo aliquid petierunt. Quibus vir Dei ait, Non habeo, inquit, modo quod vobis dem, præter verbum Dei. Unus autem illorum ait, Verbum Dei tibi habe, aliud nobis tribue. Et ille: Insipienter, meliora respuens, pejora eligis. Tunc Poeta, hominem Dei tentans, dixit, Arborem hanc magnam ad terram prosterne. Vir sanctus, Si, inquit, in fide proficeres, virtutem Dei videres. His dictis, orationi paululum institit, et statim arbor illa in terram corruit. Sed filius diffidentiæ non est mutatus, sed in malitia obstinatus, blasphemando ait, Hoc non est mirum, quia annosa robora quotidie cadunt: sed si modo eam erigeres, miraculo reputarem. Nec mora, divina virtute arbor illa est subito erecta, ac si antea non caderet. Illos vero Poetas, in infidelitate induratos, tamquam alterum Dathan et Abyron terra absorbuit. Quo viso, omnes qui aderant coram viro Dei genua flectentes, Dominum Deum in ipso glorificaverunt." (Acta SS. Junii, tom. ii. p. 27 *b*.) See Reeves' Eccl. Ant. p. 358.

[d] *Modulabiliter decantari.*—O'Conor understands this of a song accompanied by the harp. (Rer. Hib. Script. iv. p. 154.) "Ipse rex Mumeniæ Ænguissius cytharistas habuit optimos, qui dulciter coram eo acta heroum in carmine citharizantes canebant."—Vit. S. Kierani, c. 17. (Colg. Act. SS. p. 460 *a*.) Dallan's elegy on St. Columba, cited by the Four Masters (A. C. 592), says:

Quod videns, qui præsens inerat, [7]Lugbeus [8]Mocublai[b] cœpit ab eo percunctari subiti causam [9]mæroris. Cui Sanctus valde mæstificatus hanc dedit responsionem, Duo quidam [10]nunc regii generis viri in [11]Scotia mutuis inter se vulneribus [12]transfixi disperierunt [13]haud procul a monasterio quod dicitur [14]Cellrois[c], in provincia [15]Maugdornorum[d], [16]octavaque die, hac peracta[17] heb-

[7] lugidus D. [8] *om.* C. D. F. S. [9] mesti D. [10] *om.* D. [11] hybernia D. [12] totum D. [13] et est *add.* F. [14] cellros B. cellarois C. ceall ṗóiṙ D. cellorois F. [15] A. F. S. maugdorneorum B. magdenorum C. muganorum D. [16] octava C. D. [17] ebdomada B. C. F. S.

Ir aḃṙan ṗe cṗuiṫ ġan ċéir
Sinḃe ḃéir ar naṙġain uair.

'Like a song to a harp without the bass-string
Are we after having been deprived of our noble.'

[a] *Tighernis.*—A Latin transformation of the Irish noun tiġeṙna, 'a lord'—proving that the ġ in the word is a radical letter; and pointing to tiġ, 'a house,' as the derivation, like *dominus* from *domus*, rather than to τύραννος, which O'Brien proposes. In the narrative these princes are called *regii generis viri* and *nobiles viri*. In the Lives of the Irish Saints *Dux* is the usual representative of the word. The founder of Clones was called *Tighernach*, "quia multorum dominorum et regum nepos est." (Act. SS. Apr. tom. i. p. 401.) The word appears in the old Welsh form of *tigirn*, and the Cornish *teyrn*, as also in the proper names *Guorthigern*, *Eutigern*, *Tiarnan*, *Maeltiern*. (Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. pp. 100, 151, 158, 162.) So Kentigern is interpreted *Capitalis Dominus*. (Pinkert. Vit. Ant. p. 207.)

[b] *Lugbeus Mocublai.*—Lugneus Mocublai, iii. 15, 22, *infra*. We find the patronymic entering into the composition of Ḋṙuim-mic-hUaḃlae, the name of a place in the barony of Slane, county of Meath. (Four Mast. 830; Calend. Dungall. Mar. 9.)

[c] *Cellrois.*—Now Magheross, a parish in the county of Monaghan, better known by the name of its town Carrickmacross, which derives its name from the same source,—the former being Maċaiṙe Roiṙ, *Campus Rossiorum;* the latter Caṙṙaic maċaiṙe Roiṙ, *Rupes campi Rossiorum.* (Ord. Surv. Monaghan, s. 31.) The surrounding territory was formerly called *Ros* or *Crich Rois*, and the inhabitants *Feara Rois*. The monastery spoken of in the text is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster (A. C. 826, 846; Four Mast. 825, 845), under the tribe name *Fer Rois*, where the obits of two Priors are recorded. Subsequently it became a parish church, and appears in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of Clogher, circ. 1300, as *Ecclesia de Ros.* (Excheq. Records, Carlton Ride.) It occupied the south-western portion of the barony of Farney, in a district impracticable by woods and marsh. To which Barbour alludes:

"Quhill till a gret forest come thai;
Kylrose it hat as ik hard say."
Brus, x. 251, 2.

See Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 151 *a*; A. SS. p. 345 *a*; O'Donovan, Book of Rights, pp. 144, 155; Shirley's Farney, pp. 7, 11, 153, 162; Reeves' Eccles. Antiqq. p. 205.

[d] *Maugdornorum.*—Mughdorn Dubh, son of Colla Meann (circ. 340), gave name to a territory in the county of Monaghan, which was called from his descendants Criċ Muġḋoṙna, now pronounced *Cremorne*, and applied to a barony adjoining Farney on the north. Sometimes it was called Muġḋoṙna Maiġin. In St. Patrick's time it was more extensive than at present; for *Domhnach Maigen*, now Donaghmoyne, which is part of Farney, was then "in regione Maugdornorum." (Vit. Tripart. iii. 12, Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 151 *a*.) It was so two centu-

domade, ultra fretum [18]alius clamitabit[e], qui [19]hæc, de [20]Hibernia veniens, ita [21]taliter facta enarrabit. Sed hoc, O filiole, quamdiu vixero nemini [22]indices. Octava [23]proinde ultra fretum clamatum est die. Sanctus [24]tum supra memoratum ad se [25]Lugbeum vocans, silenter ad eum ait, Qui nunc clamitat ultra fretum ipse est, de quo tibi prius dixeram, [26]longævus viator. [27]Vade, et [28]adduc eum ad nos. Qui celeriter adductus, inter cetera, hoc etiam retulit, Duo, inquiens, [29]in parte [30]Maugdornorum nobiles viri, se mutuo vulnerantes, mortui sunt; hoc est, Colman [31]Canis[f], [32]filius [33]Aileni, et [34]Ronanus [35]filius [36]Aido[g] filii Colgen, de [37]Anteriorum[h] genere, prope fines illorum locorum[i],

[18] aliquis C. D. [19] h̄ A. hec B. C. F. S. huc Colg. Boll. *om.* D. [20] B. C. D. evernia A. S. [21] et *add.* D. [22] dices D. [23] deinde D. [24] tunc D. [25] lugidum D. [26] C. D. F. S. longeus A. *vide var. lect.* [22], lib. ii. c 10 *infra.* longus B. [27] valde B. [28] educ C. [29-30] *om.* C. D. F. S. [30] maugdorneorum B. [31] cognomento canis B. canus C. D. F. S. [32-33] *om.* C. D. F. S. [34] romanus C. [35-38] *om.* C. D. F. S. [36] aidi Boll. [37] A. B. Colg. Boll.

ries afterwards also, for Adamnan, in the text, places Cellrois, now part of Farney, "in provincia Maugdornorum." The Maugdorni may therefore be regarded as coextensive, at the date to which the narrative refers, with the modern baronies of Cremorne and Farney, forming the southern portion of the county of Monaghan. An emigration from this district to that of *Beanna Boirche*, in the south of the present county of Down, about the middle of the twelfth century, conveyed to the new settlement the name of the old, and it has since been called *Mughdorna* or *Mourne*. See Shirley's Farney, p. 152; Ulster Journ. of Archæol. vol. ii. p. 48; O'Donovan, Book of Rights, p. 150. In 831 the Danes carried away the shrine of St. Adamnan from Domhnach Maghan (Donaghmoyne) in this territory. (Ann. Ult.)

[e] *Clamitabat.*—See note [a], chap. 25, *supra.*

[f] *Colman Canis.*—The annalists make no mention of him, but the obit of his brother is recorded at 611: *Mors Maeileduin mic Aleni regis Mogdornae* (Tighernach, incorrectly printed by O'Conor; Ann. Ult. 610; Four Mast. 606). The term cu, *canis*, is of very frequent occurrence in Irish names, both as an epithet and in composition, and the individual "cui Canis, ex vero ductum, cognomen adhæret," derives it, not from the baser, but, the nobler properties of the animal. Thus in the Four Masters we find the word cu entering, in different combination, into the names of two chiefs, at the year 706: "Cucuaran [*Canis Cuaran*—Ann. Ult.] King of the Cruithne and of Ulidia was killed by Finnchu [*albus canis*] hUa Ronain." See the *Index Nominum* in O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, under *Cu*——.

[g] *Aido.*—The genitive of Aedh, see note [a], p. 37, *supra.* His death is thus recorded: 609, *Mors Aedho mic Colggen regis na* [of the] *nAirther.*—Ann. Ult. More fully in Tighernach: 610, bapp Aeḋha mic Colgo ꞇuꞅ Airgiall ocup na nAirṫeṫer [mors Aedhi filii Colgæ, regis Argialliæ, et τῶν Orientalium] *in peregrinacione Cluainmicnuais.* See Four Mast. 606. The life of St. Mochta commits a serious error in making "Aidus filius Colcan" a contemporary of that saint. See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 730 *b*, and note[r] p. 7, *supra.*

[h] *Anteriorum.*—Colgan and the Bollandists read the name correctly here, but it is evident from the note of the former on this passage, from the note of the latter on the name at iii. 7, *infra*, and from the reading of both in that place, that neither understood the word. Pin-

ubi illud monasterium cernitur quod dicitur [38]Cellrois. Post hæc illius verba [39]narrationis, idem [40]Lugbeus, Christi miles, Sanctum seorsum cœpit interrogare, dicens, Quæso mihi de his talibus narres propheticis revelationibus

[38] cellroiss A. [39] A. narratoris B. C. D. F. S. [40] lugidus D.

kerton's *Auteriorum* is both unmeaning and unauthorized. The word is the genitive of *Anteriores*, which Adamnan employs instead of the more obvious *Orientales*. In this he is supported by two remarkable passages. The first is a line in the alleged druidical prophecy of St. Patrick's coming (Petrie's Tara, pp. 53, 54):

Ꝑ mıaṙa ı n-aıṅṫeṅ a ṫıġı,

which Muirchu, in the Book of Armagh, renders "A sua mensa ex *anteriore parte* domus suæ" (fol. 2 *b a*), and Probus by the same words (Vit. S. Patr. c. 26, Tr. Th. p. 49 *a*). In the scholia on Fiech's Hymn, however (Tr. Th. p. 5 *b*), the second, third, and fourth Lives of St. Patrick in Colgan's collection (*ib.* pp. 14 *a*, 23 *b*, 40 *a*), as well as Jocelin, c. 31 (*ib.* 71 *b*), and Colgan's version of the Tripartite Life (i. 43, *ib.* 123 *b*), the word aıṅṫeṅ is rendered by the more common expression *oriens*, or *orientalis plaga*. The other passage occurs also in the Book of Armagh, where Muirchu, relating St. Patrick's course along the coast of Leinster and Ulster, notices the little island of Inis Padruic, now St. Patrick's Island, off Holmpatrick on the *east* coast (Ord. Surv. Co. Dublin, s. 5), in these words:—'Ad *anteriorem* insolam quæ ejus nomine usque hodie nominatur prurim navis convertit' (fol. 2 *b b*). In this use of the word, the writers had reference to the primary notion entertained by the Irish of the cardinal points, which supposed the face turned to the East ('contra ortum solis,' Lib. Armac. fol. 12 *a a*), constituting this point, which is aıṅ *ante*, the aıṅṫıṅ *anterior* (like the Heb. קדם, which from *antrorsum* comes to signify *oriens*), that is the East; the ıaṅ *plaga postica* (Heb. אחור *retro*, then *occidens*), the West; that on the ḃeṙṙ *dextra* (Heb. ימין *dexter*, then *meridies*) the ḃeṙceṙṫ *dextralis plaga*, or South; and that on the ṫuaṫ *sinistra*, the ṫuaıṙceṙṫ *plaga sinistralis*, or North. But the use of *right* and *left* for *south* and *north* is much more frequent in the Latin of Celtic writers than *fore* or *rear*. Thus *dextera*, Lib. Armac. fol. 3 *a a*, 3 *b a*, 6 *b a*, 18 *a a*; *sinistralis*, *ib.* fol. 2 *b b*, 7 *a b*; Nennius, §§ 12, 42, 62. (Ed. Stev. pp. 10, 34, 52.) On the use of these two words see Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. v. xv. (Wks. vol. v. p. 103, vi. pp. 114, 187); Zeuss, Gram. Celt. pp. 67, 283, 566; Petrie's Tara, pp. 41, 42; Irish Nennius, p. 41. In the present case *Anteriores* is a radical equivalent for the Irish Ꝑıṅṫeaṙa, a name which was applied to the *eastern* section of the Airghialla, or inhabitants of the territory afterwards called Oriel or Uriel. The Airghialla were the descendants of Colla Dachrich, and derived their name from Oıṙ ġıalla, 'golden hostages.' (O'Donovan on Book of Rights, p. 140.) They were represented in the Middle Ages by the Mac Mahons, Maguires, O'Hanlons, and Mac Canns. When St. Patrick founded the church of Armagh, a descendant of Colla was king of the Airtheara, whose territory contained the greater part of the present county of Armagh. Accordingly, Tirechan places the church of Armagh *in regionibus Orientalium*, and represents the *Orientales* as striving to obtain possession of St. Patrick's remains (Lib. Armacan. fol. 6 *b b*, 8 *b a*). The Tripartite Life also represents Daire as king of the region called *Oirthir*, *id est*, *Orientalis* (iii. 71, Tr. Th. 162 *b*). Ronan's father was lord of the territory in St. Columba's time. Subsequently the name Airthear underwent limitation: the district round Armagh became appropriated

quomodo, [41]si per visum [42]tibi, an auditu, an alio, hominibus incognito, [43]manifestantur modo. Ad hæc Sanctus, De qua nunc, ait, inquiris valde subtili re nullatenus tibi quamlibet aliquam intimare particulam potero, nisi prius, flexis genibus, per nomen excelsi Dei mihi firmiter promittas hoc te obscurissimum sacramentum[k] nulli unquam hominum cunctis diebus vitæ meæ enarraturum. Qui, hæc audiens, flexit continuo genua, et, prostrato in terram vultu, juxta Sancti præceptionem plene omnia promisit. Qua statim perfecta promissione, Sanctus ad surgentem sic locutus inquit, Sunt nonnulli, quamlibet pauci admodum, quibus divina hoc contulit gratia, ut etiam totum [44]totius terræ orbem, cum ambitu oceani et cœli, uno eodemque momento, quasi sub uno solis radio, mirabiliter laxato mentis sinu, clare et manifestissime speculentur. Hoc miraculum Sanctus, quamvis de aliis electis dicere videatur, vanam utique fugiens gloriam, de seipso tamen dixisse, per obliquum licet, nullus dubitare debet qui Paulum legit Apostolum, vas electionis, de talibus narrantem sibi revelatis [45]visionibus. Non enim ita scripsit, Scio me, sed, Scio hominem, raptum usque ad tertium cœlum[l]. Quod quamlibet de alio dicere [46]videatur, nemo tamen dubitat sic de propria, humilitatem custodiens, enarrare persona. Quem [47]etiam et noster Columba in spiritalium visionum narratione secutus est superius memorata, quam ab eo supradictus vir, quem plurimum Sanctus amabat, magnis precibus præmissis, vix potuit extorquere, sicut [48]ipse coram aliorum personis sanctorum, post sancti Co-

[41] *om.* D. [42] *om.* D. [43] tibi *add.* D. [44] licet non semper *add.* B. [45] *om.* D. [46] videretur C. D. [47] jam D. [48] *om.* B.

to the family in which the Primacy grew to be hereditary; the Ui Niallain, who were also a branch, obtained a severalty, and gave name to the portion of the original territory now known as the baronies of Oneilland; while the generic name Airthear became confined to the strip of country which formed the eastern margin of Airghialla, as it still does of the county and diocese of Armagh, retaining the old appellation under the slightly modified form of *Orior*.

[i] *Locorum.*—The Fane River bounds Donaghmoyne, the old limit of the Maugdorni on the north-east, separating the counties of Armagh and Monaghan, which, in this portion, represent the ancient territories of the Anteriores and Maugdorni.

[k] *Sacramentum.*—See also i. 50, iii. 6, 7, 22, where the word signifies 'a solemn secret,' or 'deposit.' Thus in St. Brendan's Life: "Veni et vide sacramentum hujus rei."—cap. 18 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 58 *b b*). Μυστήριον in Eph. v. 32 is rendered *sacramentum* in the Latin versions.

[l] *Cœlum.*—2 Cor. xii. 2. Sedulius, St. Columba's countryman, commenting on the words *Scio hominem*, observes: "Hoc de se humilitatis causa, quasi in alterius persona loquitur." (Annot. in S. Pauli Epist. p. 276. Basil. 1538.)

lumbæ transitum, testatus est: a quibus hæc quæ de Sancto supra narravimus indubitanter didicimus.

[1]DE CRONANO EPISCOPO[a].

[2]ALIO [3]in tempore, quidam de [4]Muminensium provincia[b] proselytus[c] ad Sanctum venit; qui se in quantum potuit [5]occultabat humiliter, [6]ut nullus sciret quod esset episcopus: sed tamen Sanctum hoc non potuit latere. Nam alia die Dominica a Sancto jussus[d] Christi corpus ex more conficere[e], Sanctum [7]advocat, ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens, repente intuitus faciem ejus, sic eum compellat,

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S Boll. [2] *hic sequuntur in* C. D. F. S. ii. 29, 30, *hujus recensionis, et partem* i. 15 *efficiunt.* [3] *om.* D. [4] meminensium C. [5] *om* C. [6] quod C. [7] convocat D.

[a] *Cronano episcopo.*—Possibly the Bishop Cronan, whom Colgan notices at Feb. 9, and of whose identity with the subject of the present anecdote he has no doubt. Cuanan in ecena in Deiṁ Muman. Ar bo nob ainm Cronan mac Nechṁemon, 'Cuaranus, sapiens, in Desiis Momoniæ, est qui et Cronanus filius Nethsemonis dicitur.'—Mar. Gorm. Feb. 9. "Mochuarocus Sapiens in regione Desiorum quiescit: qui et Cronanus filius Nethsemonis dicitur. Vocatur Mochuarocus de Nona, ideo quod sit primus qui curavit celebrationem Missæ fieri seorsim, quæ cum media Nona apud antiquos celebrabatur." (Colg. Act. SS. p. 302.)

[b] *Muminensium provincia.*—That is, Munster. If the citations in the last note apply to him, he belonged to that part of the province now called Decies, in the county of Waterford.

[c] *Proselytus.*—Or, *peregrinus*, as at the close of the chapter. See Præf. 2, i. 26, 30, 32.

[d] *Jussus.*—'Invited.' "Another instance of customary respect, which the clergy were obliged to show to one another, was, that when any bishop or presbyter came to a foreign church, they were to be complimented with the honorary privilege of performing divine offices, and consecrating the Eucharist in the church."—Bingham, Orig. Eccles. v. 1, 2. (Wks. vol. ii. p. 3, Ed. Lond. 1840.) The Council of Arles prescribed "ut peregrino episcopo locus sacrificandi detur;" and the fourth Council of Carthage, "Ut episcopi vel presbyteri, si causa visendæ ecclesiæ alterius episcopi, ad ecclesiam venerint, et in gradu suo suscipiantur, et tam ad verbum faciendum, quam ad oblationem consecrandam invitentur." (*Ibid.*)

[e] *Conficere.*—Thus, "audiens presbyterum sacra Eucharistiæ mysteria conficientem."—i. 40, *supra*. See iii. 17, *infra*. "Dominici corporis hostiam puris conficiebat manibus."—Vit. S. David. c. 13. (Colg. Act. SS. p. 427 *a*; Lives Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 129.) We find the expression at even an earlier date: "Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt."—Hieron. Ep. ad Heliodorum. (Opp. tom. i. p. 33, Ed. Vallars.) "Ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur."—*Id.* Ep. ad Evangelum. (*Ib.* p. 1075.) "Consecramus et sanctificamus hanc patenam ad conficiendum in ea corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi."—Missale Francor. (Muratori, de Reb. Liturg. Diss. col. 125.) The second Council of Seville, in 619, prohibited priests, in the presence of the bishop, "sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere" (can. 7); but the general usage of the western Churches was "ut in confectione

Benedicat te Christus, frater; hunc solus, [8]episcopali ritu, frange panem[f]: nunc scimus quod sis episcopus. Quare [9]hucusque te occultare conatus es, ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio[g]? Quo audito Sancti verbo, humilis peregrinus, valde stupefactus, Christum in Sancto veneratus est; et qui inerant præsentes, nimis admirati, glorificarunt [10]Dominum.

[1]DE ERNANO PRESBYTERO SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir venerandus [2]Ernanum presbyterum, senem, suum avunculum[a], ad præposituram illius monasterii transmisit quod in [3]Hinba

[8] episcopus *add.* C. [9] usquequo D. [10] deum B. C. D. F. S.

[1] *titul. om., et tenorem* cap. 16 *continuant*, C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] hernanum D. [3] himba C. D. F. S.

immolationis Christi adsint presbyteri, et simul cum pontifice verbis et manu conficiant." (Martene, Antiq. Eccl. Rit. i. 3, 8, tom. i. p. 120.) The Irish Church seems to have coincided with the Spanish in its estimate of episcopal dignity, and the present narrative comes with greater weight, being written by one who not only was a priest himself, but was officially disqualified for the higher order; and concerning one who created the precedent by his own subordinate condition.

[f] *Frange panem.*—We gather from these memoirs that the practice of the Irish Church in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, at this period, varied in regard to its ministration; that sometimes the attendant priests selected one of their number, either as eminent for piety (as in i. 40), or for station (as in iii. 17), or because a visiter, as in the present instance. Sometimes two, or probably more, acted as concelebrants, "simul verbis et manu conficientes," in which case they were wont "*simul* dominicum panem frangere:" this as performed conjointly was, if we may so say, "presbyterali ritu." But when a bishop was present, there being none of equal rank at hand, he "*solus* panem fregit," and thus the celebration was "episcopali ritu." In i. 40, *supra*, we find the expression "*audiens* presbyterum sacra eucharistiæ mysteria conficientem," from which we may infer that the consecration was held to be effected by the sentence of consecration; and hence it might be supposed that the invitation "panem frangere" had reference to the distribution of the bread to the communicants, and not to the act of consecration. See Morinus, Sacr. Ordinat. Exerc. viii.; Valesius's note on Euagrius's Eccl. Hist. i. 13.

[g] *Veneratio.*—It appears from a comparison of cap. 36, *supra*, and ii. 1, with the present chapter, that under the Columbian discipline the several orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, were duly recognised, and that the conferring of Holy Orders was considered the peculiar function of the first. The present narrative contains not only a plain acknowledgment of the distinctness of bishop and priest, but also the founder's express declaration of the superior privilege, rank, and honour, of the bishop. Instead of the episcopal office being ignored, or its proper function being usurped by presbyters in Hy, "a greater respect," as Innes truly remarks, "was in some manner paid to bishops in that monastery, and a greater distinction made betwixt them and priests in the celebration of the sacred mysteries, than in other

insula[b] ante plures fundaverat annos. Itaque cum ipsum [4]Sanctus emigrantem exosculatus benediceret, [5]hoc de eo intulit vaticinium, dicens, Hunc meum nunc [6]egredientem amicum non me spero iterum in hoc seculo viventem visurum. Itaque idem [7]Ernanus post non multos dies, quadam molestatus ægrimonia, ad Sanctum volens reportatus est: cujus in perventione valde gavisus, ire obvius ad portum cœpit. Ipse vero [7]Ernanus, quamlibet infirmis, propriis tamen, vestigiis a portu obviare Sancto conabatur valde alacer. Sed cum esset inter ambos quasi [8]viginti quatuor [9]passuum intervallum, subita morte præventus, priusquam Sanctus faciem ejus videret viventis, expirans in terram

[4] sanctum C. [5] et *add.* F. [6] ingredientem C. [7] hernanus D. [8-9] viæ viginti iv. M. passum C.

Churches of the Occident, either in those ages or ours. For by this relation it appears that in Ycolmkill a priest, even the abbot S. Columba himself, looked upon a bishop so far superior to him, that he would not presume, even though invited, to concelebrate or celebrate the holy mysteries jointly with him." (Civil and Eccl. Hist. p. 175.)

[a] *Avunculum.*—"Ernaan sancti avunculus Columbæ" is mentioned in the Epilogus of Cod. B. as one of the twelve followers of the saint. Being brother of Ethnea, St. Columba's mother, he was son of Dima, son of Noe, and a descendant of Cathaeir Mor. On account of his grandfather's name, Colgan identifies him, among twenty-sixErnans in the calendar, with St. Ernin or Mernoc of Rath-Noe in Hy Garrchon, whose day is Aug. 18; but in this he errs. See note [i], p. 25 *supra.* On the other hand, this cannot be the Mernoc of the Scotch calendar at the 25th of October, nor St. Marnan of the 2nd of March, for both of these are styled bishops, while the individual in the text is stated to be a presbyter. It is to be observed that *Ernan, Ernin, Mernoc,* and *Ferreolus* are different forms of the same name, and interchangeable. See the note on Ferreolus or Ernene, iii. 23, § 4, *infra.* St. Columba had a nephew, also called Mernoc or Ernan, who was son of his sister Cuman. Ængus, de Matr. SS. Hib. § 13 (Book of Lecan); Epilogus Adamnani (Cod. B. fol. 70 *a*).

[b] *Hinba insula.*—See ii. 24, iii. 5, 17, 8, 23, § 4. *Hinbina insula,* i. 21, *supra.* It has not yet been identified, and unfortunately the clues afforded by the writer are very slight. However, from iii. 5 and 18, it may reasonably be conjectured to have been north of, and not far distant from, Hy. The island Canna, which bears some resemblance in name, lies about four miles north-west of Rum. Its church, of which the ruins and a small cross existed in 1772, was named from St. Columba. The parsonage of the island belonged to the abbot of Hy, and the vicarage to the bishop. (Martin, West. Isles, p. 275; C. Innes, Orig. Paroch. ii. pt. 1, p. 339; Collectan. de Reb. Alban. pp. 2, 3; Old Statist. Survey, vol. xvii. pp. 272, 283.) Father Innes says:—"It is like Himba was what is since called Ouyst or the Long Island." (Civil. Eccl. Hist. p. 189.) If *Himba,* the reading in the Lives by Cummian, John of Tinmuth, and O'Donnell, and in some MSS. of Adamnan, be correct, the name may have its origin in the old Irish word Imbaċ (*Imbah*), which Cormac explains, .i. Ocean baċ .i. muir [mare] *ut est* muir eirr Erinn ocur Albain *vel aliud quodcunque mare* (Gloss. in voc.); that is, 'a surrounding sea.' (O'Donovan, Ir. Gram. p. 274.)

cecidit, ne verbum Sancti ullo frustraretur modo. Unde in eodem loco ante januam canabæ[c] crux infixa est, et altera ubi Sanctus restitit, illo expirante, similiter [10]crux [11]hodieque infixa stat[d].

[1]DE ALICUJUS PLEBEII FAMILIOLA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO quoque [2]in tempore, quidam inter ceteros ad Sanctum plebeius venit [3]in loco hospitantem qui [4]Scotice vocitatur Coire [5]Salchain[a]; quem cum Sanctus ad se vespere venientem vidisset, Ubi, [6]ait, habitas? Ille inquit, In regione quæ littoribus stagni [7]Crogreth[b] est [8]contermina ego inhabito. Illam

[10] que B. [11] hodie B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3] [5] *om.* C. D. F. S [4] scottice B. [5] A. salcani B. salcair *male*, Colg. Boll. [6] inquit D. [7] crog reth A. crochreth B. *om.* C. D. F. S. [8] conterminata D.

[c] *Canabæ.*—The meaning attached to this word by Irish writers may be elicited from the following curious examples:—"Familia ipsius non habuit artifices et operatores fortes qui possent facere canabam ad spicas siccandas et triturandas, sed super nudum pavimentum in campo triturabant."—Vit. S. Kannechi, c. 33. (p. 20, Ed. Ormonde.) "Quodam die cum S. Kiaranus in loco qui dicitur Cluain Innsythe [on the Shannon] vidit navim super fluvium positam, et vidit zabulum super ripam fluminis, et erat in eo rota de virgis contexta plena spicis igni supposita, ut siccarentur ad triturandum secundum morem occidentalium, id est, Britaniæ et Hyberniæ. Et dixit S. Kiaranus prophetice sociis suis secrete, Illa navis quæ est super aquas hodie comburetur, et zabulum quod est super terram mergetur. Illis contra dicentibus et admirantibus, ait eis, expectate modicum, et videbitis oculis vestris: et ilico illa navicula de aqua super terram elevata est, et posita in canabam ut rimæ et fracturæ ejus ibi conjungerentur. Et accenso rogo illa canaba combusta est, et navis in medio ejus similiter combusta est; et zabulum autem eruentes viri fortes a terra projecerunt illud de ripa in flumen, et ibi mersum est."—Vit. S. Kiarani, c. 12. (Cod. Marsh. fol. 145 *b a.*) See *Glossary.*

[d] *Stat.*—It was usual among the Irish to mark with a cross the spot where any providential visitation took place. See iii. 23, *infra.* "Ubi nunc usque crux habetur in signum." Vit. S. Patricii. (Lib. Armacan, fol. 3 *a a.*)

[a] *Coire Salchain.*—The use of the word *Coire*, and the expression *barbari vastatores*, referring probably to the Picts or Saxons, seem to indicate Scotland as the scene of this narrative. The term Coire, so common in the Scotch Highlands to designate a hollow or *cul de sac* in the mountains, is scarcely known in Ireland. Salchain may be Salen on the east side of Mull, near which is a chapel called Collumkill. There is a Salachain in Upper Lorne, between Loch Creeran and Loch Appin. Sallachan Bay, Sallachan-isol, Sallachan Point, and Sallachan-ard, are situated on the west side of the entrance of Loch Eil. There is a Sallachan in Morvern, opposite Aros; and a Glen Sallachan on the south-east of Loch Creeran, opposite Airds. Among these and other places of the same name it is difficult to fix the scene of the present interview.

[b] *Stagni Crogreth.*—Not identified. Pro-

quam dicis provinciolam, ait Sanctus, nunc barbari populantur vastatores. Quo audito, miser plebeius [9]maritam et filios deplangere cœpit. Quem Sanctus valde mærentem videns, consolans inquit, Vade, homuncule, vade, tua familiola tota in montem [10]fugiens evasit; tua vero omnia pecuscula secum invasores [11]abegerunt, omnemque domus suppellectilem similiter sævi raptores cum præda rapuere. Hæc audiens plebeius, ad patriam regressus, cuncta, sicuti a Sancto prædicta, [12]sic invenit [13]expleta.

[1]DE QUODAM PLEBEIO, GOREO NOMINE, FILIO AIDANI, SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

ALIO [2]itidem in tempore [3]quidam [4]plebeius, omnium illius ætatis in populo [5]Korkureti[a] fortissimus virorum, [6]a [7]sancto [8]percunctatur [9]viro qua morte esset præveniendus[b]. Cui Sanctus, Nec in bello, ait, nec in mari morieris: comes tui itineris, a quo non suspicaris, causa erit tuæ mortis. Fortassis, inquit Goreus[c], aliquis de meis comitantibus amicis me trucidare cogitet, aut marita ob alicujus junioris viri amorem me maleficio mortificare. Sanctus, Non ita, ait, continget. Quare, Goreus inquit, de meo interfectore mihi nunc intimare non vis? Sanctus, Idcirco, ait, nolo tibi de illo tuo comite nocuo nunc manifestius aliquid edicere, ne te ejus crebra [10]recogniti recordatio nimis mæstificet,

[9] maritum C. [10] effugiens D. [11] ambigerunt B. [12] sunt C. [13] exempla C. D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3-4] *om.* C. [4] homo D. [5] KOPKYPETI *literis majusculis* A. corforepti B. *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] goreus nomine D. *om.* C. [7] sanctum columbam C. D. [8] percunctatus est C. D. [9] virum C. *om.* D. [10] *om.* C.

bably near border land, in the neighbourhood of the Picts or Saxons. Colgan places it in Ireland, and tries, but unsuccessfully, to accommodate an Irish name in Westmeath.

[a] *Korkureti.*—The word is written in Cod. A. in a different style of letter from the rest of the narrative, namely in the semi-uncial Greek character of the Irish school. If the place belong to Ireland, as the structure of the name seems to indicate, it is clearly a form of Corca Raiḋe (the Race of Raidhe), which Tirechan renders *Regiones Roide* (Lib. Armac. fol. 11 *a a*), so called from Fiacha Raidhe, grandson of Fedhlimidh Rechtmar, who flourished A. D. 111–119 (O'Flaherty, Ogyg. iii. 69, p. 333; Mac Firbis, Geneal. MS. p. 136), and now known as *Corkaree*, a barony in the county of Westmeath, lying north of Mullingar. But this, the only apparent identification of the name, is open to the objection that Corkaree is an inland district, whereas the expressions *mare* and *navis* are used in reference to the inhabitants of that recorded in the text.

[b] *Præveniendus.*—This is a question of the same nature as that recorded in chap. 15, (p. 44) *supra.*

[c] *Goreus.*—Probably a Latin form of the Irish Ġuaire, a name which was called *Gowry* in the county of Londonderry in the 17th century (Rot. Pat. Jac. I. p. 57 *b*; Ulst. Inquis. Lon-

donec [11]illa veniat dies qua ejusdem rei veritatem probabis. Quid [12]immoramur verbis? Post aliquot [13]annorum excursus, idem supra memoratus Goreus, casu [14]alia die sub navi residens, cultello proprio [15]cristiliam[d] de [16]hastili eradebat; [17]tum [18]deinde alios prope inter se belligerantes audiens, citius [19]surgit ut eos a belligeratione separaret, eodemque cultello illa subitatione negligentius in terra dimisso, ejus [20]genicula offenso graviter vulnerata est. Et tali faciente comite, causa ei mortificationis oborta est; quam ipse continuo, secundum sancti vaticinationem viri, mente perculsus, recognovit; postque aliquantos menses, eodem aggravatus dolore, moritur.

[1]DE ALIA ETIAM RE, QUAMLIBET MINORE, PUTO NON ESSE TACENDA SANCTI JUCUNDA PRÆSCIENTIA, ET [2]PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.

[3]ALIO namque in [4]tempore, [5]cum Sanctus [6]in [7]Ioua [8]inhabitaret insula, unum de fratribus advocans, sic [9]compellat, Tertia ab hac [10]illucescente die expectare debebis in occidentali hujus insulæ parte, super maris oram sedens: nam de aquilonali [11]Hiberniæ regione quædam hospita grus, ventis per longos aeris agitata circuitus, post nonam diei horam valde fessa et fatigata superveniet, et pene consumptis viribus, coram te in litore cadens recumbet; quam misericorditer [12]sublevare curabis, et ad propinquam deportabis domum, [13]ibidemque hospitaliter receptam, per tres dies et noctes ei ministrans, sollicite cibabis; et post expleto recreata triduo, nolens ultra apud nos peregrinari, ad priorem [14]Scotiæ dulcem, unde orta, [15]remeabit regionem[a], plene resumptis viribus; quam ideo tibi [16]sic diligenter commendo quia de nostræ paternitatis regione[b]

[11] *om.* C. [12] moramur D. [13] *om.* D. [14] aliqua C. [15] cristilia F. [16] astili A. F. castili C. astali D. [17] tunc D. [18] *om.* D. [19] surrexit D. [20] B. C. genucla A. genucula D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] prophetica B. [3-4] *om.* D. [5] dum D. [6] columba *add.* D. [7] A. C. iona B. [8] habitaret D. [9] ait D. [10] lucetenente D. [11] everniae A. [12] sullevare B. [13] ibidem C. ibique D. [14] hybernie D. [15] est *add.* C. D. [16] *om.* C. D. F. S.

donderry, No. 4), and is still preserved in Seygorry [ꝓuiðe ȝuaiꝑe, *Sessio Gorei*], the name of a townland in Aghadowey parish.

[d] *Cristiliam.*—Colgan's interpretation "Per Christiliam intelligit christam seu cuspidem hastæ," is adopted by the Bollandists and Ducange. See Tr. Th. p. 380 *a*, n. 97. But it seems objectionable. See *Glossary.*

[a] *Scotiæ dulcem regionem.*—Observe the tender manner in which the Saint ascribes to the bird the love of country which prevailed so strongly in his own breast. See also the severe penance, "nec ad Scotiam usque ad mortem reversus fueris," which was enjoined in chap. 22, (p. 52) *supra.*

[b] *Nostræ paternitatis regione.*—St. Columba's birth-place was Gartan, in the county of Donegal (O'Donnell, i. 22, Tr. Th. p. 392 *b*), which

est oriunda. Obsecundat frater, tertiaque die post horam nonam, [17]ut [18]jussus, præscitæ adventum præstolatur hospitæ, adventantemque de littore levat lapsam, ad hospitium portat infirmam, esurientem cibat. Cui ad monasterium vespere reverso Sanctus, non interrogans sed [19]narrans, ait, Benedicat te Deus, mi fili, [20]quia peregrinæ bene ministrasti hospitæ[c], quæ in peregrinatione non demorabitur, sed post ternos soles ad patriam [21]repedabit. Quod ita ut Sanctus prædixit [22]et res etiam probavit. Nam trinalibus hospitata diebus, coram hospite ministro de terra se primum volando elevans in [23]sublime, paulisperque in aere viam speculata, oceani transvadato æquore, ad [24]Hiberniam recto volatus cursu die repedavit tranquillo.

[1]DE BELLO QUOD IN MUNITIONE CETHIRNI POST MULTA COMMISSUM EST TEMPORA, ET DE QUODAM FONTICULO EJUSDEM TERRULÆ PROXIMO [2]BEATI PRÆSCIENTIA VIRI.

ALIO [3]in tempore vir beatus [4]cum [5]post regum in Dorso [6]Cette condictum[a], Aidi videlicet filii [7]Ainmurech[b], et Aidani filii [8]Gabrani[c], ad campos reverte-

[17-18] *om.* B. [18] jussus fuerat C. D. [19] enarrans D. [20] qui B. [21] repedavit A. [22] *om.* C. [23] sullime B. [24] B. C. D. everniam A.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. *in quibus* cap. xviii. *continuatur.* [2] sancti B. [3] *om.* D. [4] columba *add.* D. [5-8] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] cete B. [7] ammurech B.

was situate in the heart of the ancient Tir-Conaill, the district occupied by the descendants of Conall Gulban, St. Columba's great-grandfather, and now known as the county of Donegal.

[c] *Ministrasti hospitæ.*—The Lives of the Irish Saints abound with legends concerning their familiarity with birds. See the story of St. Mochaoi in the Feilire of Ængus, June 23. St. Finnian's crane, in O'Donnell, ii. 1. (Tr. Th. p. 408 *b.*) See Trias Thaum. p. 384 *b*, n. 34; Act. SS. pp. 141 *b*, n. 19. Also Giraldus Cambrensis *de Falcone Kyldariæ.*—Topog. Hib. ii. 37 (p. 729, ed. Camd.). In St. Ailbhe's Life is a curious legend, how a flock of cranes destroyed the hay and grain of the neighbourhood, and upon the saint sending his attendant Buisirnen to fetch them, "Exiens ille grues velut oves ante se abigens in custodiam reclusit. Sequenti autem die, exiit S. Albeus ut salutaret grues, dicens, Recedite a finibus istis, et dispergite turbam vestram in diversis locis. Statim vero obedientes huc illucque in gronnas diviserunt se." (E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 135 *a a.*) The legend of St. Brendan's voyage is especially rich in marvels concerning birds.

[a] *Dorso Cette condictum.*—*Hib.* Monbail Dromma ceatt, 'Convention of Druim-ceatt,' held A. D. 575. See chap. 10, *supra* (p. 37), also ii. 6, *infra.* Messingham, not understanding the author's use of the word *condictum*, has suggested *conflictum* in the margin (Florileg. p. 157 *b*), a most unhappy emendation, as the result of the Convention of Drumceatt proves. On the word *condictum* see Glossary.

[b] *Aidi filii Ainmurech.*—He was sovereign of

retur æquoreos[d], ipse et [9]Comgellus[e] abbas quadam [10]serena [11]æstivi temporis die, haud procul a supra memorata munitione[f] resident. Tum [12]proinde aqua de quodam proximo ad manus lavandas fonticulo [13]ad [14]Sanctos in æneo de-

[9] congellus C. comgallus D. [10] secreta C. [11] aestei A. [12] *om.* D. [13-14] *om.* D.

Ireland, and died in 598. See note [c], p. 39, *supra*. There is a good deal of uncertainty as to the year of his accession, but if the date of the convention of Druimceatt given in the Annals of Ulster be correct, he was sovereign before 575.

[c] *Aidani filii Gabhrani.*—He succeeded to the lordship of the Scotch Dalriada in 574, and possessed sufficient power and address not only to secure the independence of his race, but to lay the foundation of that supremacy which it afterwards acquired in Scotland. The account of his inauguration by St. Columba, and the solemn charge he received not to molest the subjects of the Irish King, are given in iii. 5, *infra*. Immediately on his elevation he seems to have aspired to the forming an independent kingdom, and to have renounced all subjection to the Irish monarch; nay, as some assert, he went so far as to claim jurisdiction over the parent Dalriada. The Irish monarch, on the other hand, laid claim to the tributes and service of the Scotch Dalriada as a colony which was bound to the mother country. To make an amicable adjustment of these differences was a principal object for which the convention of Druimceatt was held, and 575, the year after Aidan's accession, was that in which it took place. The matter in controversy and the award are stated in the prefaces to the Ambra, as follows:—"The Dal Riada were those about whom there was a contention between the men of Alba and the men of Erin; because they were both of the race of Cairbre Righfada, that is, of the men of Munster. For, upon the occasion of a great famine which came upon Munster, the descendants of Cairbre Righfada left it, and one party of them went to Alba, and the other party staid in Erin, from whom are the Dalriada at this day. They took root afterwards in those territories, till the time of Aedhan mac Gabhrain, King of Alba, and of Aedh mac Ainmire, King of Erin. And a contest arose between those two kings about them. And that was one of the three causes for which Columcille came to Erin, to make peace between the men of Erin and of Alba, namely, about Dal Riada. When he came to the meeting, Colman son of Comgellan [whom St. Columba, when departing from Ireland for Hy, had met as a boy near Coleraine, and who subsequently died in 625—*Tigh.*] accompanied him, and Columkille was requested to give judgment between the men of Erin and Alba. It is not I that shall give it, said he, but yonder youth, pointing to Colman mac Comgellain. Colman then gave judgment; and the decision that he gave was: Their expeditions and hostings to be with the men of Erin always, for hostings always belong to the parent stock. Their tributes, and gains, and shipping, to be with the men of Alba. And when one of the men of Erin or Alba should come from the east, the Dal Riada to entertain them, whether few or many: and the Dal Riada to convey them on, if they require it." (Leabhar na hUidhre, fol. 8; H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl.; Highland Soc. MS. fol. 13 *a b*.) To the same purport also O'Donnell, iii. 10 (Tr. Th. p. 432 *b*); Keating, Hist. (Reg. Aedh). The result was, as O'Flaherty succinctly states: "In quo conventu Aidanus immunitatem a pendendo Hiberniæ regibus tributo, adeoque liberi, absolutique principatus eminentiam adeptus est." (Ogyg. p. 475.) Accordingly, when the Tripartite Life relates St. Patrick's prophecy concerning the family

fertur vasculo. Quam cum sanctus Columba accepisset, ad abbatem [15]Comgellum a latere sedentem sic profatur, Ille fonticulus, O [16]Comgelle, de quo hæc effusa nobis allata est aqua, veniet dies quando nullis usibus humanis aptus erit. Qua causa, ait [17]Comgellus, ejus fontana corrumpetur unda? Sanctus tum Columba, Quia humano, inquit, cruore replebitur: nam mei [18]cognationales amici et tui secundum carnem cognati, [19]hoc est, Nellis Nepotes[g] et Cruthini [20]populi[h], in hac vicina munitione [21]Cethirni[i] belligerantes committent bellum. Unde in supra memorata fonte aliquis de mea [22]cognatione trucidabitur homuncio, [23]cujus cum cæteris [24]interfecti sanguine ejusdem fon-

[15] congellum C. comgallum D. [16] congelle C. comgalle D. [17] congellus C. comgallus D. [18] cognitionales A. B. [19-20] *om.* C. D. F. S. [21] A. cechirni B. *om.* C. D. F. S. [22] cognitione A. B. [23] de *add.* D. [24] interfectis D.

of Fergus mac Erc, it adds, "Quæ prophetia postea completa est in Ædano filio Gabhrani, ex ejus semine procedente, qui manu violentâ regnum Albaniæ occupavit."—ii. 135 (Tr. Th. p. 147 *b*). To the same effect Jocelin also, cap. 137 (Tr. Th. p. 95 *b*). See chaps. 8, 9, *supra*, and note [e], p. 36.

[d] *Æquoreos.*—Derry was a point of communication with Hy, see i. 2, ii. 39; O'Donnell, iii. 21. In coming to Druimceatt, St. Columba entered the mouth of Lough Foyle (O'Don. iii. 3, Tr. Th. 431 *a*); but in proceeding to Scotland on this occasion, he embarked at Coleraine. In his *first* voyage he followed the northern coast from Derry to the mouth of the Bann, and thence across.—O'Don. ii. 10 (Tr. Th. p. 410 *b*).

[e] *Comgellus.*—Founder and first abbot of Bangor in the Ards of Ulster, born in 517, died in 602. The introduction of his name here is very natural, as the church of Cambas, which is mentioned a little further on, was founded by him, and is situate in the next parish to that where this interview took place, being distant about four miles east of Dun-Cehern, or the Sconce. Concerning his parentage, see the following note on *Cruthini populi*, and that on his name in iii. 17, *infra*. On his chief monastery see the note iii. 13, *infra*.

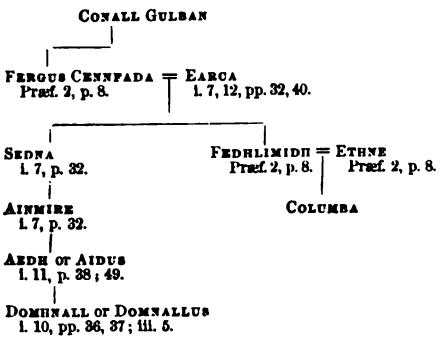
[f] *Supra memorata munitione.*—This refers to the name in the titulus, the omission of which by the Bollandists leaves their text in this place imperfect. The same observation applies to the text of the shorter recension represented by Codd. C. D. F. S., which exhibits the words *supra memorata*, but has no antecedent mention of the name; proving that there has been an omission, and that consequently the text in that family of MSS. is an abridged one. See note [b], p. 66, and note [a], p. 76, *supra*.

[g] *Nellis Nepotes.*—That is, Ui Neill, commonly called *Hy-Neill*, or the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The sons of this monarch by his first wife were Laeghaire, St. Patrick's contemporary, and Conall Crimthann, grandfather of Dermait Mac Cerbhail, mentioned above in cap. 36, whose descendants occupied Meath, and were, from their position, styled the *Southern Hy Neill*. By his second wife he had Eoghan, ancestor of the Cenel Eoghain, who gave name to Tyrone and Inishowen, and were in after times represented by the O'Neill family; Conall Gulban, ancestor of the Cinel Conaill, who gave name to Tir-Connell, now Donegal; Cairbre, Enna, and others of inferior note, collectively forming the *Northern Hy Neill*. St. Columba was great-grandson of Conall Gulban, and first-cousin of Ainmire, the

ticuli locus replebitur. [25]Quæ ejus [26]veridica suo tempore post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello, ut multi [27]norunt populi, [28]Domnallus [29]Aidi filius victor sublimatus est[k], et in eodem, secundum sancti vaticinium

[25] corrupti *add.* D. [26] viri dicta D. [27] non ignorant D. [28] domnalius C. donaldus D. domnaldus F. S. [29] aeda D.

grandfather of Domnallus mentioned in the text, as the following Table shows:



Hence the clans led by Domhnall in the battle are styled in the text "mei *cognationales* amici."

[h] *Cruthini populi.*—Cruithne, the Irish Picts, a name frequently given to the Dal-Araidhe. They inhabited the southern half of the county of Antrim, and the greater part of the county of Down, and their territory was sometimes called críó na Cruithne, 'region of the Picts.' *Mons Mis*, or Sliabh Mir, now *Slemish*, a remarkable hill in the centre of the county of Antrim, is placed by the Book of Armagh (fol. 3 *a a*), and the Second and Fourth Lives of S. Patrick in Colgan's collection (Tr. Th. pp. 14, 39), "in regionibus Cruidnenorum." Fiacha Araidhe, who gave name to the Dal Araidhe, was, according to Tighernach, lord of the Cruithne in 236.—Book of Lecan, fol. 140 *b*, 141 *a*, 194 *a b*; O'Flaherty, Ogyg. iii. 18 (p. 190), iii. 47 (p. 278); Ussher, Br. Ec. Ant. c. 15 (Wks. vi. p. 105); Irish Nennius, p. xlviii.; Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 337. Adamnan makes mention of the Cruithnii at i. 7, and 36, and draws the distinction which is generally observed in the Annals of Ulster, calling the Irish Picts *Cruithnii*, and the Scottish, *Picti* or *Pictores*. The Life of St. Comgall says: "De aquilonali Hiberniæ regione, nomine *Dail-naraidhe*, quæ est contra mare in aquilonali provinciæ plaga Ultorum, sanctus abbas Comgallus ortus fuit." (Cod. Kilken. fol. 90 *b a*; Fleming, Collect. p. 303.) According to his pedigree he was ninth in descent from Fiacha Araidhe, the founder of the race; while Congal Claen, who commanded the Dalaradians in this battle, was tenth in descent from the same individual. For the history of Congal Claen, see O'Donovan's Battle of Magh Rath, pp. 22, 34, etc. For the place of St. Comgall's birth, see Reeves' Eccl. Antiqq. p. 269.

[i] *Munitio Cethirni.*—The Latin equivalent for Dun Ceithirn, *Dun Kehern*. This fortress derived its name from Cethern, son of Fintan, one of the famous heroes of the Red Branch who flourished in Ulster about the Christian era. His grandfather Niall Niamhglonnach ['of the shining deeds'], son of Ross Ruadh, son of Rudhraighe, ancestor of the Clanna Rury, had his residence, about five miles eastwards, in the majestic earthen fort over the Bann, anciently called Dun-da-bheann [Fort of the two peaks], and now known as Mountsandal, near the Cutts of Coleraine. (Cathreim Conghail Clairingnech, p. 12, MS. R. Ir. Acad.) Cethern, the founder of Dun Ceithern, occupies a prominent place in the ancient historical romance called the Tain-bo-Cuailgne, in which he is represented as coming from Dun-da-bheann (Book of Leinster, fol. 62 *a a*); and again as sent for to Carn Loig [Four Mast.

viri, fonticulo, quidam de parentela ejus interfectus [30]est homo. Alius mihi [31]Adamnano[l] Christi miles, Finanus[m] nomine, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis juxta Roboreti monasterium Campi[n] irreprehensibiliter ducebat, de

[30] *om.* C. [31] B. adomnano A. C.

478] to come to the aid of Cuchullen. The fortress of Dun-da-bheann was on the north-western edge of the true Ultonian territory, while Dun-Ceithern was within the debateable ground which now constitutes the north of the county of Londonderry. Cethern was of the stock of Ir, from which the Irish Picts are said to have derived their origin (Ogyg. p. 190; Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 336); but the possession passed from his family to the sons of Niall, and remained so until the battle of Ocha, when it was temporarily restored to the Dalaradians or Picts. (See note [c], p. 32, *supra.*) It was recovered by the Hy Neill after the battle of Moin-doire-lothair in 563 (*ibid.*), and thenceforward was a scene of contention between the rival races. In 572, the joint sovereigns of Ireland, who were of the race of Eoghan, were slain by Cronan, king of Cianachta, the territory on the border of which Dun Ceithern was situate (note [a], p. 40, *supra*); and the battle referred to in the text arose out of the slaughter of Suibhne Meann, who was also a sovereign of the race of Eoghan, by Congal Claen, king of Uladh, himself a Dalaradian or Pict, who is supposed to have undertaken the deed upon the condition of receiving from Domhnall, the successor to the throne, a restoration of the territory which had been seized by the Cinel Eoghain. (Bat. of Magh Rath, p. 39.) Again, in 681, this very fortress was the scene of a conflict, as related by Tighernach: "*Combustio regum in Dun Ceithirn i. e. Dungal mac Scandail* ꝓ [rex] *Cruithne et Cendfaeladh mac Suibhne* ꝓ *Cianachta Glinne Gemin in initio estatis* ꝑ [per] *Maelduin mac Mailefithrigh.* In this instance we again find the lords of the Dalaraidhe and Cianachta ranged against the chief of the house of Eoghan. This is the last mention of the fortress in history, and probably it soon after ceased to be occupied. In later times, even the name passed out of memory, and O'Donnell, writing of this interview, vaguely says: "Quodam tempore S. Columba et S. Comgallus cum moram traherent in regione Kianachta ad amœnos clivos et dunos mari adjacentes," etc. —i. 95. (Tr. Th. p. 404 *b.*) Colgan, who was born in the neighbouring barony of Inishowen, does not seem to have been acquainted with the situation of the place, and, failing him, it has been reserved for the great restorer of Irish topography to identify the place and its long lost name. Writing, Aug. 18, 1834, Dr. O'Donovan, then employed on the Ordnance Survey, emphatically observes: "I have travelled through Dunboe, but found no Irish people. I visited the Giant's Sconce, and viewed it with religious contemplation. I am perfectly satisfied that it is the *Munitio Cethirni* of Adamnan, and the *Dun Ceithirn* of Tighernach and other annalists. I have consulted several of the oldest inhabitants around it, but none could tell me any legend connected with it. They only heard that it was called *Lungern* in Irish, which is also the name by which the townland is known to tax-gatherers." (Londonderry Letters, Ord. Surv. p. 60.) The hill commonly called *the Sconce* is the most conspicuous one in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, situate about four miles west of that town, in the parish of Dunboe, on the old Newtown road. It is 797 feet above the level of the sea, and the top, which is a table measuring 160 by 94 feet, exhibits the remains of an ancient fortress. On the west and south, opposite Bratwell [Blairtebe, Tigh. 681?] and Formoyle [Formaoil], the face of the hill is very precipitous; on the north and east it is less so, and at a lower level has a

eodem bello se præsente commisso aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicto fonte truncum [32]cadaverinum vidisse, eademque die ad monasterium sancti [33]Comgelli quod [34]Scotice dicitur [35]Cambas[o] commisso reversum bello

[32] cadaver D. [33] congelli C. comgalli D. [34] scottice B. [35] cammus D.

small semicircular platform, formed by an expansion of the hill. On the north-east is a well, and on the south-east is the entrance to the fort, 5 feet wide, ascending abruptly by rude steps. On the north-east was also a long gallery, formed against the side of the apex by large stones regularly laid, with an inclination inwards, and covered with cross flags, similar to the cyclopean structure of the Grianan Ailech (Ord. Mem. Templemore, pp. 217–221), 40 feet long, by 2 broad, serving as a covered way, and also as breast-work on the accessible side. The whole crest of the hill was enclosed by a cyclopean wall, of which some traces remain, though the mass of it has been precipitated down the sides, and either carried away for building purposes elsewhere, or suffered to lie in debris at the foot. The remarkable gallery which has been just mentioned was disturbed and reduced to its present condition, which is little better than a great ridge of dry stones, by a person who, about thirty years ago, brought a number of men to the spot "to search the cove for money," and, with them, a barrel of beer to stimulate their exertions. In the Ord. Survey the hill is placed in the townland *Sconce*, which is a modern denomination. (Sheet 7, east edge.) Properly, three townlands meet at the spot, now called Lenagarron, Belgarra, and Knocknamult, and comprehended in Lennagorran and Knockmult, in the Londonderry Charter. (Concise View of the Irish Soc. Append., p. 36.)

[k] *Sublimatus est.*—This battle was fought in 629. The Annals of Ulster, at 628, have the following record of it: *Bellum Duin Ceithirnn in quo Congal Caech fugit, et Domhnall mac Aedo* [victor] *erat : in quo cecidit Guaire mac Forindain.* Between the Dalaradians and the Hy Neill there existed a hostile feeling from the time of the battle of Moin-doire, mentioned at cap. 7. Aedh Dubh, lord of the former, in 565, slew Diarmait (see cap. 36). In the year preceding the present engagement, Congal Caech, or Claen, King of Uladh, slew Suibhne Meann, monarch of Ireland, who was of the Cenel Eoghain branch of the northern Hy Neill, and thus made room for the accession of Domhnall, as predicted in chap. 10, *supra*, who avenged his kinsman's death in the manner related in the text. For Congal Claen's movements after this battle, see the note on *Bellum Roth*, iii. 5, *infra*.

[l] *Mihi Adamnano.*—He was born in 624, so that he was in his fifth year at the date of the battle. He speaks in the first person also in i. 2, iii. 19, 23.

[m] *Finanus.*—Of the nine saints of this name in the calendar, Colgan supposes him to be the Finan Lobhar of Mar. 16. (Act. SS. p. 627.) O'Donnell, upon what authority is uncertain, says of him: "S. Finnen qui in monasterio de *Magh-Cosgain* anachoreticam vitam diu transduxit."—i. 95. (Tr. Th. 404 *b*.) That place is now called Macosquin. See note on *Cambas*.

[n] *Roboreti Campi.*—Durrow. See i. 3, 29, ii. 2, 39, iii. 15.

[o] *Cambas.*—This monastery was founded by S. Comgall, probably under the patronage of the Pictish residents in Dun-da-bheann or Mountsandal, and Dun-Ceithern, whose occupation of this territory is still attested by the townland of *Drumcroon*, or 'Picts Ridge,' in the same parish, and *Duncroon*, or 'Picts Fort,' in the adjacent parish of Magilligan. In the Calendar we find Colman abb ó Cammar Comgaill for bru banna, 'Colman, abbot of Cammas Comghaill on the banks of the

quia inde prius venerat, [36]ibidemque duos sancti [37]Comgelli senes monachos reperisse: quibus cum de bello coram se acto, et [38]de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, aliquanta enarraret, illi consequenter, Verus [39]propheta Columba, aiunt, qui hæc omnia quæ hodie de bello et [40]de fonticulo expleta [41]enarras, ante multos annos futura, nobis audientibus, coram sancto [42]Comgello, juxta [43]Cethirni sedens munitionem, prænunciaverat.

[1]DE DIVERSORUM DISCRETIONE XENIORUM SANCTO REVELATA VIRO DIALI GRATIA.

EODEM [2]in tempore Conallus, episcopus [3]Culerathin[a], collectis a populo Campi [4]Eilni[b] pene innumerabilibus [5]xeniis[c], beato viro hospitium præparavit,

[36] ibi denique C. [37] comgilli A. congelli C. comgalli D. [38] *om.* D. [39] est *add.* C. [40] *om.* C. [41] enarrans D. [42] congello C. comgallo D. [43] A. F. S. cethirin B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3-4] *om.* C. D. F. S. [4] elni B. [5] exeniis B. D.

Bann."—Cal. Doneg. Oct. 30. And again, Colma, bogha, ⁊ Laisri i Camar Comghaill, 'Colma, Bogha, and Laisri, in Camas Comghall.'—*Ib.* Jan. 22. The connexion of Bangor with the present monastery was long maintained, for in 938 Muircertach *Camsa*, that is, 'of Camus,' was abbot of Bangor.—*Four Mast.* Camus gave name to a parish situate on the west of the Bann, in the diocese of Derry, which, for distinction's sake, is called *Camus juxta Bann*, there being another of the same name in the Tyrone part of the diocese, styled, from the neighbouring river, *Camus juxta Mourne*. An island in the Bann, opposite the churchyard of Camus, was formerly called Inis Lochain (Four Mast. 1170, 1544), beside which was a shallow spot known as Feartar Camra, 'the Ford of Camus,' from which the island is called *Enis Forsed* on Speed's Map of Ulster. In the twelfth century an abbey was founded in another part of the parish, called in Cistercian records *De Claro Fonte* (Martene, Thes. Nov. Anecd. iv. coll. 1460, 1524), but by the Irish Magh-Corgnain (Four Mast. 1505), which now gives to the whole parish, according to civil usage, on the Ordnance Survey, the name *Macosquin*. All traces of the church have disappeared from the cemetery of Camus; but an ancient sculptured cross or pillar, divided by transverse bands into four compartments, each containing three human figures in relief, stood on a base at the west side till 1760, when it was overturned, and, having been mutilated, was converted into a gate-post for the churchyard, in which condition it still exists. See Reeves' Colton's Visitation, p. 83; Sampson's Survey of L. Derry, p. 484. The name Camar is supposed to be compounded of cam-ar, 'crooked stream,' and in Ireland there are twelve townlands of the name. In Scotland it is sometimes Camus, as in Argyleshire, and sometimes Cambus, as in Lanark and Perthshire. See note on *Ait-chambas* at ii. 22, *infra*.

[a] *Culerathin.*—Now Coleraine, a well known town on the east side of the river Bann. The name in Irish is Cuil raithen, *Secessus filicis.* St. Patrick is said to have founded the church, and to have appointed Carbreus its bishop.—Vit. Trip. ii. 136 (Tr. Th. p. 148 *a*); Calendar. Donegal. Nov. 11. "Perrexit trans flumen Bandæ et

post condictum[d] supra memoratorum regum, turba prosequente multa, revertenti: proinde sancto advenienti viro [6]xenia populi multa, in platea[e] monasterii strata, benedicenda [7]assignantur. Quæ cum benedicens aspiceret, [8]xenium alicujus opulenti viri specialiter demonstrans, Virum, ait, cujus est hoc [8]xenium, pro misericordiis pauperum, et ejus largitione, [9]Dei comitatur misericordia. [10]Itemque aliud discernit inter alia multa [8]xenium, inquiens, De hoc ego [11]xenio viri sapientis et avari nullo modo gustare possum, nisi prius veram de peccato avaritiæ pœnitudinem egerit. Quod verbum cito in turba divulgatum audiens, accurrit Columbus filius [12]Aidi[f] conscius, et [13]coram Sancto flexis genibus [14]pœnitentiam [15]agit, et de cetero avaritiæ abrenunciaturum se promittit, et largitatem cum morum emendatione consecuturum. Et jussus a Sancto surgere, ex illa hora est sanatus de vitio tenacitatis. Erat enim vir sapiens, sicuti Sancto in ejus revelatum [16]erat [17]xenio. Ille vero dives largus, Brendenus nomine, de cujus [16]xenio paulo superius dictum est, audiens et ipse

[6] exenia B. D. [7] signantur D. [8] exenium D. [9] diu B. [10] item D. [11] exenio D. [12] aeda D. [13] veram C. [14] veram *add.* D. [15] sancto *add.* D. [16] est D. [17] exenio D.

benedixit locum in quo est cellola Cuile Raithin in Eilniu in quo fuit episcopus."—*Tirechan.* (Book of Armagh, fol. 15 *a b.*) Of the Conallus in the text we have no other record. The first mention of Cuil-rathain in the Annals is A. C. 731. See Reeves' Ec. Ant. pp. 75, 247.

[b] *Campi Eilni.*—*Eilniu* in Book of Armagh, as in preceding note. Sometimes written *Eille*, as, bann eccip le acup Eille, 'The Bann between Le and Eille.' Lee was on the left side. See note on cap. 22 (p. 52) *supra.* The territory of Maϑ Cine was bounded on the east by the Bush, and on the west by the Bann, and was known in the seventeenth century as the "Tuogh between the Band and the Boys." It is now nearly represented by the North East Liberties of Coleraine. Reeves' Ec. Ant. p. 330.

[c] *Xeniis.*—i. 41 (p. 79) *supra.* See *Glossary.* "Xenium beato viro eadem illa virgo transmisit; fecitque Martinus quod antea non fecerat; nullius enim ille xenium, nullius munus accepit."—Sulp. Sever., Vit. Martini. (Lib. Armac. fol. 213 *a b*; or p. 592, Ed. Hornii.)

[d] *Condictum.*—See note [a], chap. 49 (p. 91).

[e] *Platea.*—The *plateola* of the monastery at Hy is mentioned in iii. 6, *infra.* The equivalent Irish term is raiṫe. The abbey of Coleraine, of which not a vestige remains, occupied the site of the present shambles, beside the river. The situation of the abbey is shown in "The Plot of Coleraine" among the MS. maps in Trin. Coll. Dubl. Dr. Lanigan observes that at this place "the text is much confused in Colgan's edition, but is very clear in Messingham's." (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 246.) This is a strange prejudice, for the opening sentence as it stands in the shorter recension, which Messingham copies, is scarcely translateable.

[f] *Columbus filius Aidi.*—He was a *vir sapiens, Hib.* raoi, and Colgan identifies him with the individual commemorated in Marian Gorman's calendar, at Nov. 8 and Dec. 11, mac aeda clain colum .i. Cuile Damain .i. Cuile briuin, 'Colum, son of Aedh Clain, of Cuil Damhain, i. e. Cuil Briuin.' (Tr. Th. p. 381 *a*, n. 107.) Columbus, Columba, Columbanus, and Colman, are various forms of the same name. See i. 5 (p. 29); and *Index.*

Sancti verba de se dicta, ingeniculans ad pedes Sancti, precatur ut pro eo ad Dominum Sanctus fundat precem: qui, ab eo primum pro quibusdam suis objurgatus peccatis, pœnitudinem gerens, de cetero se emendaturum promisit; et sic uterque de propriis emendatus et sanatus est vitiis.

[17] Simili scientia Sanctus et alio tempore xenium alicujus tenacis viri, inter multa cognovit xenia, Diormiti nomine, ad Cellam Magnam [18] Deathrib[g] in ejus adventu collecta.

Hæc de beati viri prophetica gratia, quasi de plurimis pauca, in hujus libelli textu primi [19] caraxasse sufficiat. Pauca dixi, nam hoc de venerabili viro non est dubitandum quod valde numerosiora fuerint quæ in notitiam hominum, sacramenta interius celata, venire nullo modo poterant, quam ea quæ, quasi quædam parva aliquando stillicidia, veluti per quasdam rimulas alicujus pleni vasis ferventissimo novo distillabant vino. Nam sancti et apostolici viri, vanam evitantes gloriam, plerumque in quantum possunt interna quædam arcana, sibi intrinsecus a Deo manifestata, celare festinant. Sed Deus nonnulla ex eis, velint nolint ipsi, divulgat, et in medium quoquo profert modo, videlicet glorificare volens glorificantes se Sanctos, hoc est, ipsum Dominum, cui gloria in secula [20] seculorum [21].

[17-20] *om.* C. D. F. S. [18] dethrib B. [19] B. craxasse A. exarasse Colg. Boll. [21] amen *add.* B.

[g] *Cellam Magnam Deathrib.—Hib.* Cill-mor Dicrib (Tigh. 736, 757; An. Ult. 735, 756). Dicrech, 'a wilderness;' Dicrub, Fiech's Hymn, 22 (Tr. Th. p. 3). Derived by Cormac from Di, negative, and crech, 'a house.' Colgan supposed that this was the church in the county of Cavan which gives name to the diocese of Kilmore (Tr. Th. p. 381 *a*, n. 108); but Dr. O'Donovan, more correctly, identifies it with Kilmore in the county of Roscommon, barony of Ballintober North (Four Mast. 730). In this he is supported by an entry at 752, where the Ui Crumthainn, the inhabitants of the modern baronies of Ballymoe and Killian, in the north-east part of Galway, adjacent to Kilmore, are represented as burning Cill-mor-dithraibh. From its position on the Shannon, in the territory of Tir-Briuin, it is sometimes called in the Annals *Cill-mor Tir Bruin na Sinna*, 'Kilmore in Tir-Briuin of the Shannon,' or *Cill-mor na Sinna*, 'Kilmore of the Shannon' (Four Mast. 1232, 1249, 1330). This was one of the churches founded by St. Columba previously to his removal to Scotland, and it was probably in connexion with his sojourn in this neighbourhood that the incidents occurred which are related of the Boyle river in i. 42, and ii. 19, of these memoirs. The Life of St. Munna relates: "Venit B. Munna ad scholam S. Columbæ, qui tunc erat magister in loco qui dicitur Scotice *Ceallmor Dithraimh*, id est, Cella magua remota, et ibi S. Munna legit apud virum sapientem Columbam."—cap. 5 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 127 *b a*; Tr. Th. p. 460 *b*, c. 35). The name occurs twice in the Calendar of Donegal at the 9th of August. Kilmore is now a parish in the diocese of Elphin, situate a short distance south-east of the confluence of the Boyle and Shannon. (Ord. Surv. Roscom. ss. 17, 18.)

[22]Huic primo libro [23]hic imponitur terminus; [24]nunc sequens [25]orditur [26]liber de virtutum [27]miraculis, [28]quæ plerumque etiam prophetalis præscientia [29]comitatur.

CAPITULA[a] SECUNDI LIBRI INCIPIUNT,

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS.

De vino quod de aqua factum est[b].
De amarissimis alicujus arboris pomis, in dulcedinem per Sancti benedictionem versis[c].
De terra, post medium æstatis tempus arata et seminata, mensis Augusti incipientis exordio maturam messem proferente[d].
De morbifera nube, et languentium sanitate[e].
De Mauguina sancta virgine, et fractura coxæ ejus sanata[f].
De multorum morbis fimbriæ vestimenti ejus tactu, in Dorso Cete, sanatis[g].
De petra salis a Sancto benedicta, quam ignis absumere non potuit[h].
De librariis foliis manu Sancti scriptis, quæ aqua nullo modo corrumpi potuere[i].
De aqua, quæ, Sancto orante, ex dura producta est petra[k].
De aqua fontana, quam Sanctus ultra Britannicum benedixit Dorsum, et sanavit[l].
De Sancti periculo in mari, et de magna tempestate in tranquillitatem continuo, orante ipso, conversa[m].
De altero ejus periculo, et de sancto Cainnecho pro ipso et sociis ejus orante[n].
De baculo in portu sancti Cainnechi neglecto[o].

[22-27] *rubrica* B. [22] de B. [23] *om.* B. [24-26] capitula secundi libri incipiunt B. [25] oritur D. [28-29] A. C. D. F. S. *om.* B.

[a] Cod. A. has no *capitula* for the second or third books, and the present are supplied from Cod. B., which, though of inferior age, are entitled to some consideration, as they are not servile transcripts of the titles prefixed to the chapters. It will be seen by the following references that, in some instances, these *capitula*, which correspond to the order of the chapters in Cod. B., vary from that in Cod. A.

[b] Cap. 1.
[c] Cap. 2.
[d] Cap. 3.
[e] Cap. 4.
[f] Cap. 5.
[g] Cap. 6.
[h] Cap. 7.
[i] Capp. 8, 9.
[k] Cap. 10.
[l] Cap. 11.
[m] Cap. 12.
[n] Cap. 13.

De Baitheneo et Columbano filio Beognoi, qui a Sancto secundum, eadem die, sed diversa via, ventum sibi dari postularunt[p].

De dæmonis repulsione qui in lactis vasculo latitabat[q].

De vasculo quod quidam maleficus, lacte de masculo bove expresso, diabolica replevit arte; sed, Sancto orante, ipsum quod videbatur lac, in sanguinem, hoc est, in naturam propriam, versum est[r].

De Lugneo Mocumin, quem Sanctus de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro ex naribus ejus profluebat, oratione et digitorum tactu sanavit[s].

De esoce magno in fluvio, juxta verbum Sancti, invento[t].

De duobus piscibus, illo prophetante, in flumine quod vocatur Boo repertis[u].

De quodam plebeio qui Nesanus Curvus dicebatur[v].

De quodam divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigeno[w].

De Columbano æque plebeio viro, cujus pecora admodum pauca vir sanctus benedixit; sed post illius benedictionem usque ad centenarium creverunt numerum[x].

De interitu Johannis filii Conallis, eadem die qua Sanctum spernens dehonoravit[y].

De alicujus Feradachi morte, fraudulenti viri, a Sancto prænunciata[z].

De alio persecutore, cujus nomen latine Manus Dextera dicitur[a].

De alio innocentium persecutore, qui in Laginensium provincia, sicut Annanias coram Petro, eodem momento, a Sancto terribiliter objurgatus, cecidit mortuus[b].

De apri mortificatione, qui a Sancto eminus cecidit, signo prostratus Dominicæ crucis[c].

De alia aquatili bestia, quæ, eo orante, et manum e contra levante, retro repulsa est ne Lugneo natanti vicino noceret[d].

De insulæ Ionæ viperinis serpentibus, qui, ex qua die Sanctus eam benedixit, nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere[e].

De hasta ab eo signata, quæ deinceps nullo modo, quamlibet fortiter impulsa, alicui potuit nocere animanti[f].

De Diormiti ægrotantis sanitate[g].

De Fenteni filii Aido, in extremis positi, sanitate[h].

[o] Cap. 14.	[t] Cap. 19.	[y] Cap. 22.	[d] Cap. 27.
[p] Cap. 15.	[u] Cap. 19.	[z] Cap. 23.	[e] Cap. 28.
[q] Cap. 16.	[v] Cap. 20.	[a] Cap. 24.	[f] Cap. 29.
[r] Cap. 17.	[w] Appendage to cap. 20 B.	[b] Cap. 25.	[g] Cap. 30.
[s] Cap. 18.	[x] Cap. 21.	[c] Cap. 26.	[h] Cap. 31.

De puero quem mortuum, in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, in regione Pictorum, suscitavit[i].

De conflictu ejus contra magum Broichanum, ob ancillæ retentionem; et de lapide quem Sanctus benedixit, qui in aqua quasi pomum supernatavit[k].

De beati viri contra Broichanum magum refragatione, et venti contrarietate[l].

De spontanea regiæ munitionis portæ subita apertione[m].

De ecclesiæ Duorum Agri Rivorum simili reclusione[n].

De alio paupere, plebeio mendico, cui Sanctus, sudem faciens, benedixit, ad ferarum jugulationem silvestrium[o].

De utre lactario, quem unda maris abduxit, et reduxit ad terram[p].

De Librano Harundineti sancti prophetatio viri[q].

De quadam muliercula, magnas et valde difficiliores parturitionis tortiones passa, et sanata[r].

De conjuge Lugnei odiosi gubernatoris[s].

De Cormaco Nepote Lethani, et ejus navigationibus, sancti Columbæ prophetatio[t].

De venerabilis viri in curru evectione, absque currilium obicum communitione[u].

De pluvia post aliquot siccitatis menses, beati ob honorem viri, super sitientem, Domino donante, terram effusa[v].

Miraculum quod nunc, Deo propitio, describere incipimus, nostris temporibus factum, propriis inspeximus oculis:

De ventorum flatibus contrariis, venerabilis viri virtute orationum, in secundos conversis ventos[w].

De mortalitate[x].

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA SECUNDI LIBRI.

[i] Cap. 32.
[k] Cap. 33.
[l] Cap. 34.
[m] Cap. 35.
[n] Cap. 36.
[o] Cap. 37.
[p] Cap. 38.
[q] Cap. 39.
[r] Cap. 40.
[s] Cap. 41.
[t] Cap. 42.
[u] Cap. 43.
[v] Cap. 44.
[w] Cap. 45.
[x] Cap. 46.

[1]LIBER SECUNDUS.—DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS.

[2]DE VINO QUOD DE AQUA FACTUM EST.

ALIO [3]in tempore, cum vir venerandus [4]in [5]Scotia apud sanctum [6]Findbarrum[a] episcopum, adhuc juvenis, sapientiam sacræ Scripturæ[b] addiscens,

[1] *titulus deest* A. incipit secundus liber de virtutum miraculis quæ plenissime plerumque etiam præscientia prophetalis comitatur B. incipit liber secundus de virtutum miraculis C. F. S. sancti columbe *add.* D. [2] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [3] *om.* D. [4] columba *add.* D. [5] scothia C. hybernia D. [6] fenbarrum B. finbarrum D.

[a] *Findbarrum.*—So i. 1 (p. 13) *supra.* Further on *Vinnianus;* and *Finnio* in iii. 4, *infra.* The Irish Finnen, Finden, and Finnia, are diminutives of finn, 'albus,' equivalent to *Albinus,* and appear in the Latin forms Finnianus, Findianus, Finnio, Vinnio, and Vinnianus; to which the Italians add Fridianus and Frigidianus. Findbarr is a compound name, formed from finn barr, 'pulcher vertex,' "propter candorem capillorum." (Colg. Act. SS. p. 638 *a.*) There were two famous abbots called Finnian, who were successively teachers of St. Columba: one of them founder of Magh-bile, now Movilla in Down; the other, of Cluain-Eraird, now Clonard in Meath. With the former of these, the ancient Irish Life, followed by O'Donnell (i. 39, Tr. Th. p. 395 *a*), Keating (*reg.* Aodh), and Lanigan (Ec. H. ii. p. 117), identifies the Findbarr of the text. Luid iarum do foglumm ecnai cur in uaral eprcop .i. co Finden Muigi bile. Fecetur and cerca fin ocur baipgen ol Finden on aiffriund. bennachair Colum cille in urci cor road h-i fin, co cartad iriu coilech n-aiffriund. 'He went, then, to learn wisdom, to the illustrious bishop, namely, Finden of Magh-bile. On a certain occasion wine and bread were wanting to Finden for the offertory: Columcille blessed the water, and it was turned into wine, and put into the offertory chalice.' With this agree the Lives of SS. Erc and Callin (Colg. Act. SS. p. 644 *a*). Colgan is undecided in his choice, for at Feb. 23 he inclines to Clonard (Act. SS. pp. 403 *b*, 644 *a*); and at March 18 to Movilla (*Ib.* p. 644 *a*; Tr. Tr. p. 381 *a*). St. Finnian of Movilla was son of Cairbre, one of the Dal Fiatach, the royal family of Ulster, and became the patron saint of the Ultonians (Reeves, Eccl. Ant. p. 151). Besides Movilla, he was the founder of Druim-fionn, now Dromin in Louth ('Eccl. S. Fintani de Dromyng,'—Regist. Fleming, fol. 44 *a*); and here the dispute between him and St. Columba respecting the manuscript of the Gospels is said to have occurred. He died Sept. 10, which is his festival; and his obit is thus recorded by Tighernach at 579: *Quies Finniani episcopi Nepotis Fiatach.* Where O'Conor corruptly for *Finniani* reads *Mani.* Also in the Annal. Ult., at 578: *Quies Vinniani episcopi* mic [filii] *Nepotis Fiatach,* as in the Dublin MS.; though O'Conor's text unmeaningly gives *Umaniain* as the Saint's name. The Irish Life states that St. Columba, on leaving St. Finnian of Maghbile, placed himself under a senior called Gemman mentioned at ii. 25, *infra*), from whom he removed to St. Finnian of Clonard. The Life by Cummian subjoins the present anecdote to that recorded at iii. 4, *infra,* where see note.

[b] *Sacræ Scripturæ.*—If this refer to the teaching of St. Finnian of Movilla, it renders the legend of the quarrel between him and St. Co-

commaneret, quadam [7]solenni die vinum ad [8]sacrificale mysterium casu aliquo minime inveniebatur: de cujus defectu cum ministros altaris inter se conquerentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto [9]pergit urceo, ut ad [10]sacræ Eucharistiæ [11]ministeria aquam, quasi [12]diaconus, fontanam hauriret[c]: ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans. Vir itaque beatus aquaticum, quod de latice hausit, elementum, invocato nomine [13]Domini [14]Jesu Christi, fideliter benedixit, qui in [15]Cana Galileæ aquam [16]in [17]vinum convertit: quo etiam [18]in [19]hoc operante miraculo, inferior, hoc est aquatica natura, in gratiorem, videlicet vinalem, per manus prædicabilis viri conversa est[d] speciem. Vir itaque sanctus, a fonte reversus, et ecclesiam intrans, talem juxta altare urceum intra se habentem deponit liquorem; et ad ministros, Habetis, ait, vinum, quod Dominus [20]Jesus ad sua misit peragenda mysteria. Quo cognito, sanctus cum [21]ministris [22]episcopus eximias Deo referunt [23]grates. Sanctus vero juvenis[e] [24]hoc non sibimet, sed sancto [25]Vinniano adscribebat episcopo. Hoc

[7] solemni A. sollenni D. [8] sacrificii D. [9] *om.* B. [10] sacra D. F. [11] mysteria Boll. [12] diacon A. [13] *om.* B. C. [14] nostri *add.* D. [15] chana B. [16-17] *om.* A. [18-19] *om.* C. [19] *om.* D. [20] christus C. [21] *om.* D. [22] episcopo D. [23] gratias C. [24] columba *add.* D. [25] A. B. F. S. finnbarro D.

lumba, both as to cause and fact, extremely improbable. For the legend, see O'Donnell, ii. 1 (Tr. Th. p. 408 *a*), and Keating (*reg.* Aodh). In the Life of St. Fintan of Dunbleisch, there is a story told of the same St. Finnian refusing to lend him a copy of the Gospels (Colg. Act. SS. pp. 11 *a*, 643 *b*). The other St. Finnian, however, was, confessedly, a famous teacher of the Scriptures. See the various testimonies collected by Colgan from the Lives of his disciples (Act. SS. pp. 403 *b*–405 *a*).

[c] *Quasi diaconus hauriret.*—The duty here performed by the deacon was that which in the western Church was usually assigned to the acolyte. The fourth Council of Carthage prescribed that when an acolyte is ordained, "Accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi."—(Labbe, Concil. ii. p. 1200.) The custom of mingling water with the wine in the Eucharist was a very ancient one. See Martene, Ant. Ec. Rit. i. 3, 7 (Vol. i. p. 118 *b*); Bingham, Orig. Eccl. xv. 2, 7 (Wks. vol. v. p. 47).

[d] *Conversa est.*—The turning of water into more palateable fluids has supplied sanctology with a large stock of legends. A miracle resembling the present, and under like circumstances, is said to have been wrought by St. David (Rees, Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 130); and by St. Fursa (Colg. Act. SS. p. 87 *a*). Wine was similarly provided by St. Aidus (*Ib.* 419 *b*); by St. Finnian of Clonard (*Ib.* p. 404 *b*); by St. Kieran of Saighir (*Ib.* p. 461 *a*); by St. Mochoemhog (*Ib.* p. 593 *b*); by St. Gildas (*Ib.* p. 184 *a*); by St. Sezinus (*Ib.* p. 478 *a*); by St. Hymelinus (*Ib.* p. 575 *b*); by St. Cuthbert (*Ib.* p. 119 *a*); by St. Kiaran of Clonmacnois (Vit. c. 31 Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *b b*). Water was changed into honey by St. Patrick (Tr. Th. p. 119 *a*); and by St. Kiaran (Cod. Marsh. fol. 144 *a a*). St. Brigid turned water into milk (Tr. Th. p. 529 *a*); as did St. Finian of Movilla (Colg. Act. SS. p. 643 *b*). St. Brigid changed water into beer (Tr. Th. p. 516, vs. 19), and into any other kind of drink which the infirm desired (*Ib.* pp. 538 *b*, 551 *a*).

itaque [26]protum[f] virtutis documentum Christus Dominus per suum declaravit discipulum, quod in eadem re, initium ponens signorum in [27]Cana Galileæ, operatus est per semetipsum.

[28]Hujus, inquam, libelli, quasi quædam lucerna, illustret exordium, quod per nostrum Columbam diale manifestatum est miraculum; ut deinceps transeamus ad cetera, quæ per ipsum ostensa sunt, virtutum [29]miracula.

[1]DE ALICUJUS ARBORIS FRUCTU AMARO PER SANCTI BENEDICTIONEM IN DULCEDINEM VERSO.

QUÆDAM arbor erat valde pomosa prope monasterium [2]Roboris Campi[a], in australi ejus parte; de qua cum incolæ loci [3]quoddam haberent pro nimia fructus amaritudine querimonium, quadam die Sanctus [4]ad [5]eam accessit autumnali tempore, videnque lignum incassum abundos habere fructus qui ex eis gustantes plus læderent quam delectarent; [6]sancta elevata manu, benedicens ait, In nomine omnipotentis Dei omnis tua amaritudo, O arbor amara, a te recedat; tuaque huc usque amarissima nunc in dulcissima vertantur poma. Mirum dictu, dicto citius, eodemque momento, ejusdem arboris omnia poma, amissa amaritudine, in miram, secundum verbum Sancti, versa sunt dulcedinem[b].

[26] F. pro tum A. Colg. Boll. primum C. promptum D. [27] cœna *male* Boll. [28] *litera H. majuscula cærulea* B. [28-29] *om.* C. D. F. S.

[1] *titul. om., cap. i. continuatur,* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] ꝺıaꝑmaꝯ D. [3] quondam C. [4-5] *om.* D. [6] sanctus D.

[a] *Juvenis.*—St. Columba founded the church of Derry in 546, when he was twenty-four years of age, and his fourth preceptor, St. Finnian of Clonard, died in 550; so that the occurrence recorded in this chapter is likely to have taken place when he was about twenty. See Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 118.

[f] *Protum.*—Πρῶτον. The var. lection. show that some of the copyists and editors misunderstood the word. We find in the Antiphonary of Bangor, in the *Hymnus Apostolorum* (Muratori, Opp. xi. pt. 3, p. 225):—

"Illeque proto
Vires adimens cako."

The present expression was suggested to the writer by S. John, ii. 11.

[a] *Roboris Campi.*—Ꝺaıꝑ maꝯ, Durrow. See i. 3 (p. 23) *supra.* Ꝺal in Irish is an 'apple-tree.' The parish of Aghowl in Wicklow is so called from Ꝺaꝺ aꝺla, 'field of Apple-trees.'

[b] *Dulcedinem.*—A similar story is told of St. Mochoemoc: "Rediens inde sanctus vir ad cellam, vidit quandam arborem plenam fructu, qui erat hominibus inutilis præ amaritudine nimia: benedixitque signo S. crucis arborem, et fructus ejus illico in dulcedinem conversi sunt." Vit. c. 25. (Colg. Act. SS. p. 393 [*recte* 593] *b*; Fleming, Collect. p. 387 *b*.)

[1]DE SEGETE POST MEDIUM ÆSTATIS TEMPUS SEMINATA, ET IN EXORDIO [2]AUGUSTI [3]MENSIS, SANCTO ORANTE, MESSA, IN [4]IOUA CONVERSANTE INSULA.

ALIO [5]in tempore Sanctus [6]suos misit monachos ut de alicujus plebeii agellulo virgarum fasciculos[a] ad hospitium afferrent construendum. Qui cum ad Sanctum, [7]oneraria repleta navi de supradictis [8]virgularum materiis, reversi venirent, dicerentque plebeium ejusdem causa dispendii valde contristatum; Sanctus consequenter præcipiens [9]dicit, Ne ergo [10]illum scandalizemus virum, ad ipsum a nobis bis terni deferantur hordei modii[b], eosdemque his [11]in diebus arata ipse seminet in terra. Quibus ad plebeium, [12]Findchanum nomine, juxta Sancti jussionem, missis, et coram eo cum tali commendatione adsignatis, gratanter accipiens, ait, Quomodo post medium [13]æsteum tempus seges seminata, contra hujus naturam terræ, proficiet? Marita e contra, Fac, ait, secundum Sancti mandatum, cui Dominus donabit quodcunque ab eo postulaverit. Sed et qui missi sunt simul hoc addiderunt dicendo, Sanctus

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] agusti A. [3] mense A. [4] A. iona B. [5] *om.* D. [6] columba *add.* D. [7] onera D. [8] virgarum D. [9] dixit D. [10] *om.* C. [11] *om.* D. [12] findcanum B. frindehanum C. finchanum D. [13] æstivum C.

[a] *Virgarum fasciculos.*—These were for the hurdle-work of which the walls of houses, both secular and ecclesiastical, were constructed in the primitive architecture of the Celts. The founders of the first church in Britain built on Ynswitrin "quandam capellam, inferius per circuitum virgis torquatis muros perficientes." —(Gul. Malmesbur. ap. Ussher, Wks. v. pp. 26, 132.) St. David's original chapel was "musco silvestri solum et hederæ nexibus adornata."—(Girald. Cambrens., Itinerar. Cambr. i.3.) St. Gwynllyw, circ. 580, "signavit cimiterium, et in medio tabulis et virgis fundavit templum." (Rees, Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 148.) In Ireland, when St. Kieran of Saighir prepared to build his church, "aper statim in conspectu viri Dei, virgas et fenum ad materiam cellæ construendæ dentibus suis fortiter abscidit." (Colg. Act. SS. p. 458 *b.*) St. Kevin of Glendaloch "oratoriolum sibi construxit ex virgis." (Act. SS. Jun. tom. i. p. 316 *a.*) "In loco Raithin S. Columba-kylle cellulam antea proposuit fundare, et tres fasces virgarum reliquit, dicens suis, Veniet alius post me, cui præfinitus est ille locus a Domino. Et de illis fascibus S. Carthacus sibi cellulam ædificavit, ut prophetavit S. Columba." (Act. SS. Mai. tom. iii. p. 381 *a.*) St. Finan, coming from Hy on his episcopal mission, "in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam; quam tamen more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque harundine texit." (Bede, H. E. iii. 25.) St. Voloc built as his abode "pauperculam casam calamis viminibusque contextam." (Brev. Aberdon. Propr. SS. Part. Hyemal. fol. 45 *aa.*) See note [c], p. 114, *infra*, and that concerning St. Columba's monastery, chap. 45, *infra*.

[b] *Bis terni modii.*—So "sex modios," i. 41 (p. 79) *supra*.

Columba, qui nos ad te cum hoc misit munere, hoc mandatum per nos de tua commendavit segete, dicens, Homo ille in omnipotentia Dei confidat: [14]seges [15]ejus, quamvis de mense Junio [16]duodecim præmissis diebus[c] seminata[17], in [18]principiis [19]Augusti mensis metetur[d]. Obsequitur plebeius [20]arando et seminando; et messem, quam supradicto [21]in tempore [22]contra [23]spem seminavit, cum omnium admiratione vicinorum in exordio [19]Augusti mensis maturam, juxta verbum Sancti, [24]messuit, [25]in loco terræ qui dicitur [26]Delcros[e].

[1]DE MORBIFERA NUBE, ET PLURIMORUM SANITATE.

ALIO [2]itidem [3]in tempore, cum Sanctus in [4]Ioua [5]commoraretur insula, sedens in monticulo qui Latine Munitio Magna[a] dicitur, videt ab aquilone

[14-15] *om.* C. [16] A. C. quindecim B. D. F. [17] fuerit *add.* D. [18] principio D. [19] tamen *add.* D. agusti A. [20] orando B. [21] *om.* D. [22-23] *om.* D. [24] viri *add.* D. [25-26] *om.* C. D. F. S. [26] A. B. deleros Colg. Boll.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* B. [3] *om.* D. [4] A. C. F. S. iona B. D. [5] commaneret D.

[c] *Diebus.*—See cap. 44, *infra*. In the neighbourhood of Iona barley is occasionally sown early in July; but the usual time of sowing is June; of reaping, the early part of September.

[d] *Metetur.*—The Life of St. Fintan records a much more surprising occurrence: "Fintanus cum suis cum legerent Evangelium, quidam leprosus in vernali tempore venit ad Comgallum, et quod impossibile erat, quærebat ab eo panem scilicet messis nuperrime factæ, quasi segetes in vere maturæ esse solerent. Tunc jussus est a sancto Fintano ut agrum seminare semen, post boves adiret. Primo ergo sulco seminato statim frumentum crevit, et maturuit, et ita mirabiliter recens panis inventus est leproso."—cap. 5 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 11 *b*). See the case recorded by Bede (H. E. iv. 28).

[e] *Delcros.*—Not identified. Possibly the name is formed from ᵭeal3 ꝑoꝑ, 'promontory of thorns.' The ancient Irish Life refers this anecdote to the neighbourhood of Derry: "On a certain occasion he sent his monks into a wood to cut wattling for a church for him in Daire." The title, however, of the present chapter is opposed to such a supposition.

[a] *Munitio Magna.*—The Irish of O'Donnell gives Ꝺuin3eaꝑ moꝑ, for which Colgan substitutes *Rath-mor* (Tr. Th. p. 419 *a*), but erroneously, because that name signifies *Atrium Magnum*, as it is rendered in the Lives of St. Comgall (cap. 45, Flem., Collect. p. 312 *a*), and St. Fintan (cap. 18, Colg. Act. SS. p. 352 *a*), while *Dun* is the word which elsewhere is rendered *Munitio* by Adamnan. *Dun-mor* is the true representative of the Latin name; but there is no place in Iona now so called. There are, however, two eminences in the north of the island called *Dun-i* and *Dun-bhuirg*. The former, which is the highest ground in the island, has no traces of fortification; but the latter, which is more compressed and abrupt, is situate a little to the south-west, commanding a wide prospect on the north, and has round the summit the traces of a parapet such as are often seen enclosing ancient forts in Ireland and Scotland. "The Names of fortified Places in the western Isles, are in several places called *Borg*, and the Villages in which the Forts stand, are always with *Borg*."—Martin, Western Islands, p. 389.

nubem densam et [6]pluvialem, de [7]mari [8]die serena obortam: qua ascendente visa, Sanctus ad quendam de suis juxta se monachum sedentem, nomine [9]Silnanum[b], [10]filium [11]Nemani-don [13]Mocusogin[c], Hæc nubes, ait, valde nocua hominibus et pecoribus erit; hacque die velocius transvolans super aliquantam Scotiæ partem, [14]hoc est, ab illo rivulo qui dicitur Ailbine[d] usque ad Vadum

[6] pluialem A. [7-8] meridie C. [9] A. F. S. siluanum B. C. sillanum D. [10-13] *om.* C. D. F. S. [11] nemãi don A. [11-13] nemaidonmocusogin B. [14-15] *om.* C. D. F. S.

[b] *Silnanum.*—See i. 41 (p. 77), *supra.*

[c] *Mocusogin.*—A clan name, formed probably from mocu Soḡain, *filiorum Soghani*, or mac u Soḡain, *filius nepotum Soghani.* Soghan, or Sodhan, was son of Fiacha Araidhe, founder of the Dal-Araidhe. See O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 327; O'Donovan, Hy Many, p. 72.

[d] *Ailbine.*—This is now corrupted to *Delvin*, but has no connexion with the true Delvin, which is Ḋealḃna, a territorial name. The Delvin river rises in the county of Meath, and, flowing through a rocky valley called the Glen of Roches, passes under Knocknagin Bridge, and falls into the sea at Gormanstown, a little north of Balbriggan. It is an inconsiderable stream, and is only remarkable on account of its old associations, and as being the boundary between the counties of Dublin (Ord. Surv. s. 1) and Meath (*ib.* s. 28). The present allusion to it and Dublin is a very curious topographical notice, for it proves that the territory of Fingall was defined at that early date by the same limits as in modern times. The name Ailbene occurs only once in the Four Masters, but in that instance in exactly the same relation that it does here. A. D. 1052, Creach la mac Mail na mbo hi Fine Ḡhall, ḡo ro loirc an cir ó Ath cliaṫ co hAlbene. 'A foray [was made] by the son of Mael-na-mbo on Fine-Gall, and he burned the country from *Ath-cliath* to *Albene.*' The original name of this territory was Maḡ Muireḋa i mbrḡoiḋ, 'the plain of Muiredh in Bregia' (Four Mast. A. M. 4606), which was preserved until the seventeenth century in the form *Moymurthy*, the name of a manor and chapelry near Gormanstown, in the parish of Moorchurch. (Dean Butler's Trim, p. 262; Leinster Inquis., Meath, No. 153 Car. i.; Bp. Dopping's Visitations of Meath, Marsh's Libr.) In the Dinnseanchus its origin is thus explained:

Maḋ ainm for maiḡe miaḋ n-aic
Ḡairm cian cen cairre comraic
Raiḋcir on cuir eḋan cailc
O Muiriḋaḋ mac Cormaic.

'As for the name of your noble pleasant plain,
'Tis an ancient name without doubt or question;
So called from the high-faced stout pillar,
From Muiredhach son of Cormac.'

This occurs at the close of a poem of twenty-four stanzas, on the origin of *Inbher Ailbine.* Its legend is thus told in the prose recital: "Inbher Ailbine, whence it was named. That is not difficult. Ruadh mac Righduinn, son of the king of Fir-Muiridh, collected a crew of four canoes to cross the sea in order to visit his foster-brother the son of the king of Lochlann. When they reached the middle of the sea, they failed to move in any direction, but stood as if held by an anchor. Ruadh then went out over the ship to ascertain the cause of the detention, and went under the tide, and saw nine women the fairest of the race, holding, three to each canoe. They took Ruadh with them, and he lay nine nights with them in their land; and one of them became pregnant by him. And he promised to visit them on his return, if he could. Ruadh then went to the house of his foster-brother, and remained with him seven years,

[15]Clied[e], pluviam vespere distillabit morbiferam, [16]quæ gravia [17]et purulenta humanis in corporibus, et in pecorum uberibus, [18]nasci faciet ulcera[f]; quibus homines morbidi et pecudes, illa venenosa gravitudine usque ad mortem molestati, laborabunt. Sed nos eorum miserati subvenire languoribus, Domino miserante, debemus. Tu ergo, [19]Silnane, nunc mecum descendens de monte, navigationem præpara crastina die, vita comite et Deo volente, a me pane accepto, Dei invocato nomine [20]benedicto, quo in [21]aqua intincto, homines ea

[15] cleeth B. [16] et D. [17] *om.* D. [18] quæ *add.* D. [19] A. F. S. siluane B. C. sillane D. [20] ad scotiam transfretato *add* S. [21] aquam C.

and then returned. But he kept not his appointment; and he arrived at Muiridh. The nine women then went, having with them the son that had been born, to be avenged of the father; but they met him not. The mother then killed her own and Ruadh's son, and she flung his head on shore. Whereupon all said, as if with one mouth, Ir oill bine, *It is an awful crime;* unde dicitur Inbher Oillbine."

Ard arbert fluag fonard fe
fo ceet Ruad fo gairg fige
uili cen cond im glonn n-gle
ba h-oll ba h-oll in bine.

'Then said the powerful army this,
Ruadh the fierce enjoys the sovereignty
Of all without opposition in fierce deed:
'Tis a great, 'tis a great crime.'

(Book of Ballymote, fol. 191 *a*.)

To this wild, but very ancient, legend may be added another early notice of the stream: "Primo vero venit [S. Patricius] ad vallem Sescnani et aedificavit ibi aecclesiam primam et portavit filium Sesceneum nomine episcopum secum et reliquit ibi .ii. pueros perigrinos. Vespere vero venit ad hostium Ailbine ad quendam virum bonum et babtitzavit illum, et invenit cum illo filium placitum sibi et dedit illi nomen Benignum." Tirechan. (Lib. Armacan. fol. 9 *b a*.) This *hostium Ailbine* was the Inber Oillbine mentioned above.

[e] *Vadum Clied.*—Ath cliath, 'Hurdle ford,' the ancient name of Dublin, and that by which it is still known among the Irish-speaking natives. The Dinnseanchus says that it was called the Ford of Hurdles from the bundles of twigs which the Lagenians, in the reign of their King Mesgeira, placed across the river Liffey for the purpose of conveying the sheep of Athirny Ailgeasach to Dun Edair. See the interesting paper by J. O'Donovan in Dubl. Pen. Journal, vol. i. p. 174. The name, however, was not peculiar to Dublin, for there was an Ath cliath Meadraige, now Clarin Bridge, in Galway; an Ath cliath an Chorainn, now Ballymote, in Sligo. The etymology of the name Dublin is thus given in the ancient Life of St. Coemhgen: "Civitas Athcliath, quæ est in aquilonali Laginensium plaga, super fretum maris posita: et illud Scotice dicitur Dublin, quod sonat Latine Nigra Therma." (Act. SS. Jun. i. p. 319 *a*; Colg. Tr. Th. p. 112 *a*, n. 69, 71; Act. SS. p. 147 *b*, c. 16; Calend. Dungall. Feb. 12.) Cliath, 'a hurdle,' is allied to the old Welsh *cluit*, the Latin *clitellæ*, and more remotely, to *crates* (Anglice *crate*) and its diminutive *craticula;* closely to the Greek κλῆθρα, and its cognate *clathri;* and is directly represented by the later forms, *cleda*, *cleia*, *cleta*, *cloea*, *cloia*, which are to be found in Ducange, in the sense of wicker or basket work, and have passed into French in the form *claie*. See Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. pp. 21, 114, 186.

[f] *Ulcera.*—Not noticed in the Irish Annals.

conspersi[g], et pecora, celerem recuperabunt salutem. Quid moramur? Die crastina, his quæ necessaria erant citius præparatis, [22]Silnanus, accepto de manu Sancti pane benedicto, in pace enavigavit. Cui Sanctus, a se eadem emigranti hora, [23]addit hoc [24]consolatorium verbum, dicens, Confide, fili, ventos habebis secundos et prosperos die noctuque, usque [25]dum ad illam pervenias regionem [26]quæ dicitur Ard [27]Ceannachte[h], ut languentibus ibidem celerius cum salubri subvenias pane. Quid plura? [28]Silnanus, verbo obsecutus Sancti, prospera et [29]celeri [30]navigatione, auxiliante Domino, ad supra memoratam perveniens partem[i] illius regionis, plebem de qua Sanctus prædixerat devasta-

[22] A. B F. S. siluanus C. sillanus D. [23] addidit D. [24] etiam *add.* C. [25] *om.* A. [26-27] *om.* C. D. F. S. [27] cenacte B. [28] A. B. F. S. siluanus C. sillanus D. [29] sceleri B. [30] enavigatione D.

[g] *Conspersi.*—See following chapter, and ii. 33. Thus also Bede relates of St. Oswald's cross: "Nam et usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacrosanctæ crucis astulas excidere solent, quas cum in aquas miserint eisque languentes homines aut pecudes potaverint sive asperserint mox sanitati restituuntur." (H. E. iii. 2.) A like virtue was supposed to reside in Irish manuscripts: "Denique vidimus quibusdam a serpente percussis, rasa folia codicum qui de Hibernia fuerant, et ipsam rasuram aquæ immissam ac potui datam, talibus protinus totam vim veneni grassantis, totam inflati corporis absumsisse ac sedasse tumorem." (*Ib.* i. 1.)

[h] *Ard Ceannachte.*—Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, was slain in battle circ. 240; his son Tadhg, having defeated the Ultonians in the battle of Crinna, received, in consideration of his services, a grant of that part of Bregia extending from Glasnera near Druim-Inesclann [Drumiskin] on the north, to Cnoc Maoildoid by the river Liffey on the south. His descendants were called from his father *the Cianachta*, and this territory, being occupied by them, was called the tṙiúḋa ceḃ Cianaċta, or 'cantred of Cianacht.' Another branch of the family proceeded northward, and obtained a settlement in the present county of Londonderry, to which also the clan name of Cianacht was given, and which for distinction's sake was called Cianaċta glinne geimin, now known as the barony of Keenaght. This grant seems to have resulted from the success of Tadhg at the battle of Carric-Eolairg in the same territory (*Tigh.* 248). But the chief region of the tribe was Cianaċta bṙeġ, 'Cianacht of Bregia,' whose limits were those above mentioned. Daimhliacc [Duleek] in Meath was in the centre of it. Another name was that in the text, Ard Cianaċta, *Altitudo Cianachtorum*, of which we find examples in Tighernach at 248, 662, 688, 736, 742, 748, 749, and in the parallel places of the other Annals. The Four Masters, at 868, describe Druim-caradh, now Drumcar, as situate in Ard Cianachta. The inhabitants of the north portion of the territory were called Fir Ard Cianaċta, *Viri Altitudinis Cianachtorum*, or, more concisely, Fir Ard, which is still preserved in *Ferrard*, the name of the southern barony of Louth, and a Viscountcy in the Irish Peerage. On the name *Cianachta*, see Keating, Hist. (*reg.* Feargus); O'Flaherty, Ogygia, pp. 328, 332; O'Donovan, Book of Rights, p. 186; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 177 *b*, n. 90.

[i] *Supra memoratam partem.*—That is, the portion of Ard Cianachta lying between the Ailbine and Ath-cliath, afterwards known as Fingall. This shows that Ard Cianachta extended southwards to the Liffey.

tam nubis prædictæ morbifera reperiit pluvia [31]superpluente, citius [32]præcurrentis. Inprimisque bis terni viri in eadem mari vicina[k] domo reperti in extremis morte positi appropinquante, ab eodem [33]Silnano aqua benedictionis aspersi, in eodem [34]die opportunius sanati sunt. Cujus subitæ sanationis rumor, per totam illam, morbo [35]pestilentiore vastatam, regionem cito divulgatus, omnem morbidum ad sancti Columbæ legatum invitavit populum; qui, juxta Sancti mandatum, homines et pecora pane [36]intincta benedicto aqua conspersit, et continuo plenam recuperantes salutem, homines, cum pecudibus salvati, Christum in sancto Columba cum eximia gratiarum actione laudarunt. In hac [37]itaque suprascripta narratione, ut æstimo, duo hæc manifeste pariter [38]comitantur; hoc est, gratia prophetationis de nube, et virtutis miraculum in ægrotantium [39]sanitate. Hæc per omnia esse verissima, supradictus [40]Silnanus, Christi miles, sancti legatus[l] Columbæ, coram [41]Segineo[m] abbate et ceteris testatus est senioribus.

[1]DE [2]MAUGINA SANCTA VIRGINE DAIMENI FILIA QUÆ INHABITAVERAT IN [3]CLOCHUR FILIORUM DAIMENI.

[4]ALIO in [5]tempore Sanctus, [6]cum in [7]Ioua demoraretur insula, prima diei hora, quendam [8]advocans fratrem, [9]Lugaidum[a] nomine, [10]cujus cognomentum Scotice Lathir[b] [11]dicitur; et taliter eum compellat, dicens, Præpara cito ad [12]Scotiam celerem navigationem, nam mihi valde est necesse te usque ad [13]Clocherum [14]filiorum [15]Daimeni[c] destinare legatum. In hac enim præterita

[31] superfluente C. [32] præcurrens F. [33] A. B. F. S. siluano C. sillano D. [34] *om.* B. [35] pestilencie B. [36] A. B. F. intincto C. D. [37] equidem D. [38] comittuntur B. [39] sanctitate C. [40] A. B. F. S. siluanus C. sillanus D. [41] segeneo C. D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] mauguina B. [3] loco qui scottice dicitur *add.* B. clocher B. [4-5] *om.* D. [6] columba *add.* D. [7] A. C. F. S. iona B. D. [8] advocat F. [9] lugaidium B. lugidum D. [10-11] *om.* C. D. F. S. [12] hyberniam D. [13] chiliocherum C. clochor D. [14-15] *om.* C. D. F. S.

[k] *Mari vicina.*—The territory spoken of in the text skirts the sea for fifteen miles.

[l] *Legatus Columbæ.*—See i. 18, 31, *supra;* cap. 5, 38, *infra.*

[m] *Segineo.*—See i. 1 (p. 16), 3 (p. 26), *supra.*

[a] *Lugaidum.*—*Hib.* Luġaiḋ. See i. 22 (p. 51) *supra.*

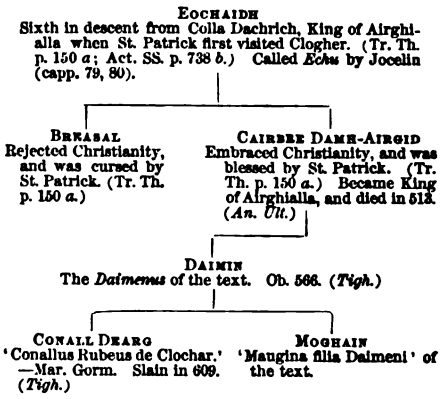
[b] *Lathir.*—Hibernice laiḋiṙ 'fortis.' *Laitirus,* ii. 38, *infra.*

[c] *Clocherum filiorum Daimeni.*—Clochaṙ mac nDaiṁene is a form in which the name of Clogher is frequently found. See Ann. Ult. 769, 841, 868, 930, 960, 1137. The distinction was not unnecessary, for Cloḋaṙ, which signi-

nocte, casu aliquo, [16]Maugina[d], sancta virgo, [17]filia [18]Daimeni, ab oratorio post missam domum reversa, titubavit, coxaque ejus in duas confracta est partes. Hæc sæpius meum, inclamitans, nomen commemorat, a Domino sperans se accepturam per me consolationem. [19]Quid plura? [20]Lugaido obsecundanti, et consequenter emigranti, Sanctus pineam tradit cum benedictione [21]capsellam, dicens, Benedictio, quæ in hac [22]capsellula continetur, quando ad [23]Mauginam

[16] mauguina B. magnia D. [17-18] *om.* C. D. F. S. [19] et *add.* D. [20] luigido D. [21] capsulam D. [22] capsula D. [23] mauguinam B. maguiam D.

fies 'a stony place,' is of such frequent occurrence, that among the townland names in Ireland there are no less than forty-five instances of *Clogher*, and forty-two of the same word in composition. The nucleus of the settlement mentioned in the text was the earthen fort in the episcopal demesne, which was anciently called *Rath-mor Maighe-Leamhna*, and was said to have been constructed in the beginning of the second century by Baine, wife of King Tuathal Teachtmar (Four Mast. 111; O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 303). It afterwards became the seat of the kings of Airghialla, and when St. Maccarthen founded the see of Clogher in this place, it was in compliance with the instructions of St. Patrick: "Vade in pace fili, et monasterium tibi construe in platea ante regalem sedem Urgallensium." (Colg. Act. SS. p. 738 *b*, c. 7.) Hence it was that this church, being grafted on the lordship, acquired precedence in the dominions of Airghialla, so that in after ages *episcopus Ergalliæ* became a common designation of the bishops of Clogher. The *filii Daimeni*, from whom the place took its distinctive name, were sons of Damhin, son of Cairbre Damhairgid, King of Airghialla, and were called the *Clann Damhin* (Ogyg. p. 365); whose descendants retained the name, and were represented in 1353 by the family of Duibthire, now Dwyer (Cambrens. Evers. vol. i. p. 246 *reprint*). Mugania was ingen Damhin, 'daughter of Damhin.' The following table will illustrate the family relations:



There was also a *Clann*, or *Cinel-Fiach*, derived from Tuathal, son of Niall, who were settled near Clogher. "Daimhin Drech-argaid [silver face], i. e. Tuathalan of the North, had seven sons in Feara Leamhna, and it is they who are called the *Sil Tuathail* at Clochar-mac-Daimhin. Others say that these sons who are about Clochar were not the sons of Tuathal, but of Daimhin Drech-airgid. This, however, is not correct, for they were sons to Tuathal of the North, and this Tuathal was called Daimhin."—Mac Firbis, Geneal. MS. p. 169. The name *Damhin* is the diminutive of *Damh*, 'bos,' and may be rendered *Vitulus*. See Colg. Act. SS. p. 216 *b*, n. 14; Tr. Th. p. 381 *b*, n. 7.

[d] *Maugina—Hib.* Mogain. Three virgins of this name are commemorated in the Calendar, at Nov. 15, Dec. 9, Dec. 15; but the only one

pervenies visitandam, in [24]aquæ vasculum intingatur, eademque benedictionis aqua super ejus infundatur coxam; et statim, invocato Dei nomine, coxale conjungetur os[e], et densabitur; et sancta virgo plenam recuperabit salutem. Et hoc Sanctus [25]addit, En ego [26]coram in [27]hujus [28]capsæ operculo numerum viginti trium annorum [29]describo, quibus sacra virgo in hac præsenti, [30]post eandem [31]salutem, victura est vita. [32]Quæ omnia sic plene expleta sunt, sicuti a Sancto prædicta: nam statim ut [33]Lugaidus ad sanctam pervenit virginem, aqua benedicta, sicut Sanctus commendavit, perfusa coxa, sine ulla morula condensato osse, plene sanata est; et in adventu [34]legati sancti Columbæ cum ingenti gratiarum actione gavisa, viginti tribus annis, secundum Sancti prophetiam, post sanitatem, in bonis actibus permanens, vixit.

[1]DE HIS QUÆ IN DORSO [2]CEATE [3]PERACTÆ SUNT DIVERSORUM SANITATIBUS MORBORUM.

VIR vitæ prædicabilis, [4]sicuti nobis ab expertis traditum est, diversorum languores infirmorum, invocato Christi nomine, illis in diebus sanavit, quibus, ad regum pergens condictum[a] in [5]Dorso [6]Cette,[b] brevi commoratus est tempore. Nam aut sanctæ manus protensione, aut aqua ab eo benedicta, ægroti plures aspersi, aut etiam fimbriæ ejus tactu [7]amphibali[c], aut alicujus rei, salis videlicet vel panis, benedictione accepta, et lymphis intincta, plenam credentes recuperarunt salutem.

[24] aqua C. [25] addidit D. [26] A. B. ponam C. Colg. Boll. dico D. [27] ejus B. [28] capsulæ C. [29] B. *om.* A. C. D. F. S. [30] vita *add.* S. [31] *om.* S. [32] ponam *add.* S. [33] lugidus D. [34] *om.* C.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] cete B. [3] peracta B. [4] columba *add.* D. [5-6] colle qui vocatur ꝺꞇuim ċeaꝺ D. [6] cete B. caetae C. cettae F. [7] C. D. anfibali A. B. (*vid. var. lect.* 12, *p.* 25, *supra*) amfibali F. ansibali Colg. amphilabi Boll.

with whom the present individual can be identified is the Moꝺam oꝺ o Cluam boꞇenn, 'Moghain, virgin, of Cluainboirenn,' of Dec. 15. Clonburren is in the parish of Moore, county of Roscommon. Its distance, however, from Clogher is in itself no hindrance to the identification, for it was situate in the territory of the Hy-Many, a branch of the Airghialla, who had removed to Connaught at an early period; and ecclesiastical connexion at this date in Ireland was influenced more by family relation than by local circumstances.

[e] *Conjungetur os.*—A bit of moss from the cross of St. Oswald is related by Bede to have effected a similar cure. (H. E. iii. 2.) See Vit. Moluæ, c. 34. (Fleming, Collectan. p. 375 *a.*)

[a] *Condictum.*—See note [a], i. 49 (p. 91) *supra.*

[b] *Dorso Cette.*—Druimceatt. See note [b], i. 10 (p. 37), and note [a], i. 49 (p. 91) *supra.*

[c] *Amphibali.*—See i. 3 (p. 25) *supra.* The

[1]DE PETRA SALIS A SANCTO BENEDICTA, QUAM IGNIS ABSUMERE NON POTUIT.

[2]ALIO itidem in tempore, [3]Colgu[a] filius Cellachi [4]postulatam [5]a Sancto [6]petram [7]salis [8]benedictam accipit, sorori et suæ nutrici [9]profuturam, [10]quæ ophthalmiæ laborabat valde gravi [11]languore. Talem eulogiam[b] eadem soror et nutricia de manu fratris accipiens, in pariete super lectum suspendit; casuque post aliquantos contigit dies, ut idem viculus, cum supradictæ domuncula feminæ, flamma vastante, totus concremaretur. Mirum dictu, illius parietis particula, ne beati viri in ea deperiret suspensa benedictio, post totam ambustam domum, stans illæsa permansit; nec ignis ausus est attingere binales, in quibus [12]talis pendebat [13]salis [14]petra, sudes[c].

[1]DE LIBRARIO FOLIO SANCTI MANU DESCRIPTO, QUOD AQUA CORRUMPI NON POTUIT.

ALIUD [2]miraculum æstimo non tacendum, quod aliquando factum est per contrarium elementum. Multorum namque transcursis annorum circulis post beati [3]ad Dominum transitum viri, quidam juvenis de equo lapsus in flumine, [4]quod Scotice [5]Boend[a] [6]vocitatur, mersus et mortuus, viginti sub aqua diebus

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. *in quibus* cap. v. *continuatur.* [2-4] *om.* D. [3] colgiu B. [5] quidam homo *add.* D. [6] columba D. [7] sal D. [8] benedictum D. [9] profuturum D. [10] oculorum dolori *add.* D. [11] id est oculorum dolore *add.* C. [12] tale D. [13] sal D. [14] *om.* D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] ut *add.* D. [3] columbe *add.* D. [4-6] *om.* C. D. F. S. [5] bofind B.

term is thus explained in the Life of St. Deicola: "Ipse vero de itinere lassus, antequam sessum pergeret, birrum suum, quem Græci amphiballum vocant, deponere voluit, refrigerandi gratia."—cap. 4. (Colg. Act. SS. p. 119 *b*.) So, in Sulpicius Severus: "Diaconus vero nihil intelligens, quia extrinsecus indutum amphibalo, veste nudum interius non videbat."—Dialog. de S. Martino (Lib. Armacan. fol. 209 *a b*; p. 576, ed. Hornii). From an erroneous reading in the Acts of St. Alban, the term *amphibalus* has been converted into a proper name, and a saint so called has been appropriated to the church of Winchester, and a festival assigned him at the 25th of June. See Ussher (Wks. vol. v. p. 181, vi. p. 58).

[a] *Colgu.*—See note [a], i. 35 (p. 65) *supra.*

[b] *Eulogiam.*—It is called *benedictio* further on in this chapter. The Greek word occurs sixteen times in the New Testament; and in 1 Sam. xxv. 27, it is employed by the LXX. to express what the Vulgate renders *benedictio*, in the sense of a present. It is used in a different sense in chap. 13, *infra;* where see note. See also Suicer, Thesaur. Eccl. *in voce* (tom. i. col. 1248); Du Cange, Glossar. *in voce.*

[c] *Sudes.*—These were the stakes or uprights, which formed the skeleton of the hurdle wall. See note [a], cap. 3 (p. 106) *supra.*

[a] *Boend—Hib.* bóinne. "Vadum Carnoi i

permansit; qui, sicuti sub [7]ascella[b], cadens, libros in pelliceo reconditos [c]sacculo habebat, ita etiam post supra memoratum dierum numerum est repertus, sacculum cum libris inter [8]brachium et latus continens; cujus etiam ad aridam

[7] asella C. assella D. axilla Boll. [8] manum D.

mBoend." Tirechan (Lib. Armac. fol. 11 *a a*); "Amnis Boindeo." Id. (*Ib.* fol. 16 *b a.*) Βοουίνδα, Ptolemy. Latinized *Buvinda.* On the present form of the name, see Zeuss, Gram. Celt. pp. 67, 74. The river Boyne, famous in the military history of Ireland, rises in the north-west of the county of Kildare, and, entering the county of Meath, pursues a north-easterly course, and, widening as it approaches Drogheda, falls into the sea at Colpe, the ancient inber Colpcha. It was the southern limit of Ulster in its largest proportions, and was also a boundary of Bregia. (O'Donovan, Ir. Gram. p. 318.) An interesting account of the river and its neighbourhood, along its entire course, may be seen in Wilde's Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater (Dubl. 1850).

[b] *Ascella.*—Or *axilla.* See i. 24 (p. 54), *supra.*

[c] *Pelliceo sacculo.*—For convenience and safety's sake, the service-books, which the itinerant habits of the early Irish ecclesiastics required them to carry about from place to place, were provided with leather cases which varied in size and execution. They were called polaire and ciaga, which are thus distinguished in the ancient Irish Life of St. Columba: uair ba ber do rum crerra acar polaire acar ciaga lebor acar aiome eclartacda do denum, 'for it was his custom to make crosses, and *cases*, and *satchels* for books, and all church furniture.' The polaire (written poolire in the Book of Armagh, fol. 18 *a b*) is explained in an old gloss, ainm do ceig liubair, 'name for a cover of a book,' and seems to have been the case of a single book, carefully formed and embossed. Thus St. Dega, a famous artificer, among other articles of ecclesiastical furniture, is said to have made "*librorum cooperatoria*, quædam horum nuda, quædam vero alia auro atque argento gemmisque pretiosis circumtecta."—Acta SS. Aug. tom. iii. p. 659 *a.* Of leather cases the cover of the Book of Armagh is the most interesting example now remaining. It came, together with its inestimable enclosure, into the writer's possession at the end of 1853, and is now lying before him. It is formed of a single piece of strong leather 36 inches long, and 12 broad, folded in such a way as to form a six-sided case 12 inches long, $12\frac{3}{4}$ broad, and $2\frac{1}{3}$ thick, having a flap which doubles over in front; and is furnished with a rude lock, and eight staples, admitted through perforations in the flap, for short iron rods to enter, and meet at the lock. The whole outer surface, which has become perfectly black from age, is covered with figures and interlacings of the Irish pattern in relief, which appear to have been produced by subjecting the leather in a damp state, before it was folded, to pressure upon a block of the whole size having a depressed pattern, and allowing it to remain till the impression became indelible. A reduced drawing of the back, faithfully executed, may be seen in Petrie's Round Towers, p. 327. But as this case does not fit the book, which, without the boards, measures only $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches and is thicker than the receptacle, it is likely to have been one of a number of impressions executed from the same block for various manuscripts. At the upper corners of the sides are the remains of coarse straps which were stitched on with leather thongs. These were for the purpose of slinging the case from the shoulder, like a modern postbag. It is remarkable that all the books in the library of the Abyssinian monastery of Souriani, on the Natron Lakes in Egypt, were recently found by an

reportato cadavere, et aperto sacculo, folium sancti Columbæ sanctis scriptum [9]digitulis, inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupta sed et putrefacta, inventum est [10]siccum [11]et nullo modo corruptum, ac si in [12]scriniolo esset reconditum.

[1]DE ALIO MIRACULO IN RE SIMILI GESTO.

ALIO in tempore, hymnorum liber[a] septimaniorum sancti Columbæ manu descriptus, de cujusdam pueri de ponte elapsi humeris, cum pelliceo in quo inerat sacculo[b], in quodam partis Laginorum[c] fluvio submersus cecidit. Qui

[9] digitis D. [10-11] *om.* C. D. [12] scrinio C. D.
[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll.

English traveller in a condition singularly resembling that of the Book of Armagh, and adding an interesting illustration of a practice probably derived from the same school. "The books of Abyssinia are bound in the usual way, sometimes in red leather and sometimes in wooden boards, which are occasionally elaborately carved in rude and coarse devices: they are then enclosed in a case, tied up with leather thongs; to this case is attached a strap, for the convenience of carrying the volume over the shoulders; and by these straps the books are hung to the wooden pegs, three or four on a peg, or more if the books were small: their usual size was that of a small, very thick quarto."—Curzon's Monasteries of the Levant, p. 93 (Lond. 1849), where see the interesting drawing of the library of Souriani. Concerning the larger leather receptacles for books, see the note [b] on the following chapter.

[a] *Hymnorum liber.*—A volume containing hymns for the various services of each day in the week. We have no collection remaining to answer the present description; but there are abundant materials for an Irish Hymnal preserved in the Antiphonary of Bangor, the Leabhar Breac, Mone's Hymni Medii Ævi (Freyburg, 1853–4), and, above all, the celebrated *Liber Hymnorum*, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which Dr. Todd has undertaken to edit for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, and of which the first fasciculus has already appeared.

[b] *Pelliceo sacculo.*—Besides the *polaire*, the Irish employed, for the carriage of their books, leather receptacles of larger and rougher construction. These were called ꞇꞇꞇꞇ, or 'satchels,' and were generally carried on the back. We do not find this term in the Latin lives, but, instead of it, we meet the word *scetha*, which assumes the various forms of *sceta*, *squesa*, and *cetha*, and is probably akin to the English word *sheath*. The earliest allusion to such receptacles is probably that in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick: "Dum enim ipse vir Apostolicus in Romano [de Britannia regressus—*Jocelin*] itinere constitutus esset, occurrerunt ei in via sex clerici Hiberni, Romam peregrinationis causa tendentes totidemque pueri eorum codices cingulis appensos, gestantes. Hoc videns vir Dei, ait, ecce vobis pellem quandam, super qua ego olim in Hibernia discumbere, et in celebratione missarum annis duodecim stare consueveram, ex ea facite vobis peram, in qua libros gestetis."—ii. 9. (Tr. Th. p. 130 *b*.) In the Life of St. Kiaran we find mention made of the "sarcina *cethæ* quæ erat de pelle facta, in qua evangelium positum erat, [quæ] circa pe-

videlicet libellus, a Natalitio Domini usque ad Paschalium consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quendam Iogenanum[d] presbyterum, gente Pictum[e], cujus prius juris erat, in eodem, non solum madefacto, sed etiam putrefacto, portatur sacculo. Quem scilicet sacculum idem Iogenanus aperiens, suum incorruptum libellum invenit, et ita nitidum et siccum, ac si in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore, et nunquam in aquas cecidisset. Sed et alia de libris manu sancti Columbæ [2]caraxatis[f] similia ab expertis indubitanter didicimus in diversis acta locis: qui scilicet libri, in aquis mersi, nullo modo corrumpi potuere[g]. De [3]supra memorato vero [4]Iogenani libro a viris quibusdam veracibus et perfectis bonique testimonii, sine ulla ambiguitate, relationem

[2] craxatis. [3] supramemorati B. [4] eugenani A.

dem vaccæ adhæsit, et sic vacca in pede *cetham* traxit secum ad terram, et inventus est liber evangelii in *cetha pellicea* putrefacta siccus et aridus atque candidus sine ullo humore ac si conditus esset in biblioteca."—c. 27 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *a a.*) "S. Kiaranus benedixit fratribus suis, et accipiens *cethas* suas cum libris in humeris, perrexit inde."—*Ib.* c. 25. (*Ibid.* fol. 146 *b b.*) "Ignis non ausus est partem urere in qua *squesa* cum libris sancti viri fuerat." Vit. S. Cainnichi, c. 31 (p. 19, ed. Orm.) "Dixit Sanctus, Nos ambo eamus in viam et *squesam* nostram cum libris deduc tecum." Again: "Libros de *squesa* prome et nos interim legamus." *Ib.* c. 53. (*Ib.* p. 32.) "Duas *cethas* libris plenas suis humeris imposuit." Vit. S. Carthaci (Act. SS. Maii, tom. iii. p. 380 *b*). Reliques also were carried in these satchels: "Aperiens jam S. Fiachra *scetam* suam ad ducendum inde librum baptismi, brachium S. Comgalli in aërem sursum velociter avolavit." Vit. S. Comgalli, c. 50. (Fleming, Collect., p. 313 *a.*) This last passage is the only authority for the word in Du Cange. It is worthy of notice that in Sulpicius Severus' Preface to his Life of St. Martin, where the printed text reads,—"Libellum quem de vita S. Martini scripseram *scheda* sua premere," (Horn. p. 483), the Book of Armagh uses the more significant term *scetha* (fol. 191 *a a*). See the curious mention of ꞇiaꝺa in the legend of Longaradh (Todd's Introd. to Book of Obits of C. C., p. lxxi.); from which it may be inferred that they used to be hung up in the manner already mentioned.

[c] *Laginorum.*—From Laiġen, 'Leinster.'

[d] *Iogenanum.*—The name of King Ædan's son. See iii. 5, *infra.* We meet *Eugenanus* in the An. Ult. 659, 691, 700.

[e] *Pictum.*—Here we find a Pictish priest living in Leinster. Dalaradia was the proper region of the Picts in Ireland; we are told, however, of an early settlement of Picts in Breghmagh in Meath. (Keating, Hist. vol. i. p. 318, ed. Haliday.) *Eochaigh Iarlaithe* ṗi Cṗuiṫne Mıḋhı [rex Pictorum Midensium] *mortuus est.* Tigh. 666.

[f] *Caraxatis.*—See note [d], Pr. 1 (p. 4) *supra.*

[g] *Corrumpi potuere.*—This virtue of resisting the influence of water was, however, supposed to reside generally in the writings of the early Irish saints, and formed one of the standing subjects for legends in the compiling of their Lives. Thus, St. Kiaran's copy of the Gospels fell into a lake, and remained there till it was brought out uninjured, adhering to the foot of a cow, which went in to cool herself (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *a a*). St. Cronan's Gospels fell

accepimus; qui eundem libellum, post tot supradictos submersionis dies, candidissimum et lucidissimum considerarunt.

Hæc duo[h], quamlibet in rebus parvis peracta, et per contraria ostensa elementa, ignem scilicet et aquam, beati testantur honorem viri, et quanti et qualis meriti apud habeatur [5]Dominum.

[1]DE AQUA QUÆ SANCTO ORANTE EX DURA PRODUCTA EST [2]PETRA.

Et quia paulo superius aquatici facta est mentio elementi, silere non debemus [3]etiam alia miracula, quæ per Sanctum Dominus ejusdem in re, licet diversis temporibus et locis, creaturæ [4]peregit. [5]Alio namque [6]in tempore, cum Sanctus in sua [7]conversaretur [8]peregrinatione, [9]infans [10]ei per parentes [11]ad baptizandum [12]offertur [13]iter [13]agenti; et quia in vicinis aqua non inveniebatur locis, Sanctus, ad proximam declinans rupem, flexis genibus paulisper oravit, et post orationem surgens, ejusdem rupis [14]frontem benedixit; [15]de qua consequenter aqua [16]abundanter ebulliens fluxit; in [17]qua continuo [18]infantem baptizavit. De quo [19]etiam baptizato hæc, vaticinans, intulit verba, inquiens, Hic puerulus usque [20]in extremam [21]longævus vivet ætatem; in annis juvenilibus carnalibus desideriis satis serviturus, et deinceps Christianæ usque [22]in exitum militiæ mancipandus, in bona senectute ad Dominum emigrabit. Quæ omnia eidem viro juxta Sancti contigerunt vaticinium. [23]Hic erat [24]Lugucencalad[a], cujus parentes fuerant in [25]Artdaib Muirchol[b], ubi [26]hodieque [27]fonticulus, [28]sancti nomine Columbæ [29]pollens, cernitur.

[5] deum B.

[1-4] *titul. rubrica script.* B. *om.* C. F. S. [1-8] *om.* D. [2] petro A. [3] et B. [5] *incipit* cap. vi. C. F. S. [6] *om.* C. [7] versaretur C. [9] quodam die *add.* D. [10] sancto columbe iter agenti D. [11] est D. [12] oblatus D. [13] *om.* D. [14] fontem C. [15] ex qua quidem rupe aqua profluit *add.* D. [16-17] *om.* D. [18] infantulum D. [19] et C. [20] ad C. [21] B. longeus A. *vide var. lect.* 26, p. 82. [22] ad B. [23-26] *om.* C. D. F. S. [24] ligu cencalad A. lugucen calath B. [25] ardaib muircol B. [27] et qui *add.* C. qui *add.* D. [28] adhuc *add.* C. D. F. S. [29] ibidem *add.* C. D. F. S.

into Loch Cre, and remained under water without injury for forty days (Act. SS. April. tom. iii. p. 582 *b*). St. Finnian left his book open under rain without its being affected (Vit. S. Cadoci, Rees, Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 39). In like manner St. Aidan's book, though exposed to a flood, remained intact. (Vit. S. David, *Ibid*, p. 131; Colg. A. SS. pp. 209 *b*, c. 12; 427 *b*, c. 16.) St. Abban's book lay on a stone exposed to a snow storm, and escaped without a drop. (Colg. A. SS. p. 618 *b*, c. 33.) St. Cainnech's case of books resisted even fire. (Vit. c. 31, p. 19, Ed. Orm; Brev. Aberd. Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 126 *aa*.)

[h] *Duo.*—There were *three* miracles.

[a] *Lugucen-calad.*—Probably *Luguсen*, a diminutive of *Luguсu*, and *calad*, 'of the ferry.

[b] *Artdaib Muirchol.*—See note [b], i. 12 (p. 40).

[1]DE ALIA MALIGNA FONTANA AQUA QUAM VIR BEATUS IN PICTORUM REGIONE BENEDIXIT.

[2]ALIO in [3]tempore, vir beatus, [4]cum in Pictorum provincia[a] per aliquot demoraretur dies, audiens in plebe gentili de alio fonte divulgari famam, quem quasi [5]deum[b] stolidi homines, diabolo eorum obcæcante sensus, venerabantur; [6]nam de eodem [7]fonticulo bibentes, aut in eo manus vel pedes de industria lavantes, dæmoniaca, Deo permittente, percussi arte, aut [8]leprosi, aut lusci, aut etiam debiles, aut quibuscunque aliis infestati infirmitatibus [9]revertebantur. Ob quæ omnia seducti gentiles divinum fonti deferebant honorem. Quibus compertis, Sanctus alia die intrepidus accessit ad fontem. Quod videntes magi[c], quos [10]sæpe ipse confusos et victos a se repellebat, valde gavisi sunt, scilicet putantes eum similia illius nocuæ tactu aquæ passurum. Ille vero imprimis elevata manu sancta, cum invocatione Christi nominis, manus lavat et pedes; [11]tum deinde cum sociis de eadem, a se benedicta, [12]bibit. Ex illaque die dæmones ab eodem recesserunt fonte, et non solum nulli nocere permissus est, sed etiam, post Sancti benedictionem et in eo lavationem, multæ in populo infirmitates per eundem sanatæ sunt fontem.

[1]DE BEATI VIRI IN MARI PERICULO, ET TEMPESTATIS [2]EO ORANTE SUBITA SEDATIONE.

[3]ALIO in tempore, [4]vir sanctus [5]in mari periclitari cœpit; totum [6]namque vas navis, valde concussum, magnis undarum cumulis fortiter feriebatur, grandi

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll., cap. vi. *continuatur.* [2-3] *om.* D. [4] columba *add.* D. [5] divinum C. D. [6-9] *om.* Colg. Boll. [7] fonte D. [8] lepri A. [10] *om.* D. [11] tunc D. [12] aqua *add.* C. aqua *manu correctoris suprascriptum* F.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* B. [3-4] *om.* D. [5] columba aliquando *add.* D. [6] que D.

[a] *Pictorum provincia.*—The Dorsum Britannicum, as in the *Capitula* (p. 100), was the boundary between the Picts and the Scots. See note [a], i. 34 (p. 64) *supra.*

[b] *Quasi deum.*—This heathen veneration for fountains seems to have prevailed in Ireland also. Tirechan relates of St. Patrick that "Venit ad fontem Findmaige qui dicitur Slan quia indicatum illi quod honorabant magi fontem, et immolaverunt dona ad illum in donum dii, quia adorabant fontem in modum dii." (Lib. Armac. fol. 13 *b b.*) See Vit. Trip. ii. 70. (Tr. Th. p. 138 *b.*) The transmission of this feeling to succeeding generations, under Christianity, may account for the esteem in which holy wells have ever been held by the Irish, a

undique insistente ventorum tempestate. Nautæ [7]tum forte Sancto, [8]sentinam cum illis exhaurire conanti, [9]aiunt, Quod nunc agis non magnopere nobis [10]proficit periclitantibus; exorare potius debes pro pereuntibus. Quo audito, aquam cessat amaram exinanire, [11]hininglas[a]; dulcem vero et intentam precem cœpit ad Dominum fundere. Mirum dictu, eodem horæ momento, quo Sanctus, in prora stans, extensis ad cœlum palmis, Omnipotentem exoravit, tota aeris tempestas et maris sævitia, dicto citius sedata, cessavit, et statim serenissima tranquillitas [12]subsecuta est. Qui vero [13]navi [14]inerant, obstupefacti, cum magna admiratione, referentes gratias, glorificaverunt [15]Dominum in sancto et prædicabili viro.

[1]DE ALIO EJUS IN MARI[a] SIMILI PERICULO[2].

[3]ALIO [4]quoque [4]in tempore, sæva nimis insistente et periculosa tempestate, sociis, ut pro eis Sanctus Dominum exoraret, [5]inclamitantibus; hoc eis dedit responsum, dicens, Hac in die non est meum pro vobis in hoc periculo constitutis orare, sed est abbatis [6]Cainnichi[b], sancti viri. Mira dicturus sum. Eadem

[7-9] ad sanctum exhaurientem secum aquam adeunt D. [8] *om.* C. [10] proficitis D. [11] hinin glas A. hinninglas B. *om.* C. D. F. S. [12] supersecuta C. [13-14] in navi erant C. D. F. S. [15] deum B. D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] in vortice brecain *add.* B. [3] cap. vii. *contin.* C. D. F. S. [4] *om.* D. [5] clamitantibus D. [6] cahinnichi C. cainnici D.

sentiment not likely to have been prompted by rarity or intrinsic value in an over-irrigated country.

[c] *Magi.*—See note [1], i. 37 (p. 73) *supra.*

[a] *Hininglas.*—This curious word, being unnoticed by Colgan, was not likely to receive a satisfactory explanation from editors unacquainted with the Irish language. The Bollandist observes: "Nomen (ut credo) antiquum tractus illius marini." Pinkerton, with unusual caution: "Sic MS. Reg. sed quod *hininglas* vult nescio." The explanation of the word, however, is simply this: the biographer, playing upon the word *fundere*, institutes a comparison between the *aquam amaram* and *dulcem precem*, and as he uses, for the sake of antithesis, an ambiguous word *amara*, as applied to sea-water, he adds the common vernacular expression *hininglas*, which, according to modern orthography, would be written ın n-ɡlaṙ, that is, *the green element;* or ɡlaıṙ na maṙa, as it is now usually called, i. e. *vitrea aqua maris.* The word may either have been a gloss on the text, which, from a form like this,

.ı. hın ınɡlaṙ
aquam amaram

crept, in the process of transcription, into the text; or, what is more likely, it may have been a parenthetical explanation, added, in the tenor of the narrative, by the original writer. The word hın or ın is the old form of the article an, and ınɡlaṙ, of the modern n-ɡlaıṙ, 'green water.' The author's words, *vitreas aquas*, in chap. 22, *infra*, are equivalent to the Irish expression here. It may be observed that ɡlaıṙeaḋ, also derived from ɡlaṙ, 'green,' signifies 'the foam of the sea.' The word ɡlaṙ signifies also 'a rivulet.' See cap. 36, *infra.*

hora sanctus [7]Cainnichus, in suo [8]conversans monasterio, quod [9]Latine Campulus Bovis dicitur, [10]Scotice vero [11]Ached-bou[c], Spiritu revelante Sancto, supradictam sancti Columbæ interiore cordis aure vocem audierat; et cum [12]forte post nonam cœpisset horam in [13]refectorio [14]eulogiam[d] frangere, ocius

[7] cahinnichus C. [8] commanens D. [9-11] scotice dicitur achaď bó .ı. ager vacarum D. [10-11] *om.* C. F. S. [11] A. achetbbou B. [12] *om.* D. [13] oratorio C. D. [14] eylogiam *sic cap.* vii. (*p.* 114) *supra* (*litera Y ex græca* Y *efficta*) A.

[a] *Mari.*—The cod. B. limits it to the *Vortex Brecain*, or Coire Brecain, the dangerous sea between Rathlin Island and the north coast of Ireland. See note [c], i. 5 (p. 29) *supra.*

[b] *Cainnichi.*—This famous saint, of whom frequent mention is made by Adamnan, was born in 517, and died in 600. He was a native of Keenaght, in the county of Londonderry, in which barony his principal northern church, called Drumachose, was situated, where for many centuries his memory was specially venerated, and the superior of which was styled 'the Coarb of Cainnech in Cianacht.' See Reeves' Colton's Visit. pp. 25, 39, 132; Eccles. Ant. p. 374. For his descent see the note on *Cainnechus Mocu Dalon*, iii. 17, *infra.* His principal churches in the south were Aghaboe, on which see next note, and the two Kilkennys, on which see note [b], i. 4 (p. 28) *supra.* In Scotland he is generally called Kenneth; and Kilkenneth, or Kilchenzie, is a common name of churches in Argyleshire and the Western Islands. His festival, both in Ireland and Scotland, is October 11. There are six lessons at his festival in the Breviary of Aberdeen, intituled, "Sancti caynici abbatis qui in Kennoquhy in diocesi sancti andree pro patrono habetur." The church here mentioned is Kennoway in Fife.

[c] *Ached-bou.*—Now Aghaboe, a parish in the Queen's County, and diocese of Ossory. The site and lands of the monastery were granted to St. Cainnech by his patron, Colman, son of Feradach, King of Ossory. See note [a], i. 11 (p. 39) *supra.* "Sanctus Cainnicus a sua civitate Achedbo i. e. Agro Boum." (Vit. c. 38, Cod. Marsh.) "Campulus bovis." (Vit. c. 43, p. 26, ed. Orm.) "Sanctus Cainnicus in monasterio Achadh-bo v. Id. Octob. feliciter migravit ad Dominum." (Vit. c. 46, Cod. Marsh.) Aghaboe subsequently became the episcopal seat of Ossory: "Anno Domini MCIL [*recte* MCCIL.] obiit reverendus pater Felix Odullane episcopus Ossoriensis; cujus ecclesia cathedralis tunc erat apud Aghboo in superiori Ossoria."—Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vi. p. 526). Before 1250 the cathedral was transferred to Kilkenny [Cill Cainnigh, 'Cainnech's church'], where was an ancient religious establishment, of which the Round Tower still remains an evidence. See Harris' Ware's Works, vol. i. pp. 399, 403, 406; Archdall's Monasticon Hib. p. 588. In the Taxations contained in the Red Book of Ossory, Aghaboe is the head of a Rural Deanery (fol. 21, 24). A very interesting memoir of Aghaboe, compiled about 1793, by Dr. Edward Ledwich, then incumbent of the parish, appears in Mason's Parochial Survey of Ireland (vol. i. pp. 13–78); in which work it is stated that reprints of Ledwich's account of Aghaboe, and Sir John Sinclair's account of Thurso (Old Stat. Surv. of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 493), were circulated among the clergy of Ireland as models for their contributions to an Irish Parochial Survey. (p. xii.) On the orthography of the name, see Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. p. 67.

[d] *Eulogiam.*—"Id est, *salutationem*, vel *donum.*"—Gloss. interlin. Cod. D. "Edulia sacerdotis benedictione consecrata."—Ind. Onomast. Act. SS. Jul. tom. i. In ecclesiastical language, Εὐλογία primarily signified the Eucharist, but afterwards it came to denote 'consecrated

deserit mensulam, [15]unoque [16]in pede inhærente calceo, et altero [17]pro nimia festinatione relicto, festinanter [18]pergit hac cum voce ad ecclesiam, Non est nobis nunc [19]temporis prandere quando in mari periclitatur navis sancti Columbæ. Hoc enim momento, ipse [20]hujus nomen Cainnichi ingeminans commemorat, ut pro eo et sociis periclitantibus [21]Christum [22]exoret. Post hæc illius verba oratorium ingressus, flexis genibus paulisper oravit; ejusque orationem exaudiente Domino, illico tempestas cessavit, et mare valde tranquillum factum est. Tum deinde sanctus Columba, Cainnichi ad ecclesiam [23]properationem in spiritu videns, quamlibet longe conversantis, mirabiliter hoc de puro pectore profert verbum, dicens, Nunc cognovi, O [24]Cainniche, quod Deus tuam exaudierit precem; nunc valde nobis proficit tuus ad ecclesiam velox cum uno calceamento cursus[e]. In hoc itaque tali miraculo amborum, ut credimus, oratio cooperata est Sanctorum.

[15] in uno C. D. [16] *om.* B. [17] præ C. [18] perrexit D. [19] tempus C. [20] ejus B. *om.* C. D. [21] *om.* C. D. [22] oraret D. [23] præparationem C. [24] cainneche B. cahinniche C.

bread,' distinct from the Eucharist. See Is. Casaubon, Exercit. xvi. p. 374 (ed. Francof. 1615). The *eulogiæ*, which were offerings or oblations, were supposed to be hallowed by prayer, and from them the bread was taken for consecration in the Eucharist. Of them, also, many who were not disposed or allowed to communicate were in the habit of partaking. Thus the Council of Nantes, circ. 658, prescribed: "Partes incisas habeat in vase nitido, ut post missarum solemnia, qui communicare non fuerunt rati, eulogias omni die Dominico et in diebus festis exinde accipiant, et illa, unde eulogias presbyter daturus est, ante in hæc verba benedicat. Oratio. Domine Sancte Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, benedicere digneris hunc panem tua sancta et spirituali benedictione, ut sit omnibus salus mentis et corporis, atque contra omnes morbos et universas inimicorum insidias tutamentum, per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, panem vitæ qui de cœlo descendit, et dat vitam et salutem mundo et tecum vivit et regnat," &c. (Hardouin, Concil. tom. vi. part i. col. 459.) See also Le Brun, Explicatio Missæ, tom. i. p. 141; Ducange *in voc.* n. 2. The Rule of St. Columbanus directs: "Eulogias immundus accipiens, duodecim percussionibus."—c. 4 (Fleming, Collectan. pp. 20 *b*, 29 *a*). In like manner the Rule of St. Benedict: "Nullatenus liceat monacho nec a parentibus suis, nec a quoquam hominum, nec sibi invicem literas, aut Eulogia, vel quælibet munuscula accipere aut dare, sine præcepto Abbatis sui."—cap. 54 (Nov. Bibl. Vet. Patr. tom. i. p. 701, Par. 1639). The present passage shows that in the Irish Church, in St. Columba's time, it was the practice to participate reverentially of the Eulogiæ at the commencement of the afternoon meal, and in the refectory. The later manuscripts, to accommodate the practice to more modern usage, substitute *oratorio* for *refectorio*, but in violence to the context, which adds, "festinanter pergit hac cum voce *ad ecclesiam*, Non est nobis nunc temporis *prandere*. Post hæc illius verba *oratorium* ingressus." See the word *eulogia* used in another sense in cap. 7 (p. 114) *supra*.

[e] *Cursus.*—The anecdote is thus told in the Life of St. Cainnech: "Quodam autem tempore cum S. Columba Kylle in mari navigaret, et

[1]DE BACULO, IN PORTU, SANCTI [2]CAINNICHI NEGLECTO.

ALIO in tempore, idem supra memoratus Cainnichus suum, a portu [3]Iouæ insulæ ad [4]Scotiam navigare incipiens, baculum secum portare oblitus [5]est; qui scilicet ejus baculus, post ipsius egressum in litore repertus, sancti in manum traditus est Columbæ; quemque, domum reversus, in oratorium portat, et ibidem solus in oratione diutius demoratur. Cainnichus proinde ad [6]Oidecham[a] appropinquans insulam, subito de sua oblivione compunctus, interius perculsus est. Sed post modicum intervallum, de navi descendens, et in terra cum oratione genua flectens, baculum, quem in portu [7]Iouæ insulæ oblitus post se reliquit, super cespitem terrulæ [8]Aithche ante se [9]invenit. De cujus etiam effecta divinitus evectione[b] valde est miratus cum gratiarum in Deo actione.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] cainechi B. [3] ione B. [4] scociam B. [5] *om.* B. [6] A. ouidecham B. [7] ione B. [8] ouidechae B. [9] positum *add.* B.

navis in tempestate magna periclitaret, dixerunt ei fratres sui, Roga Deum pro nobis. Quibus Columba dixit, Non est meum hodie liberare vos, quod non mihi sed sancto Kannecho Dominus donavit. Tunc Kannechus inter fratres suos *juxta mensam stans* in Achuth-bo audivit vocem Columbæ nunc periclitati. Tenens unum ficonem circa pedem cucurrit ad ecclesiam, et orante illo facta est tranquillitas magna in mari. Tunc Columba dixit, O Kanneche opportunus est nobis tuus cursus cum uno ficone ad ecclesiam."—c. 50 (p. 31, ed. Orm.).

[a] *Oidecham.*—Called *terrula Aithche* further on. *Ouidecha* is the reading of cod. B. in both places. The place in question lay somewhere in the course from Hy to Ireland, and is probably that first mentioned in the following extract from the tract on the Men of Alba, preserved in the Books of Ballymote and Mac Firbis:—Aonguſ beag mac Erc aonmac leſ .i. Muireadhach, ceo tréab in Ile .i. Oideach .xx. teach. Freag c xx. teach. Caladroiſ .lx. teach, no tréab. Roiſ Deoranb .xxx. teach. Ardeacht .xxx. teach. Loic roiſ .xxx. teach. Aitha Caiſil .xxx. teach imſin. 'Aonghus the Little, son of Erc, had one son, viz. Muiredhach, who first inhabited Ile; viz. Oidech, 20 houses. Freag [Proag, on the east], 120 houses. Caladros [An. Ult. 677, 735], 60 houses or families. Ros-deorand [Jura? formerly Dura and Dowry], 30 houses. Ardeacht [Ardechy], 30 houses. Loich-rois, 30 houses, Aitha Caisil, 30 houses there.' (Lib. Ballymot. fol. 84 *b b*; Mac Firbis MS. p. 402.) The name *Oidech* seems to be preserved in the Mull of *Oe*, at the southern extremity of Islay, formerly Owo, near which is Dun *Aidh*, a high and nearly inaccessible rock.

[b] *Evectione.*—The story is thus related in St. Cainnech's Life: "Alio quoque tempore, Cainnicus die dominico hospitatus est in alia insula, quæ dicitur Insula Avium [*Eninis*, Cod. Salmant., possibly the Ellan *Inch-ian*, near Islay, of Dean Munro]. Cum autem S. Cainnicus inde navigaret cum festinatione ad Hyberniam, baculum suum in littore maris oblitus est. Cumque in mari navigasset, cor suum de baculo oblito semper secum comitante compunctum est; sed cum de navi in terram descendisset, baculum in portum vidit; et genua

[1]DE BAITHENEO ET COLUMBANO FILIO [2]BEOGNI[a], SANCTIS PRESBYTERIS, EADEM SIBI DIE VENTUM PROSPERUM A DOMINO PER BEATI VIRI ORATIONEM DONARI POSTULANTIBUS, SED DIVERSA NAVIGANTIBUS VIA.

[3]ALIO quoque in tempore, superius [4]memorati[b] sancti viri ad [5]Sanctum venientes, ab eo simul unanimes [6]postulant ut ipse a Domino [7]postulans [7]impetraret prosperum crastina die ventum sibi dari diversa emigraturis via. Quibus Sanctus respondens, hoc dedit responsum, [8]Mane crastina die, [9]Baitheneus, a portu [10]Iouæ enavigans insulæ, flatum [11]habebit secundum usquequo ad portum perveniat Campi [12]Lunge[c]. Quod ita, juxta Sancti verbum, Dominus donavit: nam [9]Baitheneus plenis eadem die velis magnum totumque pelagus usque ad [13]Ethicam transmeavit terram[d]. [14]Hora vero ejusdem diei tertia, vir venerandus Columbanum [15]advocat presbyterum[e] dicens, Nunc Baitheneus

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] beognoi B. [3-4] aliquando D. [5] beatam columbam D. [6] postulabant D. [7] *om.* D. [8] *om.* B. [9] battheneus C. baithenus D. [10] ione B. D. [11] habebat B. [12] lugne D. [13] aethicam A. [14] hic D. [15] *om.* D.

flectens Deo gratias egit."—c. 25 (Cod. Marsh.). This authority shifts the places.

[a] *Filio Beogni.*—"Fuit vir vite venerabilis Colmanus nomine de nobili gente Hibernie .i. de Nepotibus Neill, et pater ejus Beogne vocabatur. Qui, cum esset regio Midi [Meath] a Laginensibus devastata, fugit cum suis in Vallem Hoichle [*Glenelly*, com. Tyrone], et ibi natus est sanctus Colmanus."—Vita S. Colmani Ela, c. 1 (E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 106 *a b*; Cod. Marsh. fol. 129 *b a*; Reeves, Colton's Visit. p. 55). "S. Colmannus filius Beagni."—Vit. S. Finiani (Colg. Act. SS. p. 397 *a*). Colman Ela mac Beogṅai mic Moḋcai mic Cuinḋiḋa, 7c.—*Lib. Lecan.* According to the Calendar of Donegal (Sept. 26) his mother was Mor, daughter of Fedhlimidh, and sister of St. Columba. He was twenty-second in descent from Fedhlim Saillne, the head of the Dal-Selli, and from whom this Colman derived the tribe name *Mac-U-Sailni.* See notes [b], [d], i. 5 (p. 29) *supra.*

[b] *Superius memorati.*—That is, in the title. The codd. which retain these words, but omit the title, are manifestly corrupt. See note [f], p. 93, *supra.*

[c] *Campi Lunge.*—In the *Ethica terra*, the modern Tiree. See note [f], i. 30 (p. 59), and 41 (p. 78), *supra;* also cap. 39, iii. 8, *infra.*

[d] *Ethicam terram.*—See i. 19 (p. 48), 36 (p. 66) *supra;* ii. 39, iii. 8, *infra.*

[e] *Columbanum presbyterum.*—Throughout this chapter he is called Columbanus, but elsewhere Colmanus, the two names being convertible. See note [d], i. 5 (p. 29) *supra.* Colman Ela, sometimes called Colmanellus, derived his surname from Ela, a stream which also gave name to his church of Lann-Ela, now Lynally, near Tullamore, in the King's County. (Gloss on Felire, 26 Sept.) He was founder of Muckamore, in the county of Antrim, and joint patron with St. Mac Nissi, of Connor (Jocelin, c. 96; Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 530). He was born in Glenelly, in the county of Tyrone, in 555, and died in his monastery of Lynally, in 611, aged 56. (*Tigh.*) His festival is Sept. 26. In the present chapter he is styled a presbyter, and so he is represented

prospere optatum pervenit ad portum: ad navigandum te [16]hodie [17]præpara; mox [18]Dominus ventum convertet in aquilonem. Cui sic prolato beati viri verbo eadem hora auster obsecundans [19]ventus se in aquiloneum convertit flatum; et ita in eadem die uterque vir sanctus, alter ab altero in pace aversus, Baitheneus mane ad [20]Ethicam terram, Columbanus post meridiem [21]Hiberniam incipiens appetere, plenis enavigavit velis et flatibus secundis. Hoc illustris viri virtute orationum, Domino donante, effectum est miraculum; quia, sicut scriptum est, Omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Post illa in die sancti Columbani egressum, sanctus hoc de illo propheticum Columba protulit verbum, Vir sanctus Columbanus, cui emigranti benediximus, [22]nusquam in hoc sæculo faciem videbit meam. Quod ita post expletum est, nam eodem anno[f] sanctus Columba ad Dominum transiit.

[1]DE REPULSIONE DÆMONIS QUI IN LACTARIO LATITABAT VASCULO.

[2]ALIO [3]in [4]tempore, quidam juvenis, Columbanus nomine, [5]Nepos [6]Briuni[a], [7]ad januam [8]tugurioli[b] subito perveniens restitit, in quo vir beatus [9]scribebat[c]. Hic idem, post vaccarum reversus mulsionem, in dorso portans vasculum novo plenum lacte, dicit ad Sanctum, ut juxta [10]morem tale benediceret onus. Sanctus tum ex adverso eminus in aere signum salutare[d] manu elevata de-

[16] *om.* D. [17] propera D. [18] enim *add.* D. [19] ventis A. [20] etheticam A. [21] everniam A. [22] nunquam E.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-4] *om.* D. [3] quoque *add.* C. [5-6] *om.* C. D. F. S. [7] qui *add.* C. D. [8] B. C. D. F. S. tegorioli A. [9] columba erat D. [10] *om.* D.

in his Life; but in the title of i. 5 (p. 29) *supra*, he is called *episcopus*, which seems to be an error. Colgan, to make good his episcopal rank, identifies him with the individual mentioned in the Life of Ita, "cui nomen erat Columbanus, qui ad insulam Hyth ad S. Columbam pergens, *illic gradum episcopalem accepit.*" (Act. SS. p. 69 *a*.) But this supposition is exposed to the objection that his ordination took place in St. Ita's lifetime, that is, before 570, which would allow only 15 years for Colman's age at his consecration, he having been born in 555.

[f] *Eodem anno.*—St. Columba died in 595.

[a] *Columbanus Nepos Briuni.*—Probably another instance of Columbanus for Colmanus. *Nepos Briuni*, i. e. Ua Briuin. Colgan has a long note to prove that this was the Colman, abbot of Lindisfarne, who, after the Synod of Whitby, sailed with his fraternity, in 668, to Inisbofind, and died in 676. But the comparison of dates renders this very unlikely.

[b] *Tugurioli.*—See i. 25 (p. 54) *supra*.

[c] *Scribebat.*—See i. 25 (p. 54), iii. 15, *infra*.

[d] *Signum salutare.*—That is, the sign of the Cross. See chaps. 27, 29, 35, *infra*. The ancient memoirs of St. Patrick by Muirchu relate of him that "tropeo etiam crucis in omni hora diei noctisque centies se signans, et ad omnes cruces quascunque vidisset orationis gratia de curru discendens declinabat." (Lib.

pinxit, quod illico valde concussum est, [11]gergennaque[e] operculi, per sua bina foramina retrusa, longius projecta est, [12]operculum terra tenus cecidit, lac ex [13]majore mensura in solum defusum est. Juvenculus vas, cum parvo quod remanserat lactis, super fundum in terra deponit, genua suppliciter [14]flectit. Ad quem Sanctus, Surge, ait, [15]Columbane, hodie in tua operatione negligenter egisti, dæmonem[f] enim in fundo vacui latitantem vasculi, impresso Dominicæ crucis signo, ante [16]infusionem lactis, non effugasti: cujus videlicet signi nunc virtutem non sustinens, tremefactus, toto pariter turbato vase, velociter cum lactis effusione aufugit. [17]Huc ergo ad me propius vasculum, ut illud benedicam, approxima. Quo facto, Sanctus semivacuum [18]quod [19]benedixerat vas, [20]eodem momento divinitus repletum repertum est; parvumque quod prius in fundo vasis remanserat, sub sanctæ manus benedictione, usque ad summum citius excreverat.

[1]DE VASCULO QUOD QUIDAM MALEFICUS NOMINE SILNANUS[a] LACTE DE MASCULO BOVE EXPRESSO REPLEVERAT.

Hoc [2]in domo alicujus plebeii divitis, [3]qui in monte Cainle[b] commorabatur, Foirtgirni[c] nomine, factum [4]traditur. Ubi [5]cum Sanctus hospitaretur, inter rusticanos contendentes duos, quorum prius adventum præscivit, recta judicatione judicavit: unusque ex eis, qui maleficus erat, [6]a Sancto jussus, de bove masculo, qui prope erat, lac arte diabolica expressit[d]: quod Sanctus, non ut

[11] gergenaque D. [12] vasque D. [13] more D. [14] flexit C. D. [15] columba C. D. [16] effusionem D. [17] hoc C. [18] *om.* C. D. [19] benedixit D. [20] eodemque C. D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] factum subsequens C. D. [3-4] *om.* C. D. F. S. [5] *om.* D. [6] et *add.* F.

Armac. fol. 7 *b a.*) Thus, in St. Brendan's Life, "Venerabilis pater armavit se de Dominico tropheo," where the margin of the cod. Marsh. reads *i. e. signo crucis* (fol. 61 *a a*). See under *Crucis* in Index Moral., Colgan's Act. SS.

[e] *Gergenna.*—"Ferrum aut lignum teres, quo per duas ansas transmisso operculum firmatur ne excidat."—Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 219 *b*. It was the wooden cross bar which fastened down the lid of the pail.

[f] *Dæmonem.*—An enumeration of all the superstitions regarding milk in its various stages, prevalent even in the present day among the peasantry of Scotland and the north of Ireland, would require more space than the limited nature of a note permits.

[a] *Silnanus.*—On the name see note [c], p. 77.

[b] *Monte Cainle.*—See the note on *Regio Cainle*, i. 39 (p. 75) *supra*.

[c] *Foirtgirni.*—Probably a form of Fortchern, a name which appears among St. Patrick's disciples.

[d] *Lac expressit.*—This reminds one of the story in St. Fechin's Life, except that the

illa confirmaret maleficia, fieri jussit, quod absit; sed ut ea coram multitudine destrueret. Vir itaque beatus vas, ut videbatur tali plenum lacte, sibi ocius dari poposcit; et hac cum sententia benedixit dicens, Modo probabitur non esse hoc verum, quod [7]putatur, lac, sed dæmonum fraude, ad decipiendos homines, decoloratus sanguis: et continuo lacteus ille color in naturam versus [8]est propriam, hoc est, in sanguinem. Bos quoque, qui per unius horæ momentum, turpi macie tabidus et maceratus, erat morti proximus, benedicta a Sancto aqua superfusus, mira [9]sub celeritate sanatus est.

[1]DE LUGNEO MOCUMIN[a].

QUADAM die quidam bonæ indolis juvenis, Lugneus nomine, qui postea senex in monasterio [2]Elenæ insulæ[b] præpositus erat, ad Sanctum veniens, [3]quer-

[7] putabatur B. C. D. F. [8] *om.* B. C. [9] *om.* D.
[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] A. B. helene C. D. F. S. [3] columbam *add.* D.

agency was different: "Contigit alio tempore quod à matre sibi commissa est cura custodiendi vaccas inter quas taurus unus erat. Puer vero Fechinus diutina abstinentia fatigatus esurire cœpit. Cum verò taurum intueretur, per columbinam simplicitatem inter taurum et vaccam discernere nesciens, ad taurum accurrit, et genitalia ejus tamquam vaccæ comprimebat ubera: et primo impulsu lac non inveniens suæ culpæ imputabat, dicens; ignorat, inquit, me Dominus meus pro eo quod vacca ista mulieribus lactat, et non mihi. Res miranda atque præ novitate inusitata, taurus abundantius sibi lac præbuit, quàm aliqua vaccarum lactiferarum daret."—c. 9 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 131 *a*).

[a] *Lugneo Mocumin.*—Cap. 27, *infra.* Lugbeus Mocumin, i. 15 (p. 43), 24 (p. 53), 28 (p. 56).

[b] *Elenæ insulæ.*—The proper name seems to be formed from eileann, 'an island,' and the addition of *insula* is like the use of the word *mountain* in connexion with a name having *Slieve* in its composition. It is hard to say among the many islands of Argyle, what one is here intended; but if the number and age of monastic ruins demand a preference, none bids fairer to be the spot in question (unless indeed this be the Hinba of Adamnan) than Elachnave or Eileann naomh, 'holy island,' the *Helant Leneou* of Fordun (Scotichr. ii. 10), and one of the Garveloch Isles, lying north-west of Scarba. The number of remains grouped together on the south-eastern side of the island are evidence of its early importance as an ecclesiastical establishment, and the simplicity of their structure supports their claims to antiquity. On a slope close to the shore are the remains of two beehive cells, constructed of slate, and bearing a striking resemblance to the primitive cells sketched in Petrie's Round Towers (pp. 127, 128). One of them is half demolished, but the other is more perfect, covered on the outside with mould and sods. The entrance was so low as to require one to creep on his hands and face to gain admission, and there was a passage communicating between them of like contracted dimensions. In a sheltered grassy hollow at the foot of the eastern slope is the cemetery, with traces of graves of great age, and a few rude headstones, but none with any inscription, save a

itur de [4]profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro per multos menses de naribus ejus immoderate profluebat. Quo propius accito, Sanctus ambas [5]ipsius nares binis manus dexteræ digitulis constringens benedixit. Ex qua hora benedictionis, nunquam sanguis de naso ejus usque ad extremum distillavit diem[c].

[1]DE [2]PISCIBUS BEATO VIRO SPECIALITER A DEO [3]PRÆPARATIS.

[4]ALIO [5]in tempore, cum prædicabilis viri [6]sociales[a], strenui piscatores, quinos in rete pisces cepissent in fluvio Sale[b] piscoso, Sanctus ad eos, [8]iterato,

[4] fluvio D. [5] illius F.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-3] esoce magno in fluvio sale juxta verbum sancti invento B. [4] *in* C. D. F. S. *hoc capitul. post* ii. 26 *subsequitur, et ambo in lib.* iii. *amandantur.* [4-5] quodam D. [6] scotiales C. D. F. S. [7] piscosos D. [8] *om.* D.

small square slab having a Greek cross incised. Attached to this space, on the north, are the remains of some conventual buildings. North of them, at a little distance, is the oratory, a small roofless building, formed of slates without mortar, having the door in the west, and a small, doubly-splayed window in the east. A little north-east of this is a very curious building, with rounded corners, and one entrance in the middle of the north side, without any traces of windows. Further off from the oratory, on higher ground to the east, is a small building, divided into two compartments, the southern one of which is nearly semicircular, having a platform of masonry, in the centre of which is a circular funnel, giving one the idea of a kiln. On the face of the slope south of the cemetery is a little carn, like a rude altar, and, beside it, a small square slab with a cross incised. The writer visited the island on the 22nd of July, 1852, in company with his friends, Cosmo Innes and William F. Skene, the former of whom has since most truly stated concerning these remains, "The crowd of low buildings has all the appearance of a monastic establishment; and, if it was so, these are perhaps the oldest vestiges of the sort now standing in Scotland" (Orig. Paroch. ii. pt. 1, p. 277); of course always excepting the monastic group on Loch Columkille in Skye. Mr. Muir of Leith adds: "Eilean Naomh has the enviable reputation of being closely connected by common tradition with St Columba, who is said to have often visited and resided on the island while prosecuting his missionary labours."—Ecclesiological Notes, p. 59 (Edinb. 1855). Eilean Naomh, both in the case of this island, and of that on the north-west of Islay, is evidently a secondary name. Query, is this Hinba?

[c] *Distillavit diem.*—This, and the first part of the following chapter, which come here in the natural order under the head of *virtutum miracula*, are transferred in the manuscripts of the shorter recension to the Third Book (cap. 5), although that book purports to treat *de Angelicis Apparitionibus.*

[a] *Sociales.*—The MSS. of the shorter recension read *Scotiales*, upon which Messingham gives the marginal gloss *Hyberniales* (Florileg. p. 173 *a*).

[b] *Sale.*—The latter portion of this chapter refers to Ireland, and if the former also, the Blackwater in the county of Meath, anciently called the *Sale* (as in Fourth Life of St. Patrick, c. 51, Tr. Th. p. 42 *a*), or *Sele*, may be intended, although St. Patrick denounced it,

ait, Rete in flumen mittite, et statim invenietis grandem, quem mihi Dominus præparavit, piscem. Qui, verbo Sancti obtemperantes, miræ magnitudinis traxerunt in [9]retiaculo [10]esocem[c] a Deo sibi præparatum[d].

[11]Alio quoque in tempore, cum Sanctus juxta Cei Stagnum[e] aliquantis demoraretur diebus, comites ire ad piscandum cupientes retardavit, dicens, Hodie

[9] rethe D. [10] essocem A. F. chocem C. [11] *capit. novum orditur, cui præfigitur titulus* de duobus piscibus illo prophetante in flumine quod vocitatur boo repertis B. [11-14] *om.* C. D. F. S.

saying, "Non erunt pisces magni in flumine Sele semper." (Lib. Armac. fol. 10 *a b*; Vit. Trip. ii. 4, Tr. Th. p. 129 *b*.) From the recurrence of the name Sale, however, at cap. 45, *infra*, where it undoubtedly belongs to Scotland, we may conclude that the scene of the present anecdote is to be laid there also. The river is possibly the Shiel, which flows from Loch Shiel into the sea, forming the northern boundary of Sunart.

[c] *Esocem.*—This word appears in a great variety of forms, and its interpretation wavers between 'a pike' and 'a salmon.' Pliny mentions the "*esox* in Rheno" (N. H. ix. 17), which Hardouin conjectures to be the *lucius* or pike (vol. i. p. 505, n. 5). Aldrovandus observes: "Angli item *Lutz* dicunt, ubi provecta sunt ætate: minores enim *Pike* vocare Bellonius tradit." (De Piscib. iv. c. 1, p. 482; v. 39, p. 630.) So Gesner, concerning the *Huso* of the Danube (De Pisc. Nat. iv. pp. 60, 438, Tigur. 1558). Ven. Bede says of Britain, "issicio abundat et anguilla" (H. E. i. 1); which Hussey interprets of the *pike*. Hesychius exhibits the word in a Greek form: Ἴσοξ ἰχθὺς ποιὸς κητώδης.—Lex. *in voc.* (Ed. Alberti, tom. ii. c. 75, n. 15.) The fisherman who ferried St. Peter across the Thames after the consecration of his church at Westminster took a great haul of fish, and "omnes erant ejusdem generis pisces præter unum miræ enormitatis *esocium*."—Vit. S. Edvardi Conf. c. 17 (Act. SS. Jan. i. p. 296 *b*). Where Bollandus observes: "Eum quidem salmonem, alii forte rectius lucium interpretantur." (*Ib.* p. 297 *a*.) In British use, however, there can be little doubt concerning the meaning of the term. In a Cornish vocabulary, cited by Zeuss, we find ISICIUS vel salmo, *ehoc* (Gram. Celt. ii. p. 1114). The Life of St. Kentigern supplies an equally decisive interpretation: "Sanctus pontifex præcepit nuncio cum hamo ad ripam præfati fluminis Clud [Clyde] pergere, que hamum gurgiti injicere, et primum piscem qui inescatus fuisset, ex aquis extractum continuo ad se reportare. Quod Sanctus dixit nuncius explevit, et *esocem*, qui vulgo salmo dicitur, captum præsentiæ viri Dei exhibuit."—cap. 36 (Pinkert. Vit. Antiq. p. 276). So, also, in a charter of 1252, cited by Du Cange, "medietatem *esocium* qui vulgo salmones vocantur." (Gloss. *in voc.*) The Life of St. Cadoc tells "de enchiridione in ventre *isicii* reperto," which was caught in the sea.—cap. 25 (Rees' Lives of Cambr. Brit. SS. pp. 63, 64). The meaning is not so certain in Sulpicius Severus' Life of St. Martin: "Ad primum jactum reti permodico immanem *esocem* diaconus extraxit" (Opp. p. 607, ed. 1654). Where the Book of Armagh reads *essicem* (fol. 216 *b b*). "Tum in Dei et in ipsius sanctæ Helenæ nomine laxantes rete, gemino ditati gaudent *esoce*." (Flodoard. Hist. Rhem. Eccl. c. 8.) The word *esox*, as Zeuss observes, is allied to the Welsh *ehawc*, now *eog*, and to the Armorican *eok*, *eog*, *eaug*, all which denote the 'salmon' (Gram. Celt. i. pp. 144, 145, 146, 302, ii. p. 1114, note), and indicate it as the proper interpretation of the Latin word.

[d] *Præparatum.*—See the note [c] on preceding chapter.

[e] *Cei Stagnum.*—Now *Lough Key*, in the county of Roscommon. See note [a], i. 42 (p. 79)

et cras nullus in flumine reperietur piscis: tertia mittam vos die, et invenietis binos grandes, in rete retentos, fluminales [12]esoces. Quos ita post duas dieculas, rete mittentes, duos rarissimæ magnitudinis, in fluvio qui dicitur [13]Bo[f] reperientes, ad terram traxerunt. In his duabus memoratis piscationibus, miraculi apparet virtus et prophetica simul præscientia comitata, pro quibus Sanctus et socii Deo grates eximias [14]reddiderunt.

[1]DE NESANO [2]CURVO[a] QUI IN EA REGIONE [3]CONVERSABATUR QUÆ STAGNO APORUM[b] EST CONTERMINA.

Hic Nesanus[c], cum esset valde inops, sanctum alio tempore gaudenter hospitio recepit virum. Cui cum hospitaliter secundum vires, unius noctis spatio ministrasset, Sanctus ab eo [4]inquirit, cujus boculas numeri haberet: ille ait, Quinque. Sanctus consequenter, Ad me, ait, adduc, ut eas benedicam. Quibus adductis, et elevata manu sancta benedictis, Ab hac die tuæ pauculæ quinque vacculæ crescent, ait Sanctus, usque ad centum et quinque vaccarum numerum. Et quia idem Nesanus homo plebeius[d] erat, cum uxore et filiis,

[12] essoces A. *sic supra.* [13] boo B.

[1] *titul. et cap. totum om.* C. D. F. S. [2] cervo B. [3] conversabat B. [4] requirit Boll.

supra. O'Donnell, in the parallel passage to that here referred to, represents "Columbam in insula cujusdam lacus in Connacia siti, qui Hibernis *Loch-Ke* dicitur, commorantem."—i. 101 (Tr. Th. p. 405 *b*).

[f] *Bo.*—The Boyle river, which runs into the Shannon, near Carrick-on-Shannon, a short distance north-west of St. Columba's church of Cill-mor Deathruibh, or Kilmore. See note [b], i. 42 (p. 79), and note [g], i. 50 (p. 99), *supra.*

[a] *Nesano Curvo.*—Neapan cam. The epithet cam is not unfrequent in Irish proper names.

[b] *Stagno Aporum.*—"Regione quæ Stagni littoribus Aporici est contermina."—cap. 37, *infra.* Colgan correctly observes: "Est regio Scotiæ, quæ Buccanano lib. 1, pag. 20. *Abria* vocatur; a quà adjacens canalis, seu lacus longus, qui *stagnum Aporum*, et Scoticè *Loch-abor* vocatur; videtur nomen desumpsisse." (Tr. Th. p. 383 *a*, n. 21.) Lochaber was anciently an extensive lordship reaching on the south to Loch-Leven, and is still a large district in the county of Inverness on the borders of Argyleshire, but the name has departed from its primary application, and does not now belong to any sheet of water so as to answer the description in the text. It may be inferred, however, that the inlet of the sea, forming the north-eastern continuation of the Linnhe Loch, and known as that part of Loch Eil lying between Fort William and Corran Ferry, was Loch Abor proper of early times.

[c] *Hic Nesanus.*—This refers to the titulus, showing that it is an integral part of the narrative.

[d] *Plebeius.*—The force of this term may be collected from the contrasted promise, "Erit semen tuum in filiis et nepotibus benedictum."

hoc etiam ei vir beatus benedictionis augmentum intulit, dicens, Erit semen tuum in filiis et nepotibus benedictum. Quæ omnia plene, juxta verbum Sancti, sine ulla expleta sunt imminutione.

[[5]De quodam[e] viro divite tenacissimo, nomine [6]Uigenio[f], qui sanctum Columbam despexerat nec eum hospitio recepit, hanc e contrario protulit prophetalem sententiam, inquiens, Illius autem avari divitiæ, qui Christum in peregrinis hospitibus sprevit, ab hac die paulatim imminuentur, et ad nihilum redigentur; et ipse mendicabit; et filius ejus cum semivacua de domo in domum perula discurret; et, ab aliquo ejus emulo securi in fossula excussorii[g] percussus, morietur. Quæ omnia de utroque, juxta sancti prophetiam viri, plene sunt [7]expleta.]

[1]DE COLUMBANO ÆQUE PLEBEIO VIRO, CUJUS PECORA ADMODUM PAUCA VIR SANCTUS BENEDIXIT; SED POST ILLIUS BENEDICTIONEM USQUE AD CENTENARIUM CREVERUNT NUMERUM.

ALIO [2]quoque [3]tempore, vir beatus [4]quadam nocte, cum apud [5]supra [6]memoratum[a] Columbanum [7]tunc temporis inopem, bene [7]hospitaretur, mane primo Sanctus, [8]sicuti superius de Nesano commemoratum [9]est, de quantitate et [10]qualitate substantiæ plebeium hospitem [11]interrogat. Qui interrogatus, Quinque, ait, tantummodo habeo [12]vacculas; quæ, si eas benedixeris, in majus crescent. Quas illico, a Sancto jussus, adduxit, [13]similique modo, ut supra de Nesani quinis dictum est [14]vacculis, et hujus Columbani [15]boculas[b] quinales

[5-7] *om.* A. *sine rubrica, paragrapho, titulo, aut quavis distinctione, tenori præcedentium adhæret* B. [6] ingenio B. uigeno *in capitulat. p.* 101 *supra.*

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3] in *add.* B. [4] columba *add.* D. [5-6] *om.* C. D. F. S. [7] hospitaret C. [8-9] *om.* C. D. F. S. [10] de *add.* D. [11] interrogavit D. [12] vaccas D. [13-14] *om.* C. D. F. S. [15] buculas C. D.

[e] *De quodam.*—The following section is wanting in cod. A, and is supplied in the present instance from cod. B, where it forms a sequel to the preceding narrative, but has neither title nor rubric to constitute it a distinct chapter, as Pinkerton has made it. Though its style resembles Adamnan's, yet, being of doubtful authority, it is here enclosed in brackets.

[f] *Uigenio.*—Written Uigeno in the capitulationes (p. 101) *supra.* The original, which is very capricious in the grouping of letters formed by strokes, seems to read *ingenio.*

[g] *Excussorii.*—'*Excussorium,* Area ubi frumentum excutitur.'—Du Cange.

[a] *Supra memoratum.*—Referring to the name in the titulus.

[b] *Boculas.*—The poverty of the animals seems to be indicated in this and the preceding chapters by the use of the diminutives *boculæ, vacculæ, pauculæ.*

æqualiter benedicens, inquit, Centenas et quinque, Deo donante, habebis vaccas, et erit in filiis et nepotibus tuis florida benedictio. Quæ omnia, juxta [16]beati viri prophetationem, in agris et pecoribus ejus et prole, plenissime adimpleta sunt; mirumque in modum numerus a Sancto præfinitus, supra [17]memoratis ambobus [18]viris, in centenario vaccarum et quinario expletus numero, nullo modo superaddi potuit: nam illa, quæ supra præfinitum excedebant numerum, diversis prærepta casibus, nusquam comparuerant, excepto eo quod aut in usus proprios familiæ, aut [19]etiam in opus eleemosynæ, expendi poterat. In hac itaque narratione, ut in ceteris, [20]virtutis miraculum et prophetia simul aperte ostenditur: nam in magna vaccarum ampliatione benedictionis pariter et orationis virtus apparet, et in præfinitione numeri prophetalis præscientia.

[1]DE [2]MALEFACTORUM INTERITU QUI SANCTUM [3]DISPEXERANT.

VIR venerandus [4]supra memoratum Columbanum, quem de paupere virtus benedictionis [5]ejus [6]ditem fecit, valde diligebat; quia ei multa pietatis officia præbebat. Erat autem illo [7]in tempore quidam malefactor homo, bonorum persecutor, [8]nomine [9]Joan[a], filius Conallis filii [10]Domnallis, de regio [11]Gabrani ortus genere[b]. Hic supradictum [12]Columbanum, sancti amicum Columbæ,

[16] sancti D. [17-18] memorato viro C. D. F. S. [19] *om.* C. [20] virtutibus C.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-3] interitu iohannis filii conallis eadem die qua sanctum spernens dehonoravit B. [4] columba *add.* D. [5] *om.* B. [6] divitem C. D. [7] *om.* D. [8-10] *om.* C. D. F. S. [9] iohannes B. [10] domnalli B. [11] *om.* C. D. F. S. [12] cōlū A.

[a] *Joan.*—Mentioned again in cap. 24. There is a difficulty attending his descent as given in these places. He is called the son of Conall, son of Domhnall, who was son of Gabhran, that is, he was *great-grandson* of Gabhran; but Aidan, Gabhran's *son*, was St. Columba's contemporary, and lived till 606, while his grand-nephew is represented as at man's estate many years before. The sons of Gabhran are thus enumerated in the Irish tract on the Men of Alba: Gabhran, umorro, cuig meo ler .i. Aodan (.i. Aod Fionn) Eoghanan, Cuilbaó (no Callaó), Domnall, agus Domangort. 'Gabhran, now, had five sons, viz., Aodhan (i. e. Aodh Finn), Eoghanan [mentioned by Adamnan, iii. 5, ob. 595], Cuildach (or Callach) *Domhnall*, and Domhangort.' (Book of Ballymote, fol. 84 *b a*; Mac Firbis, Geneal. MS. p. 401.)

[b] *Gabrani genere.*—Gabhran, son of Domhangart (by Fedhelm, daughter of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmedhain), son of Fergus Mor, succeeded his brother Comgall as king of the Scotic Dalriada in 558. He died in 560, according to Tighernach: barr Gabrain mic Domangairt ri Alban, 'Death of Gabran, son of Domangart, king of Alba.' He was succeeded by his nephew Conall. Of the cetre primcineoil Dailriada, 'the four chief families of Dalriada,' the cineul n-Gabrain, *Gabrani genus*, was one (Mac Firbis, p. 404). Cineul n-Gabrain annro. Tri .xx.

persequebatur; domumque ejus, omnibus in ea inventis, devastaverat, ereptis, non semel, sed bis inimiciter agens. Unde forte non immerito eidem maligno accidit viro, ut tertia vice post ejusdem domus tertiam deprædationem, beatum virum, quem quasi longius [13]positum dispexerat, proprius appropinquantem, ad navem revertens præda onustus cum sociis, obvium haberet. Quem cum Sanctus de suis corriperet malis, prædamque deponere rogans suaderet, ille, immitis [14]et [15]insuadibilis permanens, Sanctum dispexit, navimque cum præda ascendens, beatum virum subsannabat et deridebat. Quem Sanctus ad mare [16]usque [17]prosecutus est, vitreasque intrans aquas usque ad genua æquoreas, levatis ad cœlum [18]ambis manibus, Christum intente precatur, qui suos glorificantes se glorificat electos. [19]Est vero ille portus, in quo post egressum persecutoris stans paulisper Dominum exorabat, in loco qui Scotice [20]vocitatur [21]Ait-Chambas [22]Art-muirchol[c]. [23]Tum [24]proinde Sanctus, expleta oratione, ad aridam reversus, in eminentiore cum comitibus [25]sedet loco: ad quos illa in hora formidabilia valde profert verba, dicens, Hic [26]miserabilis [27]humuncio, qui Christum in suis dispexit servis, ad portum, a quo nuper coram vobis emigravit, nunquam revertetur; sed nec ad alias, quas appetit, terras, subita præventus morte, cum suis [28]perveniet malis cooperatoribus. Hodie, quam mox videbitis, de nube [29]a borea [30]orta immitis immissa procella [31]eum cum sociis [32]submerget; nec de eis etiam unus [33]remanebit [34]fabulator. Post aliquantum paucularum [35]interventum morarum, die serenissima, et ecce de mari [36]oborta, sicut Sanctus [37]dixerat, nubes, cum [38]magno fragore venti emissa, raptorem cum præda inter Maleam[d] et [39]Colosum[e] [40]insulas [41]inveniens,

[13] *om.* C. D. F. S. [14] *om.* C. [15] insuadibiliter C. [16] *om.* D. [17] secutus D. [18] A. B. ambabus C. D. S. *manu correctoris* F. [19-22] *om.* C. D. F. S. [20] vocatur B. [21-22] A. ad cambasi ard muircoll B. [23] tunc D. [24] deinde C. D. [25] suis *add.* D. sedit B. [26] miserabiliter C. [27] homo D. [28] superveniat D. [29] *om.* C. [30] ortam B. [31] quæ *add.* D. [32] emerget D. [33] remeabit C. [34] famulator D. [35] intervallum D. [36] aborta A. D. [37] prædixerat B. [38] magna B. [39] A. colosam B. D. colossum C. [40] insulam C. [41] veniens C. D.

ꝛeꝯ ap coiꝛ ceuḋaiḋ. Ceann Ꞇiṙe aꝛuṙ Cṙioḋ Comꝯaill cona mṙiḃ: Ḋa ṙeḋꞇ ṙeṙ ꝛaḋ .ꝓx. ꝛeꝯ a ṗeaḋꞇ maṙa. 'The Race of Gabhran here. Five hundred and three score houses. Ceann-tire [Cantyre, see note [e], i. 28 (p. 57) *supra*], and Comgall's land [now Cowal], with its islands. Twice seven-benches to every 20 houses was their sea muster.' (Book of Ballymote, fol. 84 *b b*; Mac Firbis, p. 403.) *Genus Gabhrani*, Tigh. 719.

[c] *Ait-chambas Art-muirchol.*—See note on Artdamuirchol, i. 12 (p. 40), and Artdaib Muirchol, ii. 10 (p. 118), *supra*. There is no place in Ardnamurchan called Ait-cambas, but there is Camusnangel, and Canusinish; Comisteras, on the south-coast, and Cammaseen to the east in Sunart.

[d] *Maleam.*—Sc. *insulam*, now Mull. See note [b], i. 22 (p. 51), and note [d], i. 41 (p. 77), *supra*.

[e] *Colosum.*—Probably the larger Colonsay,

dem malefactoribus sociis, diaboli instinctu, cum hasta irruit, ut Sanctum interficeret. Quod præcavens unus ex fratribus, [6]Findluganus[d] nomine, mori paratus pro sancto viro, cuculla ejus indutus intercessit. Sed mirum in modum beati viri tale vestimentum, quasi quædam munitissima et impenetrabilis lorica, quamlibet fortis viri forti impulsione acutioris hastæ, transfigi non potuit, sed illæsum permansit; et qui eo indutus erat, intactus et incolumis tali protectus est munimento. Ille vero sceleratus, qui Manus Dextera[e], [7]retro repedavit, æstimans quod sanctum hasta transfixisset virum. Post ex ea die completum annum, cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, Usque in hanc diem, ait, integratus est annus, ex qua die Lam-dess[f], in quantum potuit, Findluganum mea jugulavit vice; sed et ipse, ut æstimo, hac [8]in hora jugulatur. Quod juxta Sancti revelationem eodem momento in illa insula factum est, quæ Latine Longa[g] vocitari potest: ubi ipse solus Lam-dess, in aliqua virorum

[6] A. finducanus B. [7] dicebatur *add.* B. latine nominatur *suo jure* Boll. [8] *om.* B.

[d] *Findluganus.*—The name Finnlugh occurs in the Irish Calendar at Jan. 3, May 11, June 5, Nov. 13. The gloss on Ængus' martyrology at the first of these dates is thus translated by Colgan: "Finnluga fuit discipulus et frater S. Fintani de Dunblesque; et ideo cum eo nominatur: et in peregrinationem exiit in Albionem: estque Sanctus qui colitur in Tamlact—Finnlogain in regione Kiennachtæ de Glenngemin. Finnloga et Fintanus duo filii Demani, filii Fingenii, filii Demani, filii Carelli, filii Muredacii Muinderg." (Tr. Th. p. 383 *b*, n. 23.) St. Fintan's church was Dunblesque in Hy Cuanach, now Doon, in the barony of Coonagh, county of Limerick. Here, according to his Life, Finnloga, his brother, abode until he and his companion "ad mare pervenerunt, et inventa ibi navi usque in Albaniam transfretaverunt, ubi Finloga, sicut prædictum est, mansit et obiit."—cap. 12 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 12 *a*). The same authority represents him as contemporary with St. Columba, St. Finnian, and St. Comgall. The church which commemorates Finnloga is Tamlaght-Finlagan, adjoining Drumachose or Newtownlimavady, in the county of Londonderry. Loch Finlagan, in the parish of Kilarrow in Islay, has an island, formerly called the Island of St. Finlagan, on which are the ruins of a small chapel commemorative of St. Finlagan. It was anciently in the patronage of the Lords of the Isles, who had their chief castle also on the same island. The chaplaincy of St. Colme and St. Finlagan embraced this church and that on the east at Kilcholmkill. See Martin, West. Islands, pp. 240, 243; C. Innes, Orig. Par. ii. pt. i. pp. 261, 267; Collectan. de Reb. Alban. p. 297.

[e] *Manus Dextera.*—Lam Deir, as his name is given in Irish further on. The custom of representing Irish names by their Latin equivalents prevails all through this Life (see note [b], p. 3 *supra*), and frequently displays itself in the memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh, some of which are referable to about the same date: it even continues as late as a charter of the year 1004, preserved in the same manuscript; where the proper name Maol-suthain is rendered *Calvus Perennis*, and Cashel *Maceria* (fol. 16 *b b*).

[f] *Lam Dess.*—Called *Manus Dextera* above.

[g] *Longa.*—This in Irish would be Inir fada, a name which is given by the Highlanders to the Long Island, namely, the close range of islands from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head.

utrinque acta belligeratione, Cronani filii [9]Baithani jaculo transfixus, in nomine, ut fertur, sancti Columbæ emisso, interierat; et post ejus interitum, belligerare viri cessarunt.

[1]DE ALIO [2]ITIDEM INNOCENTIUM [3]PERSECUTORE.

[4]CUM vir beatus, adhuc juvenis diaconus[a], in parte Lagenensium[b], divinam addiscens sapientiam, conversaretur, quadam accidit die ut [5]homo quidam innocuorum immitis persecutor crudelis, quandam in campi planitie[c] filiolam fugientem persequeretur. Quæ cum forte [6]Gemmanum[d] senem, supra memorati [7]juvenis diaconi magistrum, in campo legentem vidisset, ad eum recto cursu, quanta valuit velocitate, confugit. Qui, tali perturbatus subitatione,

[9] baetani B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. *ubi hoc capitulum* iii. 4 *subnectitur.* [2] *om.* B. [3] qui in laginensium provincia sicut ananias coram petro eodem momento a sancto terribiliter objurgatus cecidit mortuus *add.* B. [4] dum F. [5] bono C. [6] A. B. D. F. germanum C. [7] juvenilis B.

But this is much too far north for the application in the text. There are two islands near Scarba, called Lunga and Luing, the latter of which is a long narrow island. Its name signifies 'of a ship,' but it may be a corruption of *Longa.* Cormac derives lonȝ thus: lonȝ ḃiṙ ꝑoṙ muiṅ, *ab eo quod est longa,* .i. *lang,* .i. ꝑoꞇa, 'Ship, that is on the sea, *ab eo quod est longa,* i. e. *lang,* i. e. long.'—Gloss. *in voc.* (Petrie's Tara, p. 161.)

[a] *Diaconus.*—See ii. 1 (p. 104) *supra.*

[b] *Lagenensium.*—From laiȝen, 'Leinster.'

[c] *Campi planitie.*—Probably, of Meath.

[d] *Gemmanum.*—Canisius reads *Germanum,* which Lanigan adopts (Ec. Hist. ii. pp. 117, 119). Colgan, though he retains *Gemmanum* in the text, conjectures that it is an error, because the name does not appear in the Calendar, and proposes *Gormanum* as an emendation (Tr. Th. p. 383 *b*, n. 25). The old Irish Life in the Leabhar Breac reads ȝemman, in the Highland Soc. MS. ȝeman, but in the Book of Lismore ȝeṅman. O'Donnell, as abridged by Colgan, reads *Germanus.*—i. 40 (Tr. Th. p. 395 *a*). There can be no doubt, however, that *Gemman* is the true reading. An Enan mac Gemmain is found in the Calendar of Donegal at Jan. 30: which proves the existence of the name. But the following passage from the Life of St. Finnian of Clonard, which refers to the very individual mentioned in the text, puts the matter beyond dispute: "Item quodam alio tempore venit carminator nomine Gemanus ad S. Finnianum, habens secum quoddam carmen magnificum, in quo multa virtutum ejus continebantur, pro quo carmine non aurum vel argentum, vel aliam mundi substantiam, sed tantum in agris suis, pro duritia terræ, fructus quærebat ubertatem. Cui respondens cultor Trinitatis, ait; Hymnum quem fecisti canta super aquam, et de illa agros tuos asperge. Cumque jussa compleret, ex illo die ager suus fructuosus est factus usque in hodiernum diem."—c. 23 (Act. SS. p. 395 *b*). This Gemman was probably a Christian bard, of the same class as Dallan Forgaill, St. Columba's panegyrist; and, being an inhabitant of the plain of Meath, was brought into communication with St. Finnian, whose church was the principal one in the territory.

Columbam eminus legentem advocat, ut ambo, in quantum valuissent, filiam a persequente defenderent. Qui statim superveniens, nulla eis ab eo data reverentia, filiam sub vestimentis eorum lancea jugulavit; et relinquens jacentem mortuam super pedes eorum, aversus abire cœpit. Senex [8]tum, valde [9]tristificatus, conversus ad [10]Columbam, Quanto, ait, sancte puer Columba, hoc scelus cum nostra dehonoratione temporis spatio inultum fieri Judex justus patietur Deus? Sanctus consequenter hanc in ipsum sceleratorem protulit sententiam, dicens, Eadem hora qua interfectæ ab eo filiæ anima [11]ascendit ad cœlos, anima ipsius interfectoris [12]descendat ad inferos. Et dicto citius, cum verbo, sicut Ananias coram Petro, sic et ille innocentium jugulator, coram oculis sancti juvenis, in eadem [13]mortuus [14]cecidit [15]terrula. Cujus rumor subitæ et formidabilis vindictæ continuo per multas Scotiæ provincias[e], cum mira sancti diaconi fama, divulgatus est.

[16]Huc usque de adversariorum terrificis ultionibus dixisse sufficiat: nunc de bestiis aliqua narrabimus [17]pauca.

[1]DE [2]APRO PER EJUS ORATIONEM [3]INTEREMPTO.

[4]ALIO [5]in tempore, vir beatus, cum in [6]Scia insula[a] aliquantis demoraretur diebus, paulo longius solus, orationis intuitu, separatus a fratribus, silvam

[8] tunc D. [9] tristificatur C. [10] sanctum *add.* B. [11] ascendet *manu recentiore* D. [12] descendet C. descendit *in* descendet *mutat.* D. descendit F. [13] *om.* B. [14-15] est hora D. [16-17] *om.* C. D. F. S.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-3] apri mortificatione qui a sancto eminus cecidit signo prostratus dominicæ crucis B. [4] *capitul. totum ad* lib. iii. c. 4 *transfertur in* C. D. F. S. [5] *om.* D. [6] A. D. sua B. sicia C.

[e] *Scotiæ provincias.*—This expression shows in what a limited sense the term *provincia* was used by the Irish in Adamnan's time.

[a] *Scia insula.*—Now Skye. See i. 33 (p. 62) *supra.* The chief patron saints of this island were St. Columba and St. Maelrubha: the former having the north-eastern, and the latter the south-eastern portion. Killashig, or Askimilruby, with Kilmaree in Strath, and Kilmolruy in Brackadale, were commemorative of St. Maelrubha, whose principal church of Apercrossan, now Applecross, is within view on the main land to the north-east. The portion of the island peculiar to St. Columba is that part of Trotternish bounded by a line drawn from Portree to the head of Loch Snizort. At the north-western extremity of this district, in the parish of Kilmuir, about two and a half miles north of Uig Bay, is the alluvial bed of a lake formerly known as Loch Columkille, which was drained some thirty years ago by Lord Macdonald, the proprietor. Towards its northern extremity is an elevated spot, about three acres in extent, which was formerly insulated, and was known as St. Columkille's Island. On the north side of this island is an irregular circular enclosure of rude and extremely ancient masonry, measuring about 16 yards in diameter

ingressus densam, miræ magnitudinis aprum, [7]quem forte venatici canes [8]persequebantur, [9]obviam habuit. [10]Quo viso eminus, Sanctus aspiciens [11]eum [12]restitit. Tum deinde, invocato Dei nomine, [13]sancta elevata manu, cum intenta dicit ad eum oratione, Ulterius huc procedere [14]noles: [15]in [16]loco [17]ad quem nunc devenisti [18]morere. Quo Sancti in silvis personante verbo, non

[7-8] *om.* B. [9] tunc *add.* B. [10-12] *om.* D. [11] tum B. [13] *om.* D. [14] nolis C. [15-16] nisi D. [17] hoc *add.* B. quantotius *add.* B.

E. and W., and 11, N. and S.; and having, within, the traces of three distinct chambers or compartments. It was surrounded by a cyclopean cashel, the north face of which is the most perfect, and is, in parts, nearly 8 feet thick. This was probably "the Tower" which a writer of the seventeenth century describes as existing here (C. Innes, Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 349). Near to this, on the S. W., is a quadrilateral building, standing N. and S., measuring about 30 by 10 feet. About 120 yards S. of the cashel is *the Temple*, facing E. N. E., measuring 21 feet 10 inches by 12.2, now commonly employed as an enclosure for cows. The roof has long fallen in, and the walls, which are built with cement, are reduced to the height of about five feet. The adjacent ground is covered with masses of large gray stones, the debris of the walls, so that it is impossible to examine the area where one would expect to find traces of the cemetery. It may be that some curious sepulchral remains are locked up there. At short distances are patches of ground covered with gray stones, which appear to have been the sites of conventual buildings, probably of "the Town" mentioned by an old writer, and of "the ruins of some buildings composed of stone without mortar," which were to be seen in 1772 (Orig. Par. *ut supra*). Mugsted, *recte* Monkstead, is the name of the adjoining farm.

II. South of this, a little to the west of the main road to Portree, where Skabost bridge crosses the Snizort river, near its entrance into Loch Snizort Bay, is a long narrow strip of ground, insulated by the river, and formerly enclosed by an earthen rampart. On this are the remains of two ancient buildings, standing within a large cemetery; that next the bridge much the longer of the two, and probably the old parish church; that more remote, of smaller dimensions, chiefly worthy of notice on account of a curious slab embedded in the floor, exhibiting the figure of an armed warrior. The parish church, now known as Snizort, was formerly styled *Sanct Colm's Kirk in Snesfurd in Trouternes* (Orig. Par. ii. 1, p. 354).

III. Proceeding southwards we reach Portree, the inner bay of which, N. W. of the town, was formerly called, as some old people remember, *Loch Columkille*. Here, near the shore, under the Sheriff's house, is a small island still called *Eilean Columkille*, about an eighth of a mile in circumference at high water. It is nearly covered with stones, which were spread upon it for the drying of sea-wrack, and kilns for burning kelp, so that the soil is nearly hidden. However, the traces of graves, and of a small building standing E. and W., may be discerned; and some old people remember one or two interments on the islet.

IV. On the small island, Eilean Trody, called *Troda* by Martin (West. Isl. p. 166), lying off the north of Kilmuir, was a chapel of St. Columba.

V. On Fladda Huna, called by Martin *Fladdachuan*, which lies N. W. of last, there stood, in 1700, a chapel named from St. Columba, having on the altar a blue stone, which was supposed to be possessed of miraculous powers. (*Ibid.*)

solum ultra accedere non valuit, sed ante faciem ipsius terribilis ferus, verbi ejus virtute mortificatus, cito corruit.

[1]DE [2]CUJUSDAM AQUATILIS BESTIÆ VIRTUTE ORATIONIS BEATI VIRI [3]REPULSIONE.

[4]ALIO quoque in [5]tempore, cum vir beatus [6]in Pictorum provincia[a] per aliquot moraretur dies, necesse habuit fluvium transire [7]Nesam[b]: ad cujus cum accessisset ripam, alios ex accolis aspicit misellum humantes [8]homunculum; quem, ut [9]ipsi sepultores ferebant, quædam paulo ante nantem aquatilis præripiens bestia[c] [10]morsu momordit sævissimo: cujus miserum cadaver,

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-3] alia aquatili bestia quæ eo orante et manum e contra levante retro repulsa est ne lugneo natanti vicino noceret B. [4-5] *om.* D. [6] columba *add.* D. [7] nessam B. [8] hominem D. [9] ipsius C. [10] raptu B.

[a] *Pictorum provincia.*—See cap. 11 (p. 119) *supra*, where *regio* occurs in the titulus instead of *provincia.*

[b] *Nesam.*—See chaps. 33, 34, *infra.* The river Ness is the outlet of Loch Ness into the sea. It leaves the lake at Bona ferry, and, running north-eastwards for six miles, passes the town of Inverness, which derives its name from its situation at the mouth of the river, and falls into Moray Firth.

[c] *Aquatilis bestia.*—The belief that certain rivers and lakes were haunted by serpents of a demoniacal and terrible character was current among the Irish at a very remote period, and still prevails in many parts of Ireland. The Life of St. Mochua of Balla relates that a stag which was wounded in the chase took refuge on an island in Lough Ree, but that no one ventured to follow it, "propter horrendam belluam, quæ lacum infestans natatores occidere solebat." The king at last prevailed on a man to swim across to the rock, "sed redeuntem hominem bellua devorat."—c. 7 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 790 *a*). While St. Molua was at Druimsneachta, now Drumsnatt, in the county of Monaghan, "duo pueri quodam in die, in stagno propinquo cùm natassent, apparuit bestia terribilis valde, cujus magnitudo erat quasi magna scapha. Videns S. Molua bestiam venientem ad pueros, vocavit eos de terra, dicens; natate ad me velociter, ut videam quis ex vobis velociùs natat: pervenientesque pueri ad portum, recepit eos vir Sanctus in terra, et illicò post eos percussit bestia portum pectore suo, et fecit magnum sonitum; respicientesque pueri retrò, timuit unus de illis terribilitatem et formidinem illius, et illico ibi mortuus est; et volens bestia ingredi terram, jussit ei beatus Molua in Christi nomine, ut rediret in lacum, et nemini noceret inde posteà usque ad finem sæculi."—c. 25 (Flem. Collect. p. 372 *b*). St. Colman of Dromore, in like manner, successfully interfered on behalf of one who was in a more hopeless condition: "Quadam alia vice, virginem quandam in ora cujusdam stagni, camisiam suam lavantem, aquatilis bestia subito absorbuit: sed eam vivam atque incolumem, de ventre ejus, orationis efficacia revocavit."—c. 9 (Act. SS. Jun. tom. ii. p. 27 *b*). The same story is told of him in the Breviary of Aberdeen, Propr. SS. Part. Hyemal. fol. 101 *b b*, lect. 7. In the parish of Banagher, county of Londonderry, there is a river, in which is a spot called *Lig-na-Peiste*, supposed to be the

sero licet, quidam in alno[d] subvenientes porrectis præripuere uncinis. Vir e contra [11]beatus, hæc audiens, præcipit ut aliquis [12]ex comitibus enatans, [13]caupallum[e], in altera stantem ripa, ad se navigando reducat. Quo sancti audito prædicabilis viri præcepto, Lugneus [14]Mocumin[f], nihil moratus, obsecundans, depositis excepta vestimentis tunica, immittit se in aquas. Sed bellua, quæ prius non tam satiata, quam in [15]prædam accensa, in profundo fluminis latitabat, sentiens eo [16]nante turbatam supra aquam, subito emergens, natatilis ad hominem in medio natantem alveo, cum ingenti fremitu, aperto [17]cucurrit ore. [18]Vir [19]tum beatus videns, omnibus qui inerant, tam barbaris quam etiam fratribus, nimio terrore [20]perculsis, cum salutare, [21]sancta [22]elevata manu, in vacuo [23]aere crucis pinxisset signum[g], invocato Dei nomine, feroci imperavit bestiæ dicens, [24]Noles ultra progredi, nec hominem tangas; retro citius revertere. Tum [25]vero bestia, hac Sancti audita voce, retrorsum, ac si funibus retraheretur, velociori [26]recursu fugit [27]tremefacta: [28]quæ prius Lugneo nanti eo usque [29]appropinquavit, ut hominem inter et bestiam non amplius esset quam unius contuli[h] longitudo. Fratres tum, [30]recessisse videntes bestiam,

[11] sanctus S. [12] e C. [13] A. B. F. S. caupulum C. caballum D. [14] *om.* C. D. F. S. [15] præda C. [16] natante B. [17] occurrit C. [18-19] tunc vir D. [20] percussis D. [21] devota C. [22] *om.* C. [23] et in *add.* C. [24] noli C. [25] *om.* C. [26] cursu C. D. [27-28] retractione factaque B. [29] modo propinquavit D. [30] recessisset B

abode of a demoniacal serpent which infested the river and neighbourhood.

[d] *Alno.*—Alnus cavata, 'a boat,' as in Virg. Georg. i. 136, ii. 451. Colgan, in the margin, proposes *alveo.* "In *margine* astabant," O'Donnell, ii. 74 (Tr. Th. 423 *a*).

[e] *Caupallum.*—From the resemblance of this word to the Irish capul, 'a horse,' Colgan was led to suppose that this animal was denoted by it. "Per Hibernismum videtur per *Caupallum* intelligere equum seu Caballum; qui Hibernicè *Capald* vocatur." (Tr. Th. p. 383 *b*, n. 26.) In this notion he was preceded by O'Donnell, whom he here represents as saying: "Equum in adversa ripa stantem adducat, quo ipse et alii socii vecti, fluvium transirent."—ii. 74 (Tr. Th. p. 423 *a*). This was certainly a novel plan for the conveyance of a party across a river; especially when Adamnan says, "ad se *navigando* reducat," and further on represents the messenger as "incolumem in *navicula* reversum." The expression "in altera *stantem* ripa" helped to mislead them. The scribe who wrote Cod. D. seems to have entertained the same idea, for he reads *caballum.* *Caupulus*, or *caupolus*, occurs in Aulus Gellius in the sense of a boat, and is explained in Isidore's Glossary by *lembus* or *cymba.* It is akin to the word *coble*, which is commonly used in the sense of a little flat-bottomed boat. See Sir W. Scott's *Antiquary*, cap. 31.

[f] *Lugneus Mocumin.*—See chap. 18 (p. 127) *supra.* O'Donnell reads "Lugneus Macua Cumine."—ii. 74 (Tr. Th. p. 423 *a*).

[g] *Crucis signum.*—The belief in its efficacy has been stated above, chap. 16 (p. 125).

[h] *Contuli.*—The Bollandist editor observing, "Contulus diminutivum a Conto," facetiously adds, "Videtur singulari quodam studio Adamnanus diminutiva adamasse; illis

Lugneumque commilitonem ad eos intactum et incolumem in [31]navicula reversum, cum ingenti admiratione glorificaverunt Deum in beato viro. Sed et gentiles barbari, qui ad præsens [32]inerant, ejusdem miraculi magnitudine, [33]quod et ipsi viderant, compulsi, Deum magnificaverunt Christianorum.

[1]DE [2]BENEDICTA A SANCTO HUJUS INSULÆ[a] TERRULA NE DEINCEPS IN EA VIPERARUM ALICUI NOCERENT [3]VENENA.

QUADAM die ejusdem [4]æstei temporis quo ad [5]Dominum transiit, ad visitandos fratres Sanctus plaustro vectus pergit, qui in campulo occidentali[b] [6]Iouæ insulæ opus materiale exercebant. Post quorum consolatoria a Sancto prolata alloquia, in eminentiore stans loco[c], sic vaticinatur dicens, Ex hac, filioli, die, scio quod in hujus campuli locis nunquam poteritis in futurum videre faciem meam. Quos, hoc audito verbo, valde tristificatos videns, consolari eos in quantum fieri possit conatus, ambas manus elevat sanctas, et totam hanc nostram benedicens insulam, ait, Ex hoc hujus horulæ momento [7]omnium viperarum venena[d] nullo modo, in hujus insulæ [8]terrulis, aut hominibus aut pecoribus nocere poterunt, quamdiu Christi mandata ejusdem commorationis incolæ observaverint[e].

[31] naviculam B. [32] erant D. [33] qui B.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2-3] insule ione viperinis serpentibus qui ex qua die sanctus eam benedixit nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere B. [4] æstivi B. [5] *om.* B. [6] ione B. [7] omnia B. [8] terrula B.

enim utitur etiam cum de rebus magnis loquitur: nec mirum, nam et ipsiusmet nomen diminutivum ab *Adam* est." (Jun. tom. ii. p. 219 *b*, note [u].) See Glossary voce *Diminutiva*.

[a] *Hujus insulæ.*—Hy. These memoirs were written by Adamnan when abbot. See note [c], i. 37 (p. 72) *supra*.

[b] *Campulo occidentali.*—Now called the *Machar*, the most fertile part of the island. See note [b], i. 37 (p. 71) *supra*.

[c] *Eminentiore loco.*—Probably on one of the *Sitheans*, or 'fairy hills,' the larger of which is the *Colliculus Angelorum* of cap. 44, and iii. 16.

[d] *Viperarum venena.*—See the statement repeated in iii. 23, *infra*. St. Patrick's biographers give him the credit of freeing Ireland from noxious reptiles, although Solinus, in the first century, had testified of it, "illic nullus anguis." Campion says: "No venemous creeping beast is brought forth or nourished, or can live here .... Neither is this property to be ascribed to St. Patrick's blessing (as they commonly hold), but to the original blessing of God, who gave such nature to the situation and soyle from the beginning." (Hist. of Ireland, cap. 2.) Whether owing to accident or natural causes, no snakes or vipers have ever been seen in Hy, although they are frequently found on the opposite coast, varying from one to two feet in length, and very venomous. They are locally called *Nathair*. The writer saw one preserved in a bottle in Iona, which was killed

[1]DE PUGIONE A SANCTO CUM DOMINICÆ CRUCIS SIGNACULO BENEDICTA.

[2]ALIO [3]in tempore, quidam frater [4]nomine Molua[a], Nepos [5]Briuni, ad Sanctum eadem scribentem hora veniens, dicit ad eum, Hoc quod in manu habeo ferrum, quæso benedicas. Qui paululum extensa manu [6]sancta cum calamo signans benedixit, ad librum de quo scribebat facie conversa. Quo videlicet supradicto fratre cum ferro benedicto recedente, Sanctus percunctatur dicens, Quod fratri ferrum benedixi? [7]Diormitius, pius ejus ministrator, Pugionem, ait, ad jugulandos tauros vel boves benedixisti. Qui e contra respondens [8]infit, Ferrum quod benedixi, confido in Domino meo, [9]quia nec homini nec pecori nocebit. Quod Sancti firmissimum eadem hora comprobatum est verbum. Nam idem frater, [10]vallum egressus monasterii[b], bovem[c] jugulare volens, tribus firmis vicibus, et forti impulsione conatus, nec tamen [11]potuit etiam ejus transfigere pellem. Quod monachi scientes experti, ejusdem pugionis [12]ferrum, ignis resolutum calore, per omnia monasterii ferramenta liquefactum diviserunt illinitum; nec postea ullam potuere carnem vulnerare[d], illius Sancti [13]manente benedictionis fortitudine.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *capitul. totum in* i. 15 *relegatur.* C. D. F. S. [3] *om.* D. [4-5] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] sua *add.* D. [7] diarmatus D. [8] inquit D. [9] quod C. [10] murum D. nullam S. [11] poterat D. S. [12] *om.* C. [13] remanente D.

in the Ross of Mull at a stream that had overflowed the road. It was not less than two feet in length.

[c] *Observaverint.*—The exemption continues.

[a] *Molua.*—Lua is the simple form of the name, which, with the particle of affection prefixed, assumes the form in the text. Lughaidh, latinized by Lugidus and Lugidius, is another form of the same name (Flem. Collect. p. 368 *a*). Nepos Briuni is in Irish Ua bpiuin, of which an example has already occurred in chap. 16, *supra.* Colgan supposes this to be the Molua commemorated in the Calendar at June 4: Molua mac Sinill do ṡluoġ bpiain mic Caġbaġ Muiġmeḋoin, 'Molua, son of Sinill, of the race of Brian, son of Eachach Muighmedhoin.'

[b] *Vallum monasterii.*—See note [f], i. 3 (p. 24) *supra.* The Rule of St. Columbanus prescribes a penance for him "qui extra *vallum*, id est, extra *sepem monasterii*, sine interrogatione ierit."—cap. 8 (Flem. Collect. p. 22 *a*). The Welsh monasteries had similar enclosures. "Cadoc construxit ecclesiam Macmoillo, discipulo ejus, eamque munimine vallavit."—Vit. S. Cadoci, c. 55 (Rees, Lives of the Cambro-British Saints, p. 88).

[c] *Bovem.*—We have already seen that the community of Hy were provided with *wethers* (i. 41, p. 78, *supra*); here we find preparation for the slaughter of a larger animal.

[d] *Carnem vulnerare.*—A similar anecdote is told in the Life of St. Columba's successor. "Alio in tempore, dum vir Dei in Iona insula habitaret, hasta quædam, ut ab eo benediceretur, allata est: quam signo Crucis benedicens, a die illo et deinceps numquam, etiam cutem animalis lacerare potuit, et ab hoc illa hasta ferramentis Fratrum a fabro commixta est, ne illa quidquam inciderent."—Vit. S. Baithenei, c. 8 (Act. SS. Jun. tom. ii. p. 237 *b*).

[1]DE DIORMITII ÆGROTANTIS SANITATE.

ALIO [2]in tempore, [3]Diormitius, Sancti pius [4]minister, usque ad mortem ægrotavit: ad quem, in extremis [5]constitutum, Sanctus [6]visitans accessit; Christique invocato nomine, infirmi ad [7]lectulum stans, et pro eo [8]exorans, dixit, Exorabilis mihi fias precor, Domine [9]mi, et animam mei ministratoris pii de hujus carnis habitaculo, me non auferas superstite. Et hoc dicto aliquantisper conticuit. [10]Tum proinde hanc de sacro ore profert vocem dicens, Hic meus non solum hac vice nunc non morietur puer[a], sed etiam post meum annis vivet multis obitum. Cujus hæc exoratio est exaudita: nam [11]Diormitius, statim post Sancti exaudibilem precem, plenam recuperavit salutem; per multos quoque annos post Sancti [12]ad Dominum emigrationem supervixit.

[1]DE [2]FINTENI FILII AIDO[b] IN EXTREMIS POSITI SANITATE.

ALIO quoque in tempore, Sanctus quum trans Britannicum iter ageret Dorsum[c], quidam juvenis, unus comitum, subita molestatus ægrimonia, ad extrema usque perductus [3]est, nomine [4]Fintenus[d]: pro quo commilitones Sanctum mæsti rogitant ut oraret. Qui statim, eis compatiens, sanctas cum intenta oratione expandit ad cœlum manus, [5]ægrotumque benedicens, ait, Hic, pro quo interpellatis, juvenculus vita vivet longa; et post omnium [6]nostrum qui hic adsumus exitum superstes remanebit, in bona moriturus senecta. Quod beati viri vaticinium plene per omnia expletum est: nam idem juvenis, illius postea monasterii fundator, quod dicitur [7]Kailli-au-inde[e], in bona senectute præsentem terminavit vitam.

[1] *titul. om.*, cap. xv. *continuatur* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3] diarmatus D. [4] ministrator C. D. [5] *om.* D. [6] visitandum D. [7] lectum S. [8] orans D. [9] *om.* D. [10] cum D. [11] diarmatus D. [12] columbe *add.* D.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] fenteni B. [3] *om.* B. [4] fentenus B. [5] ægroque B. [6] nostrorum A. Colg. Boll. nr̃m B. [7] A. kailli anfind B. kailli, abinde Boll.

[a] *Puer.*—This word was applied to St. Columba when a deacon, cap. 25 (p. 138) *supra*.

[b] *Aido.*—The Irish genitive. See note [a], i. 10 (p. 37) *supra*.

[c] *Britannicum Dorsum.*—See i. 34 (p. 64) *supra*; ii. 42, 46, iii. 14.

[d] *Fintenus.*—Colgan endeavours to find a place for him among the twenty-one Finntans in the Irish Calendar, but in vain. The probability is, that, having joined the fraternity of Hy in early life, his history belongs to the North-British Church.

[e] *Kailli-au-inde.*—Not identified. Colgan places it in Ireland, and strains the name to

[1]DE PUERO QUEM MORTUUM VIR VENERANDUS IN CHRISTI DOMINI NOMINE SUSCITAVIT.

ILLO in tempore, quo sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia[a] per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius familia verbum vitæ per interpretatorem[b] sancto prædicante viro, audiens credidit, credensque baptizatus est, maritus cum marita liberisque et familiaribus. Et post aliquantulum diecularum intervallum paucarum unus filiorum patrisfamilias, gravi correptus ægritudine, usque ad confinia mortis et vitæ perductus est. Quem cum magi morientem vidissent, parentibus cum magna exprobratione cœperunt illudere, suosque, quasi fortiores, magnificare deos, Christianorum vero, tanquam infirmiori, [2]Deo derogare. Quæ omnia cum beato intimarentur viro, zelo suscitatus Dei, ad domum cum suis comitibus amici pergit plebeii, ubi parentes nuper defunctæ prolis mæstas [3]celebrabant exequias. Quos Sanctus valde tristificatos videns, confirmans dictis [4]compellat consolatoriis, ut nullo modo de divina [5]omnipotentia dubitarent. Consequenterque percunctatur, dicens, In quo hospitiolo corpus defuncti jacet pueri? Pater tum orbatus Sanctum sub mæstum [6]deducit culmen, qui statim, omnem foris exclusam relinquens catervam,

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* C. [3] celebrant B. C. [4] compellavit D. [5] potentia D. [6] deduxit D.

correspond to Kill-aibhne in the diocese of Clonfert (Tr. Th. pp. 357 *a*, 490 *b*, 493 *b*; but *Kaille-auinde*, p. 384 *a*, n. 28). Archdall, on Colgan's authority, fixes *Cailleavinde* in the county of Sligo (Monast. Hib. p. 629). But its situation must be sought in Scotland. Mr. Skene conjectures that it was situate in the parish of Bendothy, in Perthshire, where was a burial-ground at a place called *Cally*, and a chapel named from St. Fink (Old Stat. Survey, vol. xix. pp. 357, 359).

[a] *Pictorum provincia.*—Probably that part which bordered on Loch Ness.

[b] *Per interpretatorem.*—In this case, and that of the Pictish chief, recorded in i. 33 (p. 62) *supra*, St. Columba was unable to make himself directly understood by the object of his address. On the other hand, in the cases of Broichan the Druid, and king Brudeus (chaps. 33, 34, 35, *infra*), and of Emchathus (iii. 14, *infra*), the communications of the Saint seem to have been made without the intervention of an interpreter; at least there is no mention of any such medium having been employed. Mac Firbis (Geneal. MS. p. 407) cites the following stanza from the Amhra of Columkille relative to the labours of the Saint among the various nations of Britain, intimating the diversity of their languages:

Fairenn Alban co muir n-Ictc,
Gaoidil, Cruithneig, Saix, Saxo-Brit,
Ar fearr fearuib fear do doid
Triocha bliadain priocadaid doib.

'The people of Alba to the Ictian Sea [British Channel],
The Gaedhil, Cruithneans, Saxons, Saxo-Brits:
Best of men was the man who went [to them]:
Thirty years did he preach to them.'

solus mæstificatum intrat habitaculum, ubi illico, flexis genibus, faciem ubertim lacrymis irrigans, Christum precatur Dominum; et post ingeniculationem surgens, oculos convertit ad mortuum, dicens, In nomine Domini Jesu Christi resuscitare, et sta super pedes tuos. Cum hac Sancti honorabili voce anima ad corpus rediit, defunctusque apertis revixit oculis, cujus manum tenens apostolicus homo erexit, et in [7]statione stabiliens, secum domum egressus [8]deducit, et parentibus redivivum assignavit[c]. Clamor tum populi attollitur, [9]plangor in [10]lætationem convertitur, Deus Christianorum [11]glorificatur. Hoc noster Columba cum [12]Elia et [13]Eliseo prophetis [14]habeat sibi commune virtutis miraculum; et cum Petro et Paulo et [15]Ioanne apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resuscitatione; et inter utrosque, hoc est, prophetarum et apostolorum cœtus, honorificam cœlestis patriæ sedem homo propheticus et apostolicus æternalem cum Christo, qui regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia sæcula [16]sæculorum[17].

[1]DE BROICHANO MAGO OB ANCILLÆ [2]RETENTIONEM INFIRMATO, ET PRO EJUS LIBERATIONE SANATO.

EODEM [3]in tempore, vir venerandus quandam a Broichano mago[a] [4]Scoticam postulavit servam[b] humanitatis miseratione liberandam: quam cum ille [5]duro valde et [6]stolido [7]retentaret [8]animo, [9]Sanctus ad eum locutus, hoc [10]profatur modo, Scito, Broichane, scito quia si mihi hanc peregrinam [11]liberare [12]captivam nolueris, priusquam de hac [13]revertar provincia, [14]citius morieris. Et hoc coram [15]Brudeo[c] rege dicens, domum egressus regiam[d], ad Nesam venit flu-

[7] stationem C. [8] deduxit D. [9] planctus B. D. [10] lætitiam B. C. [11] glorificatus est D. [12] helia B. D. [13] heliseo B. helizeo D. [14] habet D. [15] iohanne B. [16] *om.* C. D. F. S. [17] amen *add.* B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] retentionis B. [3] *om.* D. [4] scotticam B. [5] latro B. [6] fortiter B. [7] retardaret D. [8] *om.* B. [9] libertati dare *interlin. et manu recentiori* D. [10] profatus est D. [11] libere A. D. [12] *om.* B. [13] revertaris F. [14] dimittere *add.* D. [15] bruideo A.

[c] *Redivivum assignavit.*—The details of this story are evidently told in imitation of Matt. ix. 24, and the parallel passages.

[a] *Broichano mago.*—He was the tutor of Brudeus (chap. 33). The name is a British one. In the Life of St. Nennoca mention is made of "Brochan ex genere Gurthierni, rex honorabilis valde in tota Britannia." (Act. SS. Jun. tom. i. pp. 408 *b*, 409 *a*.) There is a Castle Broichin in the island of Raasay, near Skye.

[b] *Scoticam servam.*—It appears from the sequel that she was a captive. The neighbouring races seem to have been at this time on similar terms to those recorded in 2 Kings, v. 2.

[c] *Brudeo.*—See i. 1 (p. 13), 37 (p. 73), *supra;* ii. 35 (p. 150), 42, (p. 167) *infra.*

[d] *Domum regiam.*—See note [5], i. 37 (p. 73) *supra*, and chap. 35 (p. 152) *infra.*

vium[e], de quo videlicet fluvio lapidem attollens candidum, ad comites, Signate, ait, hunc [16]candidum lapidem, per quem Dominus in [17]hoc gentili populo [18]multas ægrotorum perficiet sanitates. Et hoc [19]effatus verbum consequenter intulit, inquiens, Nunc Broichanus [20]fortiter concussus est, nam angelus de cœlo missus, graviter illum percutiens, vitream[f] in manu ejus, de qua bibebat, confregit in multa [21]biberam[g] fragmenta; ipsum vero anhelantem ægra reliquit suspiria, morti vicinum. Hoc in loco paululum expectemus binos regis nuncios, ad nos celeriter missos, ut Broichano morienti citius subveniamus: nunc Broichanus, formidabiliter correptus, [22]ancillulam liberare est paratus. Adhuc Sancto hæc loquente verba, ecce, sicut [23]prædixit, duo a rege missi equites adveniunt, [24]omniaque quæ in regis [25]munitione de Broichano, juxta Sancti vaticinium, sunt acta, enarrantes; et de poculi confractione, [26]et de magi correptione, et de [27]servulæ parata absolutione; hocque intulerunt, dicentes, Rex et ejus familiares nos ad te miserunt, ut nutricio ejus [28]Broichano subvenias, mox morituro. Quibus auditis legatorum verbis, Sanctus binos de comitum numero ad regem, cum lapide a se benedicto[h], mittit, dicens, Si in primis promiserit se [29]Broichanus famulam liberaturum, tum deinde hic lapillus intingatur in aqua, et sic de eo bibat, et continuo salutem recuperabit: si vero renuerit [30]refragans absolvi servam, statim morietur. Duo missi, verbo Sancti obsequentes, ad aulam [31]deveniunt regiam, verba viri [32]venerabilis regi enarrantes. Quibus [33]intimatis regi et nutricio ejus [34]Broichano, valde expaverunt: [35]eademque hora liberata famula sancti legatis viri assignatur, lapis in aqua intingitur, mirumque in modum, contra naturam, [36]lithus[i] in aquis super-

[16] *om.* D. [17] *om.* D. [18] *om.* D. [19] affatus D. [20] *om.* D. [21] *om.* C. [22] ancillam C. D. [23] prædixerat C. [24] omnia C. D. [25] motione C. D. notione *inepte* Messingham. [26] de broichano juxta *add.* C. [27] servæ D. [28] baichano B. brochano D. [29] brochanus D. [30] *om.* D. [31] devenerunt D. [32] venerabiliter C. [33] auditis B. [34] brochano D. [35] eadem C. [36] lapis C. litatus D.

[e] *Nesam fluvium.*—See note [b], c. 27 (p. 140).

[f] *Vitream.*—Here the word denotes the material; at ii. 22 (p. 133) *supra*, and iii. 5, *infra*, it refers to colour.

[g] *Biberam.*—*Poculum* further on. "Septimanarii autem ante unam horam refectionis accipiant super statutam annonam, singulos biberes et panem."—Regul. S. Benedicti, c. 35. See Act. SS. Jan. tom. ii. p. 648 *b*, and Index Onomast., Sept. tom. v. p. 555, n. 207.

[h] *Cum lapide benedicto.*—A similar anecdote is told by Basil of Seleucia concerning St. Thecla, who appeared to Alypius the grammarian, after the physicians had failed to give him relief, and conveyed to him a round stone, by the touch whereof he was presently set on foot from a long and perilous sickness. (De Mirac. S. Theclæ, ii. cap. 24, cit. Ussher, Wks. iii. p. 442.) See the various superstitions about cures by holy or magic stones recorded in Martin's Western Islands, pp. 134, 166, 183, 246.

[i] *Lithus.*—This is the only authority for the

natat, quasi pomum, vel nux, nec potuit sancti benedictio[k] viri submergi. De quo Broichanus natante bibens lapide, statim a vicina rediit morte, integramque carnis recuperavit salutem. Talis vero lapis, postea, in thesauris regis reconditus, multas in populo ægritudinum sanitates, similiter in aqua natans intinctus, Domino miserante, effecit. Mirum [37]dictu, ab his ægrotis, quorum vitæ terminus supervenerat, requisitus idem lapis nullo modo reperiri poterat. Sic et in die obitus Brudei[l] regis quærebatur, nec tamen in eodem loco, ubi fuerat prius reconditus, inveniebatur.

[1]DE BEATI VIRI CONTRA BROICHANUM MAGUM REFRAGATIONE, ET VENTI CONTRARIETATE.

Post supra memorata peracta, quadam die [2]Broichanus [3]ad [4]sanctum proloquens [5]virum [6]infit[a], Dicito mihi, Columba, quo tempore proponis enavigare? Sanctus, Tertia, ait, die, Deo volente et vita comite, navigationem proponimus incipere. [2]Broichanus e contra, Non poteris, ait; nam ego ventum tibi contrarium facere, caliginemque umbrosam superinducere possum. Sanctus, Omnipotentia Dei, ait, omnium [7]dominatur, in cujus nomine nostri omnes motus, ipso gubernante, diriguntur. Quid plura? [8]Sanctus die eadem, sicut [9]corde proposuit, ad lacum [10]Nesæ fluminis longum[b], multa prosequente caterva, venit. Magi vero gaudere tum cœpere, magnam videntes superin-

[37] que *add.* D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] brochanus D. [3-4] *om.* D. [5] vir D. [6] inquit D. [7] dominator D. [8] *om.* D. [9] *om.* C. [10] B. nisae A. C. F. in se D.

Latinized form of λίθος in Du Cange. See Index voc. *Græcismi.*

[k] *Benedictio.*—In chap. 7, *supra*, it is convertible with *eulogia*. It occurs also in chap. 5. In these instances, as well as in the present, it signifies 'the vehicle of a blessing.' The English word *blessing* is used in this sense in 1 Sam. xxv. 27; 2 Kings, v. 15.

[l] *Obitus Brudei.*—It occurred in 583, as Tighernach records: "Mors Bruidhe mic Maelcon, ṗiġh Cṗuiṫhneach [regis Pictorum]." So An. Ult. at same year, and An. Inisfall. 576. Tighernach by a strange prolepsis places his baṗṗ, 'death,' at 505, and the Ann. Ult. his *mors* at 504, for which O'Conor proposes *nativitas*, an emendation which harmonizes very well with the true date of his death, as it allows a period of 78 years for the term of his life, but is open to the objection that in both authorities the "Battle of Manann by Aedhan" is entered under the preceding year, although Aedhan was not yet born, and the true date of that battle is 582: which creates a suspicion that these entries were taken from an earlier record whose chronological system was different, or that they were displaced through carelessness in the scribe. The *nativitas* of Adamnan, of the An. Ult. 623, is baṗṗ [*mors*] in the parallel entry of Tigh. (624).

ductam caliginem, et contrarium cum tempestate flatum. Nec mirum hæc interdum arte dæmonum posse fieri, Deo permittente, ut etiam venti et æquora in asperius concitentur. Sic enim aliquando dæmoniorum legiones sancto Germano episcopo, de Sinu Gallico[d], causa humanæ salutis, ad Britanniam naviganti[e], medio in æquore occurrerant, et opponentes pericula procellas concitabant, cœlum [11]diemque tenebrararum caligine obducebant. Quæ tamen omnia, sancto orante Germano, dicto citius, sedata detersa cessarunt caligine[f]. Noster

[11] que *add.* C.

[a] *Infit.*—It would appear from the narrative that these parties were able to converse without an interpreter. See note [b], p. 145.

[b] *Longum.*—Loch Ness is remarkable on account of its length, which is twenty-four miles, constituting it the longest and most important stage in the Caledonian canal.

[c] *Magi.*—See note [i], i. 37 (p. 73) *supra.*

[d] *Sinu Gallico.*—The British Channel. Instead of the name in the text, which is borrowed from Constantius, a Gallican writer, the Irish use muiṅ nIcht. See O'Donovan, Hy Fiachrach, p. 18; Irish Nennius, pp. 30, 272; Schol. Fiech, vs. 3, where Ussher reads *Muir-nict* (Wks. vi. p. 381), but Colgan, erroneously, *mare Iuium* (Tr. Th. p. 4 *b*). "Deinde S. Pontifex cum suis discipulis ad mare Ycht, quod dividit Galliam et Britanniam non potuit navigare."—Vit. S. Declani. (Act. SS. Julii, tom. v. p. 597 *b.*) "Cumque ad mare Icth pervenisset, quod est inter Britanniam et Galliam.—Vit. S. Albei. (E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 132 *b a.*)

[e] *Ad Britanniam naviganti.*—St. Germanus, bishop of Antissiodorum, now Auxerre, visited Britain in 429, and again in 448. On the former occasion he was accompanied by Lupus, bishop of Tricassii, now Troyes; on the latter by Severus, bishop of Treviri; and each time his object was to combat the spreading heresy of Pelagianism. See Baronius, Annal. an. 429, n. 10; Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 11 (Wks. v. pp. 371, 434). The present allusion is to the earlier visit. Nennius, more given to fiction than to history, details the miracles that St. Germanus wrought in Britain.—Sect. 32 (p. 24, ed. Stevenson); Irish Nennius, pp. 78, xxi.

[f] *Caligine.*—The Life of St. Germanus was written in prose by Constantius, a presbyter of Lyons, who flourished, according to Cave, in 440, or, according to Casimir Oudin, in 480. A metrical Life also was written by Heric of Auxerre. Both are to be seen in the Acta Sanctorum, at July 31, St. Germanus' day. The incident alluded to in the text is thus related by the former biographer: "Hi itaque oceanum mare, Christo duce et auctore, conscendunt. Ac primum de sinu Gallico flabris lenibus navis in altum provecta ducitur, donec ad æquor medium pervenirent; ubi porrectis in longum visibus, nihil aliud quam cœlum viderentur et maria. Nec multo post occurrit in pelago legionis inimica vis dæmonum; qui tantos ac tales viros pertendere ad recipiendam [recuperandam—Bede] populorum salutem, lividis iniquitatibus inviderent. Opponunt pericula, procellas concitant, cœlum diemque nubium nocte subducunt, tenebrarum caliginem maris atque aeris horrore congeminant. Ventorum furorem vela non sustinent; et oceani moles fragilis cymba vix tolerat, cedebant ministeria victa nautarum: ferebatur navigium oratione non viribus. Et casu Dux ipse vel Pontifex fractus corporis lassitudine, sopore resolutus est. . . . Tunc beatus Lupus, omnesque turbati excitant seniorem, elementis furentibus opponendum. Qui periculi immanitate constantior Christum invocat, increpat oceanum, procellis sævientibus causam religio-

itaque Columba, videns contra se elementa concitari furentia[g], Christum [12]invocat Dominum, [13]cymbulamque ascendens, nautis hæsitantibus, ipse constantior factus velum contra ventum jubet subrigi. Quo facto, omni inspectante turba, navigium flatus contra [14]adversos mira [15]vectum occurrit velocitate. Et post haud grande intervallum venti contrarii ad itineris ministeria cum omnium admiratione revertuntur. Et sic per totam illam diem flabris lenibus [16]secundis [17]flantibus, beati cymba viri optatum [18]pervecta ad portum[h] [19]pulsa est. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir venerandus, [20]in quo Deus omnipotens, talibus præscriptis miraculorum virtutibus, coram plebe [21]gentilica illustre suum manifestavit nomen.

[1]DE SPONTANEA REGIÆ MUNITIONIS [2]PORTÆ SUBITA [3]APERTIONE.

ALIO [4]in tempore, hoc est, in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum[a], casu contigit ut idem rex, fastu elatus regio, suæ munitionis[b],

[12] invocaverat D. [13] cimbalumque D. [14] *om.* C. [15] factum B. [16] secundi C. [17] ventis D. [18] perfecta B. provecta C. [19] appulsa B. [20] fuerit C. D. F. S. [21] gentili D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. [2-3] *om.* B. [4] *om.* D.

nis opponit. Statimque assumpto oleo in nomine Trinitatis, levi aspergine flatus sævientes oppressit. Collegam commonet; hortatur universos; oratio uno ore et clamore perfunditur. Adest divinitas; fugantur inimici; tranquillitas serena subsequitur; venti contrarii ad itineris ministeria vertuntur; navigium famulatrix unda prosequitur, decursisque itineris spatiis, brevi optati litoris quiete potiuntur."—Lib. i. 5 (Act. SS. Julii, tom. vii. p. 212). To the same purport the metrical Life also (*Ib.* p. 237 *b*). The shorter Life of St. Lupus, alluding to the occurrence, merely states: "Terribilis oceani fluctus, temporibus hybernis, inexplorato mari se committentes, orationis gubernaculo mitigabant." (Act. SS. Julii, tom. vii. p. 69 *b*.) The longer Life, in a less matter of fact manner: "Inimica vis dæmonum cœpit occurrere videntium insuperabiles viros ad recuperandam salutem populorum tendere." (*Ib.* p. 74 *b*.) Ven. Bede, in his account of St. Germanus' visits to Britain, transfers to his pages, with a few verbal omissions and alterations, the narrative of Constantius, and that without any notice of the source from whence he borrows (H. E. i. 17–22).

[g] *Elementa furentia.*—Owing to the narrowness of Lough Ness, and the great elevation of the hills with which it is walled in on either side, it is subject to squalls and currents of wind, which are both violent and capricious.

[h] *Portum.*—Loch Ness terminates on the south at Fort Augustus, from which the river Oich leads to the Loch of the same name.

[a] *Ad regem Brudeum.*—Ven. Bede makes the conversion of Brudeus and his subjects to precede the donation of Hy. His words are: A. D. 565, "Venit autem Brittaniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus, gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit: unde et præfatam insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit." (H. E. iii. 4.) The Chronicon Pictorum places this first visit a year earlier: "Bruide mac Maelcon

superbe agens, in primo beati adventu viri, non aperiret portas. Quod ut cognovit homo Dei, cum comitibus[c] ad valvas portarum accedens, in primis Dominicæ crucis imprimens signum, tum deinde manum pulsans contra ostia

xxx. annis regnavit. In octavo anno regni ejus baptizatus est a sancto Columba." (Irish Nennius, p. 163.) Ussher, following Hermannus Contractus, who borrowed from Bede, places the accession of Brudeus at 557 (Wks. vol. vi. *Ind. Chronol.*, and p. 234); Innes, a year earlier (Civ. Eccl. Hist. p. 193); but both dates are too late, for Brudeus died in 584 (Tigh. An. Ult. 583; Ussher, *Ind. Chr.* 584), and subtracting 30, the length of his reign, we are brought back to 554 for its commencement; and thus 563, the true year of St. Columba's removal to Britain, is found to be the *ninth* of Brudeus' reign. According to this computation, the regnal year in the Chron. Pict. is incorrect, unless we suppose the present visit to have taken place in 562, the year before the occupation of Hy. It is very possible that this visit to Brudeus may have been preliminary to the final settlement in that island. The Scots having been already converted, the missionary spirit, and a desire to conciliate the favour of powerful neighbours, would naturally lead St. Columba in their direction, and thus we could easily reconcile the rival statements of Bede and Tighernach as to the donation of Hy; concerning which Professor Hussey reasonably observes: "Si unquam de jure et possessione hujus insulæ certatum erat inter illos reges, satis causæ haberemus cur adeo diverse a diversis auctoribus traditum sit." (Bedæ, Hist. Eccl. p. 122.) We may fix on 563 as the most probable date of the occurrence recorded in the text.

[b] *Suæ munitionis.*—Mentioned already in i. 37 (p. 73). From chap. 33, *supra*, where we find *domus regia*, *aula regia*, and *regis munitio*, we learn that it was at some distance, though not far, from the banks of the river Ness. Now, as this river has a very limited course, the circuit of inquiry for the situation of the *dun* is greatly narrowed; and there being but one spot within it which is answerable to the name, the identification may be regarded as nearly certain. *Craig Phadrick*, situate about two miles S. W. of Inverness, across the river, is a natural eminence of considerable height, and well defined. On the summit is a level space of an oval form, about 240 yards in circumference, enclosed by a parapet, which, though very much reduced in height and regularity, and overgrown with vegetable matter, still affords satisfactory evidence of its original outline, and of the solidification of its parts by the action of fire. It is one of those rude structures called *Vitrified Forts*, and which are regarded by some as peculiar to the old Pictish inhabitants. The summit is 435 feet above the level of the sea, and commands, where the ill-judged and injurious plantation with which it is crowned permits, a most beautiful and extensive prospect, having a large tract of Rosshire on the north, Inverness on the east, Beauly on the west, and Loch Ness on the south. The ascent of the hill is rendered difficult by the dense plantation with which its sides are clothed, a species of ornament better suited to the neighbouring eminence of Tom-na-hourich than to the hill-fort of the Pictish kings. There is an interesting description of Craig Phadrick, accompanied by a sketch and section, in "An Account of some remarkable Ancient Ruins in the Highlands, by John Williams" (Edinb. 1777), p. 31. The memoir of Inverness parish in the old Statistical Survey gives but a meagre account of this curious fort (vol. ix. pp. 610, 634).

[c] *Comitibus.*—The Life of St. Comgall represents them as SS. Comgall and Cainnech. See following note.

ponit; quæ continuo sponte, retro retrusis fortiter seris, cum omni celeritate [5]aperta [6]sunt. Quibus statim apertis, Sanctus consequenter cum [7]sociis [8]intrat[d]. Quo cognito, rex cum senatu valde pertimescens, domum[e] egressus, obviam cum veneratione beato pergit viro, pacificisque verbis blande [9]admodum compellat: et ex ea in posterum die sanctum et venerabilem virum idem regnator, suæ omnibus vitæ reliquis diebus, valde magna honoravit, ut decuit, [10]honorificentia.

[1]DE ECCLESIÆ [2]DUORUM AGRI [3]RIVORUM SIMILI RECLUSIONE.

ALIO itidem [4]in tempore, vir beatus, [5]aliquantis in Scotia[a] diebus [6]conversatus, ad visitandos fratres qui in monasterio [7]Duum Ruris commanebant Rivulorum[b], ab eis invitatus, perrexit. Sed casu aliquo accidit ut eo [8]ad eccle-

[5-6] deposuit D. [7] suis *add.* C. [8] intravit C. [9] ad domum D. [10] reverentia D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* B. [3] rivulorum B. [4] *om.* D. [5] columba *add.* D. [6] versatus C. [7] divini C. [8] *om.* S.

[d] *Intrat.*—The occurrence is thus related in the Irish Life in the Highland Society's MS.: "Columcille went, upon a time, to the king of the Cruithneans, Bruidi mac Milchon. And the door of the court was closed against him. And immediately the iron locks of the house were opened by the prayers of Columcille. Then came the king's son, namely, Maelchu, and his druid, and they proceeded to contend with Columcille by the aid of magic: but they died suddenly, through the words of Columcille, both the king's son and the druid with him." (fol. 13 *b b.*) The Life of St. Comgall represents St. Columba as only one of the agents on this occasion: "Venerunt aliquando beatissimi tres Abbates, scilicet *S. Comgallus*, *S. Columba*, et *S. Cannicus*, ad regem gentilem, nomine *Bridæum*, et ille jussit januas castri contra eos claudi. Sed S. Comgallus valvas signo sanctæ crucis signavit, et ceciderunt fractæ in terram. Sanctus autem *Columba* valvas domus regalis eodem signo fregit; sanctus quoque *Cannicus* signavit manum regis vibrantem gladium ad eos occidendos, et statim arefacta est manus regis, et ita erat donec ipse in Deum credidit, et effectus est in Deo fidelis, manus ejus soluta est."—c. 44 (Flem. Collect. p. 311 *b*). A similar story is told in the Life of St. Fintan, c. 18 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 352 *a*). See i. 37 (p. 73) *supra*. St. Comgall visited Britain, in 566 or, as his Life expresses it, "Septimo anno postquam monasterium Bennchor fundatum est," which was 559 (Vit. c. 22, Flem. Coll. p. 307 *b*). But this seems to have been on a later occasion.

[e] *Domum.*—This was inside the *munitio*, and provided with its own doors. See last note.

[a] *Scotia.*—Here, as elsewhere in Adamnan, and in all writers before the eleventh century, Scotia signifies Ireland. Modern Scotland, in Adamnan, is always part of *Britannia*.

[b] *Duum Ruris Rivulorum.*—*Duorum Agri Rivorum* in the title. Dempster, not observing that *duum* is another form of *duorum*, reads *divini*, and makes Conallus, a disciple of St. Columba, bishop of the place (Menolog. Scot.; Hist. Eccl. p. 167). Preceding editors have unsuccessfully attempted to find the Irish name of this religious house. O'Donnell makes it the "cœnobium vulgo *Mainistir-anda-Shruth*,

siam accedente, claves non reperirentur oratorii. Cum vero Sanctus [9]de non repertis adhuc clavibus et de obseratis foribus inter se conquirentes alios audisset, ipse ad ostium appropinquans, Potens est [10]Dominus, ait, [11]domum suam servis etiam sine clavibus aperire suis. Cum hac tum voce subito retro retrusis forti motu pessulis, sponte aperta janua, Sanctus cum omnium admiratione ecclesiam ante omnes ingreditur, et hospitaliter a fratribus susceptus, honorabiliter ab omnibus [11]veneratur.

[1]DE QUODAM PLEBEIO MENDICO CUI SANCTUS SUDEM FACIENS AD JUGULANDAS BENEDIXIT FERAS.

[2]ALIO [3]in tempore quidam ad Sanctum [4]plebeius venit pauperrimus, qui in ea habitabat regione quæ Stagni litoribus [5]Aporici[a] [6]est contermina. Huic

[9] columba *add.* D. [10] deus D. [11] veneratus est D.
[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-3] quodam D. [4] columbam *add.* D. [5] aporicie D. [6] *om.* D.

id est monasterium duorum rivorum," and he places this visit immediately after the Saint's departure from Drumceatt.—iii. 15 (Tr. Th. p. 433 *b*). Colgan, regarding this as a name coined for the occasion, rejects it, and suggests, "Videri posset ecclesia *Tir-da-chroebh* vulgo dicta, in Media, in qua colitur S. Lugaidus S. Columbæ discipulus. Tir-da-chroebh idem est quod Terra seu Ager duorum ramorum, non vero *rivorum*, ut forte mendo apud Adamnanum irrepsit." (Tr. Th. p. 493 *b*, n. 14.) Tir-da-chroebh is set down in the Calendar of Donegal as in Cinel-Fiachach, Kinelea, the present barony of Moycashel in Westmeath (Jan. 31). It is the townland now called Tcernacreeve, in the parish of Castletown-Kindalen, in the above-named barony. But to suppose with Colgan an error in the text of Adamnan, where the name is repeated, or that the Irish cpaob, 'a branch,' was intended by *rivus* and *rivulus*, savours too much of that school in literature which fits the author to the theory. Colgan might have known that glar is an original Irish term for 'a stream,' appearing in the familiar compounds, Fionn-glar, *Finglas*, Dub-glar, *Douglas*, Cill-glar, *Kilglass*, and many such names. The Irish sequel to the memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh contains a short charter, in which the word glair in the sense of *rivulus* occurs five times (fol. 17 *a b*). With this understanding, there can be no hesitation in pronouncing the famous monastery of Tir-da-glar, now *Terryglas*, in the barony of Lower Ormonde, county of Tipperary, to be the place in question. It was founded in the first half of the sixth century by Colum mac Crimthainn, a contemporary and fellow-student of St. Columba at St. Finnian's monastery of Clonard. He died of the plague in 548 (An. Ult.), on the 13th of December, which is his festival in the Calendar. *Coarb*, or successor, *of Colum mac Crimthainn*, became in after times the title of the abbots of Tir-da-glas. There are thirty-four references to Tir-da-ghlas in the Index to O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters. The Life of the founder is preserved in the Cod. Salmanticensis at Brussels, and Colgan has printed two chapters from it (Tr. Th. p. 457 *b*). See Calendar. Dungall. Dec. 13; Ussher (Wks. vi. p. 533);

ergo miserabili viro, qui unde maritam et parvulos cibaret non habebat, vir beatus petenti, miseratus, ut potuit, quandam largitus eleemosynam, ait, Miselle humuncio, tolle de silva contulum vicina, et ad me [7]ocyus defer. Obsecundans miser, juxta Sancti jussionem, detulit materiam; quam Sanctus excipiens in veru exacuit; quodque propria exacuminans manu, [8]benedicens, [9]et illi assignans [10]inopi dixit, Hoc veru diligenter custodi, quod, ut credo, nec homini, nec alicui pecori, nocere poterit, exceptis feris bestiis quoque et piscibus; et quamdiu talem habueris sudem, nunquam in domo tua cervinæ carnis cibatio abundans deerit. Quod audiens miser [11]mendiculus, valde gavisus, domum revertitur, veruque in remotis infixit [12]terrulæ locis, quæ silvestres frequentabant feræ; et vicina transacta nocte, mane primo [13]pergit revisitare volens veru, in quo miræ magnitudinis cervum cecidisse reperit [14]transfixum. Quid plura? Nulla, ut nobis traditum est, transire poterat dies, qua non aut cervum, aut cervam, aut aliquam reperiret in veru infixo cecidisse bestiam. Repleta quoque tota de ferinis carnibus domo, vicinis superflua vendebat, quæ hospitium suæ domus capere non poterat. Sed tamen diaboli invidia per sociam, ut Adam, et hunc etiam miserum invenit; quæ, non quasi prudens, sed fatua, taliter ad maritum locuta est, Tolle de terra veru; nam si in eo homines, aut etiam pecora, perierint, tu [15]ipse et ego cum nostris liberis aut occidemur aut captivi ducemur. Ad hæc maritus inquit, Non ita [16]fiet; nam sanctus vir mihi, benedicens sudem, dixit, quod nunquam hominibus aut etiam pecoribus nocebit. Post hæc verba mendicus, uxori consentiens, pergit, et [17]tollens de terra veru, intra domum, quasi [18]amens, illud secus parietem posuit; in quo mox domesticus ejus incidens canis disperiit. Quo pereunte, rursum marita, Unus, ait, filiorum tuorum incidet in sudem et peribit. Quo audito ejus verbo, maritus veru de pariete removens ad silvam reportat, et in

[7] citius C. D. [8] atque *add.* D. [9] *om.* D. [10] que *add.* D. [11] mendicus B. [12] terræ C. [13] perrexit D. [14] transmissum C. [15] et *add.* C. [16] fiat D. [17] tollit C. [18] amans B. C. D.

Archdall, Monast. Hib. p. 676; Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 71, 75. There was a church in the diocese of Armagh called Maġ-eᵹiṅ-ḃiġlaiṙ, that is, *Campus-inter-duos-rivulos*, which is mentioned in the Four Masters at 879 and 950. As it has not been hitherto identified, it may be well to mention that it is probably the place known as *Magheraglass*, in the parish of Kildress (Ord. Surv. Tyrone, ss. 29, 38), called *Magheryinglasse* in the Ulster Inquisitions (Append. No. ii. p. 8 *a*), which is held under the See of Armagh, and possesses the remains of an ancient chapel.

[a] *Stagni Aporici.*—Loch Abor, now changed to *Lochaber*. See the note on *Stagno Aporum*, chap. 20 (p. 130) *supra*.

densioribus infixit dumis, ut putabat ubi a nullo posset animante offendi. [18]Sed postera reversus die capream in eo cecidisse et periisse [19]reperit. Inde quoque illud removens, in [20]fluvio qui Latine dici potest Nigra [21]Dea[b], juxta ripam sub aquis abscondens infixit: quod alia revisitans die, esocem[c] in eo miræ magnitudinis transfixum et retentum invenit; quem de flumine elevans vix solus ad domum portare poterat, veruque secum de aqua simul reportans, extrinsecus in superiore tecti affixit loco; in quo et corvus [22]devolatus, impetu lapsus disperiit jugulatus. Quo facto, miser, fatuæ conjugis consilio depravatus, veru tollens de tecto, assumpta securi, in plures concidens particulas, [23]in ignem projecit. [24]Et post, quasi suæ paupertatis amisso non mediocri solatio, remendicare, ut meritus, cœpit. Quod videlicet penuriæ rerum solamen sæpe superius in veru memorato dependebat, quod pro pedicis, et retibus, et omni venationis et piscationis genere servatum posset sufficere, beati viri donatum benedictione, quodque amissum miser plebeius, eo ditatus pro tempore, ipse cum tota familiola, sero licet, omnibus de cetero deplanxit reliquis diebus [25]vitæ.

[1]DE LACTARIO UTRE QUEM SALACIA ABSTULIT UNDA ET VENILIA ITERUM REPRÆSENTAVIT IN PRIORE LOCO.

ALIO in tempore, beati legatus viri, Lugaidus[a] nomine, [2]cognomento [3]Laitirus[b], ad Scotiam[c] jussus navigare proponens, inter navalia navis Sancti instrumenta utrem lactarium[d] quæsitum inveniens, sub mari, congestis super eum non parvis lapidibus, madefaciendum posuit; veniensque ad Sanctum quod de utre fecit intimavit. Qui subridens inquit, Uter, quem ut dicis sub undis

[18-19] *om.* Boll. [20] fluvium B. [21] deca D. [22] de volatus C. devolutus F. Boll. [23] comminuit et *add.* D. [24-25] et ipse post modum iterum factus est pauper sicut prius et usque ad diem mortis sue cum tota familia sudem lugebant D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. F. S. Boll. *omnia usque ad* quos enim deus *in cap.* 41 *inferius desunt* in D. [2-3] *om.* C. F. S.

[b] *Nigra Dea.*—In Irish, Dub bandea. The name has not been identified. It is curious that the word *Bandea* occurs in the Book of Armagh as the name of a river in Ireland (fol. 11 *b a*).

[c] *Esocem.*—A salmon. See the note, ii. 19 (p. 129) *supra.*

[a] *Lugaidus.*—See i. 22 (p. 51), and cap. 5 (p. 111), *supra.*

[b] *Laitirus.*—"Scotice Lathir," chap. 5 (p. 111) *supra.* Probably Laidir, *fortis.*

[c] *Scotiam.*—Convertible with *Hiberniam* in next sentence.

[d] *Utrem lactarium.*—The milk used in the monastery was conveyed in a wooden pail (chap. 16, p. 126, *supra*), but a leathern vessel was probably judged more convenient for use at sea.

posuisti, hac vice ut æstimo non te ad [4]Hiberniam comitabitur. Cur, ait, non mecum in navi comitem eum habere potero? Sanctus, Altera, inquit, die quod res probabit scies. Itaque Lugaidus mane postera die ad retrahendum de mari utrem pergit; quem tamen salacia noctu subtraxit unda[a]. Quo non reperto, ad Sanctum reversus tristis, flexis [5]in [6]terram genibus, suam confessus est negligentiam. Cui Sanctus, illum consolatus, ait, Noli frater pro fragilibus contristari rebus: uter quem salacia sustulit [7]unda, ad suum locum, post tuum egressum, reportabit [8]venilia[f]. Eadem die post Lugaidi de [9]Ioua insula emigrationem, hora transacta nona, Sanctus circumstantibus sic profatus, ait, Nunc ex vobis unus ad æquor pergat; utrem, de quo Lugaidus querebatur, et quem salacia [10]sustulerat unda, nunc venilia retrahens, in loco unde subtractus est [11]repræsentavit. Quo Sancti audito verbo, quidam alacer juvenis ad oram cucurrit maris, repertumque utrem, sicut prædixerat Sanctus, cursu reversus concito reportans, valde gavisus, coram Sancto, cum omnium qui ibidem [12]inerant admiratione, assignavit. In his, ut sæpe dictum est, binis narrationibus superius descriptis, quamlibet in parvis rebus, sude videlicet et utre, [13]prophetia simul et virtutis miraculum comitari cernuntur. [14]Nunc ad alia [15]tendamus.

[1]DE LIBRANO [2]ARUNDINETI[g] PROPHETATIO SANCTI VIRI.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir sanctus in [3]Ioua conversaretur insula, homo quidam plebeius nuper sumpto clericatus habitu[b], de Scotia transnavigans,

[4] everniam A. [5-6] *om.* B. [7] *om.* C. [8] venalia C. [9] A. C. F. S. iona B. [10] sustulerit F. [11] repræsentabit F. [12] erant C. [13] propheticæ C. [14-15] *om.* B.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] harundineti A. B. [3] iona B.

[a] *Salacia unda.*—The *salacia* and *venilia* undæ signify the ebb and flow of the tide. St. Augustine thus disposes of their mythological impersonative application: "Jam utique habebat Salaciam Neptunus uxorem, quam inferiorem aquam maris esse dixerunt, ut quid illi adjuncta est et Venilia, nisi ut sine ulla causa necessariorum sacrorum, sola libidine animæ prostitutæ, multiplicaretur invitatio dæmoniorum? Sed proferatur interpretatio præclaræ theologiæ, quæ nos ab ista reprehensione reddita ratione compescat. Venilia inquit, unda est, quæ ad littus venit: Salacia quæ in salum redit. Cur ergo deæ fiunt duæ, cum sit una unda, quæ venit et redit?"—De Civit. Dei, vii. 22; conff. *Ib.* iv. 10, 11. This ebb and flow of the tide is to be distinguished from the *ledo* and *malina* which are used by Bede and others to denote the lower and higher tides. In a MS. of Bede, *De Natura Rerum*, containing interlinear Irish glosses, preserved at Carlsruhe, the words *in lidones* are explained, .i. hi contṛachtu, and *malinas*, .i. hi ṗobaṛtai. So also in his work, *De Temporum Ratione*, where contṛachtu is also the gloss on *defectus*, and ṗobaṛti on *profectus*. The same interesting

ad insulanum beati monasterium viri devenit. Quem cum alia die Sanctus in hospitio[c] [4]residem hospitantem invenisset solum, primum de patria, de gente, et causa itineris, a Sancto interrogatus; de [5]Connachtarum regione[d] oriundum se professus est; et ad delenda in peregrinatione peccamina longo fatigatum itinere. Cui cum Sanctus, ut de suæ pœnitudinis exploraret qualitate, dura et laboriosa ante oculos monasterialia proposuisset imperia[e]; ipse consequenter ad Sanctum respondens, inquit, Paratus sum ad omnia quæcunque mihi jubere volueris, quamlibet durissima, quamlibet indigna. Quid plura? Eadem hora omnia sua confessus peccata, leges pœnitentiæ[f], flexis in terram genibus[g], se impleturum promisit. Cui Sanctus, Surge, ait, [6]et reside. Tum deinde residentem sic compellat, Septennem debebis in Ethica pœnitentiam[h] explere terra[i]. Ego et tu usquequo numerum expleas septennalium annorum, Deo donante, victuri sumus. Quibus Sancti confortatus dictis, grates Deo agens, ad Sanctum, Quid me, ait, agere oportet de quodam meo falso juramento? nam ego quendam in patria commanens trucidavi homuncionem[k]; post cujus trucidationem, quasi reus

[4] residenti B. [5] conactarum B. [6] *interlin.* B.

MS., treating of the ebb and flow of the tide, glosses *remeat* by .i. in aichbiu, and *adfluit* by .i. hi cuiliu: aichbe being *recessus*, 'ebb,' and cuile, *affluvium*, 'flood.' See Zeuss, Gram. Celt. vol. ii. p. 833.

[f] *Venilia.*—The flow tide. See last note.

[a] *Arundineti.*—See the explanation of the term at the close of the chapter.

[b] *Sumpto clericatus habitu.*—See i. 36 (p. 67) *supra.* We learn from the sequel that he was neither in Holy Orders, nor admitted as yet to the monastic condition; so that this expression must be understood of his retirement from secular life, and the adoption of the garb which characterized the associates or probationers of a religious community. Do gabail cleircecta, *clericatum suscepit*, is the Irish expression.—Four Mast. 800, Conf. 703, 729, 760, 792.

[c] *Hospitio.*—The intercourse between Ireland and the monastery of Hy was very constant, and, as in other great monastic establishments, there seems to have been here a special lodging for the accommodation of occasional visitors.

[d] *Connachtarum regione.*—Connaught, one of the five ancient provinces of Ireland. See Keating, History (vol. i. pp. 122–126, ed Halid.)

[e] *Dura imperia.*—The implicit obedience required by the strictness of the Columbian Rule rendered each member liable to the most laborious or perilous engagements.

[f] *Leges pœnitentiæ.*—See i. 22 (p. 52) *supra.* Cummian's Penitential, entitled "Cumeani abbatis liber de Mensura Pœnitentiarum," consisting of fourteen chapters, is printed in Fleming's Collectanea, pp. 197–210.

[g] *Flexis genibus.*—See i. 22 (p. 52), 32 (p. 61), *supra*, iii. 23 *infra.*

[h] *Septennem pœnitentiam.*—St. Cadoc dwelt seven years near Mount Bannauc in Scotland. (Vit. c. 22, Rees, Lives, p. 57.) He granted right of sanctuary for seven years, seven months, and seven days (*Ib.* c. 65, p. 95).

[i] *Ethica terra.*—Now Tiree. See i. 19 (p. 48) *supra.* The chief monastery in the island was that called *Campus Luinge.* See note [m], p. 158.

[k] *Trucidavi homuncionem.*—It was after a similar act that Aidus Niger, of whom mention has been made in i. 36, *supra*, retired from Ireland

in vinculis retentus sum. Sed mihi quidam [7]cognationalis homo ejusdem parentelæ, valde opibus opulentus, subveniens, me opportune et de vinculis vinculatum absolvit[l], et de morte reum eripuit. Cui post absolutionem cum firma juratione promiseram me eidem omnibus meæ diebus vitæ serviturum. Sed post aliquot dies in servitute peractos, servire homini dedignatus, et Deo potius obsecundare malens, desertor illius carnalis domini, juramentum infringens, [8]discessi, et ad te, Domino meum prosperante iter, perveni. Ad hæc Sanctus, virum pro talibus valde angi videns, sicuti prius prophetans, profatur, inquiens, Post septenorum, sicut tibi dictum est, expletionem annorum, diebus ad me huc [9]quadragesimalibus venies, ut in Paschali solemnitate ad altarium accedas, et Eucharistiam sumas. Quid verbis immoramur? Sancti viri imperiis per omnia pœnitens obsequitur peregrinus. [10]Iisdemque diebus ad monasterium Campi missus [11]Lunge[m], ibidem plene expletis in pœnitentia septem annis, ad Sanctum, diebus quadragesimæ, juxta ejus priorem propheticam jussionem, revertitur. Et post peractam Paschæ solemnitatem, in qua jussus ad altare accessit, ad Sanctum de supra interrogans memorato venit juramento. Cui Sanctus interroganti talia vaticinans responsa profatur, Tuus de quo mihi aliquando dixeras, carnalis superest dominus; paterque et mater et fratres adhuc vivunt. Nunc ergo præparare te debes ad navigationem. Et inter hæc verba macheram[n] belluinis ornatam dolatis protulit

[7] cognitionalis A. [8] decessi A. [9] quadragensimalibus A. [10] hisdemque A. B. [11] longe B.

"sub clericatus habitu." The violation of his oath was considered by the penitent a greater crime: or, at least, being a continued offence, it was more distressing to his conscience.

[l] *Absolvit.*—That is, he paid the *eric*, or fine, in satisfaction to the nearest kinsmen of the deceased. "Ad feroces hominum animos a mutuis cædibus coercendos lege sanctum erat, ut familia, ex qua homicida vel mutilator ortus erat, juxta numerum personarum ac facultates et damni illati mensuram, solveret familiæ damnum passæ, ejusve Principi certam mulctam, quam vulgo vocant *Eruic*, et latine sanguinariam pensionem, vel mulctam dixeris."—O'Donnell, iii. 10 (Tr. Th. p. 432 *b*). See also Vallancey's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 392.

[m] *Campi Lunge.*—In Ethica terra, or Tiree. See note [f], i. 30 (p. 59) *supra*.

[n] *Macheram.*—From μάχαιρα. Thus in the Life of St. Winwaloe, cited by Du Cange:

"Ancipitem fugiens duro cum dente maceram."

The charms of the Greek language had begun to give to western ecclesiastics a pedantic turn about this time, which was carried to a ludicrous excess in Aldhelm's letter to Eahfrid, cir. 690. (Ussher, Syll. xiii.) The Irish hymns in the Antiphonary of Bangor, which are of an earlier date, have "Audite pantes ta erga," "agius," "protus," "cako," "zoe." In Adamnan we find *sophia*, *lithus*, *protus*, *omonimum*, *machera*, &c. The same style is observable in Johannes Scotus, and even in the Irish school at St. Gall (Ussher, Syll. xxii. xxiii.; Pertz, Monument. vol. ii. p. 55). It kept its hold on hagiology to a much later date. Thus the Life

dentibus[o], dicens, Hoc accipe tecum portandum munus, quod domino pro tua redemptione offeres; sed tamen nullo modo accipiet. Habet enim bene moratam [12]conjugem, cujus salubri obtemperans consilio, te eadem die gratis, sine pretio, libertate donabit, cingulum ex more captivi de tuis resolvens lumbis[p]. Sed hac anxietate solutus, aliam a latere surgentem non effugies sollicitudinem: nam tui fratres undique [13]coarctabunt te, ut tanto tempore patri debitam, sed neglectam, redintegres pietatem. Tu tamen, sine ulla hæsitatione voluntati eorum obsecundans, patrem [14]senem pie excipias confovendum. Quod onus, quamlibet tibi videatur grave, contristari non debes, quia mox depones: nam ex qua die incipies patri ministrare, alia in fine ejusdem septimanæ mortuum sepelies. Sed post patris sepultionem, iterum fratres te acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis impendas obsequia[q]. De qua profecto compulsione tuus junior te absolvet frater; qui tua vice paratus omne pietatis opus, quod debes, pro te matri serviens reddet. Post hæc verba supra memoratus frater, Libranus nomine, accepto munere, Sancti ditatus benedictione perrexit; et ad patriam perveniens, omnia, secundum Sancti vaticinium, invenit vere probata. Nam statim, ut pretium suæ offerens libertatis ostendit domino, accipere volenti refragans uxor, Ut quid nobis, ait, hoc accipere quod sanctus pretium misit Columba? Hoc non sumus digni. Liberetur ei pius hic gratis ministrator. Magis nobis sancti viri benedictio proficiet, quam hoc quod [15]offertur pretium. Audiens itaque maritus hoc maritæ salubre consilium, continuo gratis liberavit servum. Qui post, juxta prophetiam Sancti, compulsus a fratribus, patrem, cui ministrare cœpit, septima die mortuum sepelivit. Quo sepulto, ut et matri debite deserviret compellitur. Sed subveniente juniore fratre, sicut Sanctus prædixerat, vicem ejus adimplente, [16]absolvitur. Qui ad fratres sic dicebat, Nullo modo nos [17]oportet fratrem in patria retentare, [18]qui

[12] cojugem A. [13] coartabant B. [14] tuum *add.* B. [15] offert Colg. Boll. [16] sed junior *add.* B. [17] *om.* B. [18] oportet *add.* B.

of St. Cadoc, which was written when "Albania vulgo Scotia vocabatur," has *effebus, pneuma, sophia, uranitus*, and, after the style of Edgar, *basileus*. (Rees' Cambr. Brit. SS. pp. 26, 38, 46, 51, 52, 56.)

[o] *Ornatam dentibus.*—Solinus, speaking of the inhabitants of Ireland, says: "Qui student cultui, dentibus marinarum belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos."

[p] *Resolvens lumbis.*—The form of manumission here alluded to will probably derive illustration from the Brehon Laws now in course of preparation for the press.

[q] *Pietatis obsequia.*—The allusion to filial obligations in this chapter indicates the existence of a better social and moral condition in Ireland at this date than the tone of the native Annals would lead one to expect.

per septem annos apud sanctum Columbam in [19]Britannia salutem exercuit animæ. Post quæ, ab omnibus quibus molestabatur, absolutus, matri et fratribus valedicens, liber reversus, ad locum qui Scotice vocitatur [20]Daire [21]Calgaich[r] pervenit. Ibidemque navim sub velo a portu emigrantem inveniens,

[19] brittannia A. B. [20] claire Colg. Boll. *litera* d, *quæ in cod.* A. *formam* cl *præ se fert, minus observata.* [21] B. calcig A. calig *male* Colg. Boll.

[r] *Daire Calgaich.*—The name is Latinized *Roboretum Calgachi* in i. 2 (p. 19), 20 (p. 50), *supra.* Calgach, the Galgacus of Tacitus (Agric. c 29), is a name occasionally found in the Irish Annals (Four Mast. 593; and in composition, *ibid.* 622). It is derived from calg, 'a sword,' or 'thorn;' and, as an adjective, denotes 'sharp' or 'angry.' Hence Calgach, gen. Calgaich, became a proper name in the sense of 'fierce warrior.' The foundation of the church of Derry by St. Columba is thus recorded in the Annals of Ulster, at 545: *Daire Coluim cille fundata est.* There is, however, a prolepsis in this name, for in every other instance where the place is mentioned in the Annals, until the middle of the tenth century, it is called by its original designation, *Daire Calgaich.* The first time that the form *Daire Coluimcille* occurs in the Four Masters is at the year 950, about which time it would seem that the memory of the founder prevailed over the ancient name. According to the early Irish Life, the church of Derry was founded in consequence of a grant from King Aedh, son of Ainmire, and within the royal precincts. Luid Coluim cille iarum do Daire .i. rig dun Aeda mic Ainmirech ba ri Erenn erride in tan rin. Ro-doprair in ri in dun rin do Colum cille acar oraidriuim fobith timna Mobii. Ic tidecht tra dorum ar in dun imach condricc fria duir do munntir Mobii acar crirr Mobii occai dorarh, acar deonugad ferain do gabail, iar n-ec Mobii. Gabair Colum cille iar rin h-i n-dun Aeda, acar focaigir eclais and, co firtaid h-ile do denam innte. 'Columcille went, then, to Daire, that is, to the royal fort of Aedh, son of Ainmire, who was king of Erin at that time. The king offered the fort to Columcille; but he refused it, because of Mobi's command. On his coming out of the fort, however, he met two of the people of Mobi, bringing to him Mobi's girdle, with his consent that Columcille should accept a grant of territory, Mobi having died. Columcille then settled in the fort of Aedh, and founded a church there, and wrought many miracles in it.' Now it is to be observed that Mobi Clarainech, of Glas-naoidhen, now Glasnevin, near Dublin, died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 544, the year preceding that to which they assign the founding of Derry. But Aedh, son of Ainmire, was slain, as Tighernach states, in 598, in the 63rd year of his age, so that he was born in 535, and therefore could have been only ten years old at the date of the alleged grant. O'Donnell, who copies this account, qualifies the statement concerning Aedh by observing: "Ejus tum loci Princeps Aidus, filius Ainmrechi Regis Hiberniæ; et ipse *postea* Rex, Dei suique cognati," &c.—i. 48 (Tr. Th. p. 397 *a*). A slight addition to the age of Aedh, as given by Tighernach, would represent him sufficiently advanced in years to become the patron of St. Columba; but even this is unnecessary, if we regard him at the age of ten as the representative of the race, and the donation made, as the Four Masters state (though 535, the year they assign, be untenable), "by his own tribe, i. e. the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall." The strongest evidence in support of the date given

clamitans de litore rogitat, ut ipsum nautæ cum eis susciperent navigaturum [22]ad [23]Britanniam[s]. Sed ipsi non suscipientes refutaverunt eum, quia non [24]erant de monachis sancti Columbæ. Tum deinde ad eundem venerabilem loquens virum, quamlibet longe absentem, tamen spiritu præsentem, ut mox res probavit, Placetne tibi, ait, sancte Columba, ut hi nautæ, qui me tuum non suscipiunt socium, plenis velis et secundis enavigent ventis? In hac voce ventus, qui ante illis erat secundus, dicto citius versus est contrarius. Inter hæc videntes virum eundem e regione secus flumen[t] cursitantem, subito inter se inito consilio, ad ipsum de navi inclamitantes dicunt nautici, Fortassis idcirco citius in contrarium nobis conversus est ventus [25]quia te suscipere renuerimus. Quod si etiam nunc te ad nos in navim invitaverimus, contrarios nunc nobis flatus in secundos convertere poteris? His auditis, viator ad eos dixit, Sanctus Columba, ad quem vado, et cui huc usque per septem annos obsecundavi, si me susceperitis, prosperum vobis ventum a Domino suo, virtute orationum, impetrare poterit. Quibus auditis, navim terræ approximant, ipsumque ad eos in eam invitant. Qui statim, rate ascensa, In nomine Omnipotentis, ait, cui sanctus Columba inculpabiliter servit, tensis rudentibus levate velum. Quo facto, continuo contraria venti flamina in secunda ver-

[22] in B. [23] brittanniam A. B. [24] A. B. erat Boll. [25] quod B.

in the Annals of Ulster is the statement in the Preface to the hymn *Noli Pater indulgere*, in the Liber Hymnorum: "Colum cille fecit hunc hymnum eodem modo ut *In te Christe*. Locus Doṙuṙ ḋiṙiṙe Daiṙi Chalcaiġ [porta deserti Daire-Calgachi]. Tempus, idem .i. Aeda meic [filii] Ainmerech." After which it proceeds in a narrative, partly Latin and partly Irish, to relate the death of Mobi, as in the Irish Life already cited. See Liber Hymnor. pp. 26, 27; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 476. These authorities are a sufficient answer to Dr. Lanigan's objections (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 122). For a detailed account of Derry, in all its relations, see the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore (Dubl. 1837).

[s] *Ad Britanniam.*—Derry was at this time a common point of communication with Hy. See i. 2 (p. 19) *supra*. In after times its monastery acquired jurisdiction over Hy. See Ann. Ult. 1164; Four Mast. 1203.

[t] *Secus flumen.*—That is, the Feabhal or Foyle, the river on which Derry is built. The Ordnance Memoir of Templemore states that "the ancient Irish appear to have applied the name *Lough Foyle* to the river up to Lifford, as well as to the present lough; but, in the accounts of the early settlement by the English, they are distinguished as the 'harbour of Lough Foyle' (the present lough), and the 'river of Lough Foyle,' by which name the river is called in the Down Survey, as well as in some later documents."—p. 2. The former part of this statement derives some support from the fact that O'Donnell, as translated by Colgan, uses the word *euripus* to denote this part of the river (Tr. Th. p. 397 *a*). It is to be observed, however, that *flumen* is used in the present instance by one of "the ancient Irish," and that in 1397 we again find mention made of the *fluvius Deriæ* (Colton's Visitat. pp. 19, 31).

tuntur, prosperaque usque ad [26]Britanniam plenis successit navigatio velis. Libranusque, postquam ad loca perventum est [27]Britannica, illam deserens navim, et nautis benedicens, ad sanctum devenit Columbam in [28]Ioua commorantem insula. Qui videlicet vir beatus, gaudenter suscipiens eum, omnia quæ de eo in itinere acta sunt, nullo alio intimante, plene narravit, et de domino, et uxoris ejus salubri consilio, quomodo ejusdem suasu liberatus est; de fratribus quoque; de morte patris, et ejus, finita septimana, sepultione; de matre, et de fratris opportuna junioris subventione; de his quæ in [29]regressu acta sunt; de vento contrario, et secundo; de verbis nautarum qui primo eum suscipere recusarunt, de promissione prosperi flatus; et de prospera, eo suscepto in navi, venti conversione. Quid plura? Omnia, quæ Sanctus adimplendæ prophetavit, expleta enarravit. Post hæc verba viator pretium suæ quod a Sancto [30]accepit redemptionis assignavit. Cui Sanctus eadem hora vocabulum indidit, inquiens, Tu Libranus vocaberis eo quod sis liber. Qui videlicet [31]Libran[u] [32]iisdem in diebus votum monachicum devotus vovit. Et cum a sancto viro ad monasterium[v], in quo prius septem annis pœnitens Domino servivit, remitteretur, hæc ab eo [33]prophetica de se prolata [34]accepit verba [35]valedicente, Vita vives longa, et in bona senectute vitam terminabis præsentem. Attamen non in [36]Britannia, sed in Scotia[w], resurges. Quod verbum audiens, flexis genibus, amare flevit. Quem Sanctus valde mæstum videns, consolari cœpit dicens, Surge, et noles tristificari. In uno meorum morieris monasteriorum[x], et cum electis erit pars tua meis in regno monachis;

[26] brittanniam A. B. [27] brittannica A. B. [28] iona B. [29] ingressu B. [30] B. accipit A. [31] A. libranus B. [32] hisdem A. B. [33] valedicens *add.* Boll. [34] B. accipit A. [35] *om.* Boll. [36] brittannia A. B.

[u] *Libran.*—The Irish Calendar has a "Libran abbot of Ia," at Mar. 11, although not noticed in the Annals; and a "Libren of Cluainfoda,' at the same day. The name occurs in the Four Masters, also, at 617. There are four saints called *Liber* in the Calendar. See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 584.

[v] *Monasterium.*—That is, Magh Lunge in Tiree. See note [i], p. 157 *supra*.

[w] *Scotia.*—This is another instance of the use of the word for Ireland, as contradistinguished from Scotland, then part of Britain.

[x] *Meorum monasteriorum.*—Ven. Bede seems to recognise Durrow and Hy as the only monasteries founded directly by St. Columba, and to regard them as the nuclei of all the Columbian foundations in either country. "Ex quo utroque monasterio plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus et in Brittania et in Hibernia propagata sunt." (H. E. iii. 4.) Derry, Kells, Kilmore-dithreabh, Swords, Rechra, and Drumcliff, were founded by him in Ireland. Durrow, however, is the one alluded to in the text. The congregations of all were included in one general denomination, the muintir Choluim-cille, or *familia Columbæ-cille*, as in the Book of Armagh (fol. 11 *b b*), and the abbot of Hy was their common head.

cum quibus in resurrectionem vitæ de somno mortis evigilabis. [37]Qui, a Sancto accepta non mediocri consolatione, valde lætatus [38]est, et Sancti benedictione ditatus, in pace perrexit. Quæ Sancti de eodem viro verax postea est adimpleta prophetatio. Nam cum per multos annales cyclos in monasterio Campi [39]Lunge post sancti Columbæ de mundo transitum, obedienter Domino deserviret, [40]monachus, pro quadam monasteriali utilitate ad Scotiam missus, valde senex, statim ut de navi descendit, pergens per Campum Breg[y], ad monasterium devenit Roborei Campi[z]; ibidemque, hospes receptus hospitio, quadam molestatus infirmitate, septima ægrotationis die in pace ad Dominum perrexit, et inter sancti Columbæ electos humatus est monachos, secundum ejus vaticinium, in vitam resurrecturus æternam. Has de Librano [41]Arundineti sancti veridicas Columbæ vaticinationes scripsisse sufficiat. Qui videlicet Libranus ideo [41]Arundineti est [42]vocitatus, quia in [43]arundineto multis annis [44]arundines colligendo laboraverat.

[1]DE QUADAM MULIERCULA MAGNAS ET [2]VALDE DIFFICILIORES PARTURITIONIS, UT EVÆ FILIA, TORTIONES PASSA.

QUADAM die, Sanctus in [3]Ioua [4]commanens insula, a lectione [5]surgit, et subridens dicit, Nunc ad [6]oratorium mihi properandum, ut pro quadam misellula [7]Dominum deprecer femina, quæ nunc in [8]Hibernia nomen hujus inclamitans commemorat Columbæ, in magnis parturitionis difficillimæ [9]torta punitionibus, et ideo per me a Domino de angustia absolutionem dari sibi sperat, quia et mihi est [10]cognationalis, de meæ matris parentela[a] genitorem

[37] qua B. [38] *om.* B. [39] lugne *male* Colg. Boll. [40] monachis B. [41] harundineti A. B. [42] vocatus B. [43] harundineto A. B. [44] harundines A. B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om* B. [3] A. C. F. S. iona B. [4] commorans C. [5] surgens C. [6] orationem C. [7] deum C. [8] B. C. F. S. evernia A. [9] *om.* F. [10] C. F. S. cognitionalis A. B.

[y] *Campum Breg.*—The plain of East Meath. See i. 38 (p. 74) *supra*. He cruised round the north and east coast of Ireland, till he arrived near the mouth of the Boyne, following the same course as Silnan in ii. 4 (pp. 109, 110) *supra*. Proceeding in a south-westerly direction through Meath and Westmeath, he would arrive in the part of the modern King's County where Durrow is situate.

[z] *Roborei Campi.*— *Roboreti Campus*, i. 29 (p. 58), 49 (p. 95), iii. 15. *Roboris Campus*, ii. 2 (p. 105). The Irish name *Dair-mag* occurs at i. 3 (p. 23) *supra*. Dearmach, now Durrow, is the only Irish foundation of St. Columba mentioned by Bede (H. E. iii. 4).

[a] *Matris parentela.*—Eithne, his mother, was descended from Cathaeir Mor, who was King of Leinster, and afterwards of Ireland, in the early part of the second century. See Præf. ii. (p. 8). She was ninth in descent from Daire

habens progenitum. Hæc dicens Sanctus, illius mulierculæ motus miseratione, ad ecclesiam currit, flexisque genibus pro ea Christum de homine natum exorat. Et post precationem oratorium egressus, ad fratres profatur occurrentes, inquiens, Nunc propitius Dominus Iesus, de muliere progenitus, opportune miseræ subveniens, eam de angustiis liberavit, et prospere prolem peperit; nec hac morietur vice. Eadem hora, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, misella femina, nomen ejus invocans, absoluta salutem recuperavit. Ita ab aliquibus postea de Scotia[b], et de eadem regione[c] ubi mulier inhabitabat, transmeantibus, intimatum est.

[1]DE QUODAM LUGNEO [2]GUBERNETA[a], COGNOMENTO [3]TUDIDA, QUEM SUA CONJUX ODIO HABUERAT DEFORMEM; QUI IN RECHREA COMMORABATUR INSULA.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Rechrea[b] hospitaretur insula, quidam plebeius ad eum veniens, de sua querebatur uxore, quæ, ut ipse dicebat, [4]odio

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. (*litera* d *dissecta*) Colg. Boll. (p. 213 *b*.) [2] A. gubernatore B. [3] tutida B. tudicla [4-5] *om.* B.

Barrach, his second son, whose descendants occupied Ui Bairrche, now Slievemargy, on the south-east of the Queen's County, near Carlow, and were represented in after ages by the family of MacGorman. St. Fiech, bishop of Sletty, a church in this territory, was fourth in descent from Daire Barrach; and St. Diarmaid, of Killeeshin, in the same territory, was seventh.

[b] *Scotia.*—Called *Hibernia* in an earlier part of the chapter.

[c] *Eadem regione.*—Tuaṫ Laiġen, 'North Leinster,' was the territory assigned to Daire Barrach, the ancestor of Eithne (Book of Rights, pp. 194, 212). Ængus, in his tract *De Matribus SS. Hib.* says: Eiṫne ingen Dimae mic Noe quae et Derbind belada do Chorpraiḋe Fanad maṫair Choluim chilli. 'Eithne, daughter of Dima, son of Noe, who was also called Derbind Belada; of the Cairbre of Fanad, was mother of Columcille.' (Lib. Lecan.) The old Irish Life says: A maṫair tra do Chorpriġiu Laiġen, 'his mother, now, was of the Corpraighe of Leinster.'

[a] *Guberneta.*—A Græcism from κυβερνήτης. Cod. B. reduces the word to a more Latin form.

[b] *Rechrea.*—The island of Rathlin or Raghery, off the north coast of the county of Antrim, is called *Rechru* in the title of i. 5 (p. 29) *supra;* Rachra (Ir. Nennius, p. 48). It is doubtful, however, whether that island, or another situate off the coast of the county of Dublin, is intended in the present chapter. The connexion of St. Columba with the latter is thus stated in the old Irish Life: Foṫaiġir eclair in Racraind oirṫir breġ, acar faobair Colman deocham innce. 'He founded a church in Rachra in the east of Bregia, and left Colman the deacon in it.' This is the "Colman mac Roi, of Reachra," who is commemorated at June 16. Rachra is shown by Dr. O'Donovan to be the modern Lambay (Irish Gram. pp. 155, 281; see

habens, eum ad [5]maritalem nullo modo admittebat concubitum accedere. Quibus auditis, Sanctus, maritam advocans, in quantum potuit, eam hac de causa corripere cœpit, inquiens, Quare, mulier, tuam a te carnem abdicare conaris, Domino dicente, Erunt duo in carne una? itaque caro tui conjugis tua caro est. Quæ respondens, Omnia, inquit, quæcunque mihi præceperis, sum parata, quamlibet sint valde laboriosa, adimplere, excepto uno, ut me nullo compellas modo in uno lecto dormire cum Lugneo. Omnem domus curam exercere non recuso, aut, si jubeas, [6]etiam maria transire[c], et in aliquo puellarum monasterio[d] permanere. Sanctus tum ait, Non potest recte fieri quod dicis, nam adhuc viro vivente alligata es [7]a lege viri. [8]Quos enim [9]Deus licite conjunxit nefas est separari. Et his dictis, consequenter intulit, Hac in die tres, hoc est, ego et maritus, cum conjuge, jejunantes Dominum precemur. Illa dehinc, Scio, ait, quia tibi impossibile non erit ut ea quæ vel difficilia, vel etiam impossibilia videntur, a Deo impetrata donentur. Quid plura? Marita eadem die cum Sancto jejunare consentit, et maritus similiter: nocteque subsequente Sanctus [10]insomnis pro eis deprecatus est; posteraque die Sanctus [11]maritam præsente sic compellat marito, O femina, si, ut hesterna dicebas die, parata hodie

[5] vel C. [7] *om.* C. [8-9] quia quos dominus *cap.* 37 *excipiens* D. [10] in somnis C. [11] marita D.

Irish Nennius, p. 138). Of St. Comgall it is related, "Cum cellam voluisset ædificare in insula nomine Reachrain, venerunt triginta milites et tenentes manum ejus, eum inde expulerunt."—Vit. c. 43 (Flem. Coll. p. 311 *b*). In 634, according to Tighernach, *Seigene abb. Ie ecclesiam Reckrain fundavit.* Again, in the Annals, several abbots, and one bishop, of Rechra are mentioned; and in one instance (Four Mast. 848) Rechra was jointly held with Durrow under the abbot Tuathal, son of Feradhach; which proves that it was a Columbian foundation. It is therefore likely that the church of Rechra, in the Annals, is Lambay, and not Raghery. The church, however, which was founded by Seighene may have been in Raghery. This island is called *Ricnea* by Pliny, Ῥικίνα by Ptolemy, and in civil records is variously written *Rachrunn, Racry, Reachrainn, Rauchryne, Rachreyne, Raughlin, Rawlines.* There are several islands in Ireland called *Rathlin*, which is the refined pronunciation of Raghery. For conjectures about the derivation of the name, see Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vi. p. 528), and Zeuss, Gram. Celt. (i. p. 75, *note.*) For an account of Raghery, see Reeves' Eccl. Ant. pp. 248, 288.

[c] *Maria transire.*—O'Donnell makes this a very comprehensive offer: "vel Hierosolimas peregrinari."—ii. 81 (Tr. Th. p. 425 *a*).

[d] *Puellarum monasterio.*—We have no record of any conventual establishment for women in connexion with the Columbian rule. In the thirteenth century a nunnery was built in Hy, of which a considerable portion still remains. It is first mentioned by Fordun, who in his brief notice of the monasteries on the island, says: "Aliud [monasterium] sanctarum monialium ordinis Sancti Augustini rochetam deferentium."—Scotichr. ii. 10. An islet in the Sound of Iona, on the Mull side, is called *Eileann na mBan*, 'Island of the women.'

genter commenda, ne aliquid adversi intra terminos ejus contra eos fiat. Hoc vero Sanctus ita dicebat, quia in spiritu præcognovit quod post aliquot menses idem Cormacus esset ad Orcadas venturus. Quod ita postea evenit; et propter supradictam sancti viri commendationem, de morte in Orcadibus liberatus est vicina[g]. Post [10]aliquantum [11]paucorum intervallum mensium, [12]cum Sanctus in [13]Ioua [14]commoraretur insula, quadam die coram eo ejusdem Cormaci mentio ab aliquibus subito [15]oboritur sermocinantibus, et taliter dicentibus, Quomodo Cormaci navigatio, [16]prosperane [17]an non, provenit, adhuc nescitur. Quo audito verbo, Sanctus [18]hac profatur [19]voce dicens, Cormacum de quo nunc [20]loquimini hodie mox pervenientem videbitis. Et post quasi unius horæ interventum, mirum dictu, [21]et ecce inopinato Cormacus superveniens, oratorium cum omnium admiratione et gratiarum ingreditur actione. Et quia de hujus Cormaci secunda navigatione beati prophetationem breviter [22]intulerimus viri, nunc et de tertia æque propheticæ ejus scientiæ aliqua describenda sunt verba.

[23]Cum idem Cormacus tertia in oceano mari fatigaretur vice, [24]prope usque ad mortem periclitari cœpit. Nam cum ejus navis a terris per quatuordecim [25]æstei temporis dies[h], todidemque noctes, plenis velis, [26]austro flante vento, ad [27]septemtrionalis plagam[i] cœli directo excurreret cursu, [28]ejusmodi navigatio

[10] aliquantulum D. [11] parvum D. [12] *cap.* 27 *incipit* D. [13] A. C. F. S. iona B. D. [14] moraretur D. [15] aboritur A. [16] prospere C. D. [17] *om.* C. D. [18] hec B. [19] *om.* B. [20] loquimur C. [21] *om.* B. [22] intulimus C. [23] dum C. [24] *om.* C. [25] estivi B. C. D. [26] astro B. [27] septemtrionalem C. [28] hujusmodi D.

Picts, and Scots, far from subduing them, were often harassed, by those enterprising islanders." (Caledonia, i. p. 344.)

[g] *Morte vicina.*—It may be concluded from this that the inhabitants were still Pagans, and that the occurrence here mentioned either took place before Brudeus had time to extend the profession of Christianity to this portion of his subjects, if they were Picts, or that the people not being of his nation, he was unable to influence their religious creed. The Norwegians are recorded to have found two nations in Orkney, the Peti or Picts, and the Papæ, whom Mr. Herbert conjectures to have been "the Irish fathers of the rule of St. Columkille, who repaired to the Orkneys, and obtained possession of Papa Stronsa and Papa Westra, as he had done of Iona." (Ir. Nen. p. 147.) If this be correct, it will follow that the Norwegian occupation of Orkney was of a date considerably subsequent to the age of St. Columba, for his missionaries had not *yet* obtained a footing there, and when the Northmen made their settlement, the *nation of Papæ* was found in part possession. See Orkneyinga Saga, p. 549; Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 15 (Wks. vi. pp. 103, 213).

[h] *Quatuordecim dies.*—Reykjanaes in Iceland was considered six days' sail in a fair wind from Jölduhlaup on the north coast of Ireland. (Reeves, Eccl. Ant. p. 386.)

[i] *Septemtrionalis plagam.*—Of St. Ailbhe of Emly, who died A. D. 534, it is related that "ad insulam Tile in oceano positam navigare

ultra humani excursus modum, et irremeabilis videbatur. Unde contigit, ut post decimam ejusdem quarti et decimi horam diei, quidam pene insustentabiles undique et valde formidabiles consurgerent terrores; quædam quippe [29]usque in id temporis invisæ, mare obtegentes, [30]occurrerant tetræ et infestæ nimis [31]bestiolæ, quæ horribili impetu carinam et latera, puppimque et proram ita [32]forti feriebant percussura, ut pelliceum tectum[k] navis [33]penetrales putarentur penetrare posse.

[29] *om.* C. [30] occurrerent D. [31] bestie D. [32] fortiter C. [33] A. B. *om.* C. Boll.

decrevit," but that being hindered by the king of Cashel, "viginti duos viros in exilium supra mare misit." (Colg. Act. SS. p. 241 *a*; Cod. E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 135 *a a*.) This was most probably Mainland among the Shetland Isles, and the Thule of Tacitus. That Irish Christians had at a very early date made good their way into the remotest regions of the north, appears from the testimony of the Landnamabok, translated by Johnstone: "Antequam Islandia a Norvegis inhabitaretur, ibi homines fuerunt, quos Norvegi Papas vocant, qui religionem christianam profitebantur, et ab occidente per mare advenisse creduntur, ab iis enim relicti libri Hibernici, nolæ, et litui, et res adhuc plures reperiebantur, quæ indicare videbantur illos Vesimannos fuisse. Hæc inventa sunt in Papeya orientem versus et Papyli." (Antiqq. Celt.-Scand. p. 14.) See O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. vol. iv. p. 140. Dicuil, the Irishman, who wrote his tract *De Mensura Orbis Terræ* in 825, treating of Thile, relates some particulars concerning that island which had been communicated to him by certain clerics who had been there before 795; and he adds, "navigatione unius diei ex illa ad boream, congelatum mare invenerunt." (Ed. Letronne, p. 39.) His Thile must be Iceland. Treating of the Feroe Islands, he says: "Sunt aliæ insulæ multæ in septentrionali Britanniæ oceano, duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione, plenis velis, assiduo feliciter vento, adiri queunt . . . In quibus, in centum ferme annis, eremitæ ex nostra Scottia navigantes habitaverunt." (*Ibid.*) See also the authorities cited in Colgan, Act. SS. p. 241.

[k] *Pelliceum tectum.*—This boat, which, as the text states, was impelled by oars, belonged to the class called *curach* by the Irish, *corwg* by the British, and *coracle* by the modern English. Jul. Cæsar, having occasion to build some of them after the British model, thus describes their structure: "Carinæ primum, ac statumina [gunwales] ex levi materia fiebant; reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum, coriis integebatur." (Bell. Civil. i. 54.) Or, as Lucan (lib. iv.) expresses it:

> 'Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
> Texitur in puppim, cæsoque induta juvenco.'

So, Pliny (N. H. vii. 56), and Solinus (c. 35). Gildas puts the Celtic word into a Latin form: "Emergunt certatim de *curicis*, quibus sunt trans Tithicam vallem vecti . . tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges."—De Excid. Brit. c. 15 (Monument. Hist. Brit. p. 11). So Adamnan, in cap. 45, *infra*. Muirchu represents St. Patrick as saying to Maccuil, "Mitte te in navim unius pellis absque gubernaculo et absque remo." (Lib. Armacan. fol. 6 *b a*.) "Lembum exiguum de uno corio."—Vit. Trip. iii. 61 (Tr. Th. 161 *a*). Which Probus renders *culleum*.—c. 81 (Tr. Th. p. 45 *b*). Larger curachs were covered with two or more skins. In the year 878, "tres Scotici viri Dubslan, Macbeathu, Malmumin, peregrinam ducere vitam pro Domino cupientes, assumpto secum unius hebdomadæ viatico, occulte de Hibernia fugerunt, carabumque qui ex duobus tantum coriis et dimidio factus erat, intraverunt, mirumque in modum sine velo et armamentis post septem

Quæ, ut hi qui inerant ibidem postea narrarunt, prope [34]magnitudinem ranarum, aculeis permolestæ, non tamen volatiles sed natatiles[l], erant; sed et remorum infestabant palmulas. Quibus visis, inter cetera monstra quæ non hujus est temporis narrare, Cormacus cum nautis comitibus, valde [35]turbati et [36]pertimescentes, Deum, qui est in angustiis pius et [37]opportunus auxiliator, [38]illacrymati [39]precantur. Eadem hora et sanctus noster Columba, quamlibet longe absens corpore, spiritu tamen præsens in navi cum Cormaco erat. Unde, eodem momento, personante signo[m], fratres ad oratorium convocans, et ecclesiam intrans, astantibus, [40]sic, more sibi consueto, prophetizans profatur, dicens, Fratres tota intentione pro Cormaco orate, qui nunc humanæ discursionis limitem, immoderate navigando, excessit, nunc quasdam monstruosas, ante non visas, [41]et pene indicibiles, patitur horrificas perturbationes. Itaque nostris commembribus in periculo intolerabili constitutis mente compati debemus fratribus, et Dominum exorare cum eis. Ecce enim nunc Cormacus cum suis nautis, faciem lacrymis ubertim irrigans, Christum [42]intentius precatur; [43]et nos ipsum

[34] magnitudine A. C. [35] turbatis B. [36] pertimescentibus B. [37] optimus D. [38] illacrimatus B. [39] precatur B. [40] tunc D. [41] *om.* C. [42] intentus B. [43] *om.* C.

dies in Cornubia applicuerunt."—Flor. Wigorn. An. 878 (Monum. p. 564). This is taken from Ethelwerd's Chronicle, An. 891, where it is said, "consuunt lembum taurinis byrsis." (*Ib.* p. 517.) With which the Saxon Chron. (An. 891) agrees. (*Ib.* p. 362.) The most circumstantial account we have of the building of a curach is that preserved in the Life of St. Brendan, the contemporary of our saint: "Sanctus Brendanus et qui cum eo erant, fecerunt naviculam levissimam costatam et columnatam ex vimine, sicut mos est in illis partibus [i. e. prope montem qui dicitur Brendani Sedes, hodie *Mount Brandon*, in Kerry], et cooperuerunt eam coriis bovinis ac rubricatis in cortice roborina, linieruntque foris omnes juncturas navis, et expendia quadraginta dierum et butirum ad pelles præparandas assumpserunt ad cooperimentum navis, et cetera utensilia quæ ad usum vitæ humanæ pertinent. Arborem posuerunt in medio navis fixum, et velum, et cetera quæ ad gubernationem navis pertinent." (Jubinal, La Legende de S. Brandaines, p. 7.) See O'Flaherty, Ogyg. iii. 34 (p. 250); Harris' Ware's Works, vol. ii. p. 179; O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. vol. iv. p. 142; Chalmers, Caledonia, i. p. 101; Stillingfleet, Orig. Britann. Introd. p. lxvi. (Lond. 1840); Spelman, Glossary, voc. *Carrocium;* Cowel's Interpreter, voc. *Coracle* (Lond. 1701). The use of the curach has long ago been abandoned in the seas near St. Columba's chief monastery, but it continues in the Severn, and on many parts of the coast of Ireland, especially of the counties of Donegal and Clare. See the interesting description of a modern curach in the account of Tory Island by Edmund Getty, Esq., Ulst. Journal of Archæol. vol. i. p. 32.

[l] *Natatiles.*—It is said that crustacea answering to the description in the text have, in modern times, been met with, under similar circumstances, in high northern latitudes.

[m] *Personante signo.*—The same expression occurs at iii. 13, *infra.* See Bede, H. E. iv. 23. Adamnan uses *clocca* at i. 8 (p. 33), iii. 23.

orando adjuvemus, ut austrum flantem ventum usque hodie per quatuordecim dies, nostri miseratus, in aquilonem convertat; qui videlicet aquiloneus ventus navem Cormaci de periculis [44]retrahat. Et hæc dicens, flebili cum voce, flexis genibus ante altarium, omnipotentiam [45]Dei ventorum et cunctarum gubernatricem [46]precatur rerum. Et post orationem cito [47]surgit, et [48]abstergens [49]lacrymas, gaudenter [50]grates Deo [51]agit, dicens, Nunc, fratres, nostris congratulemur, pro quibus [52]oramus, caris: quia Dominus austrum nunc in [53]aquilonarem [54]convertet flatum, [55]nostros de periculis [56]commembres retrahentem, quos huc [57]ad nos [58]iterum reducet. Et continuo cum ejus voce auster cessavit ventus, et [59]inspiravit aquiloneus per multos post dies: et navis Cormaci ad terras redacta est. Et pervenit [60]Cormacus ad sanctum Columbam, et se, donante Deo, facie [61]in faciem, cum ingenti omnium admiratione [62]viderant et non mediocri [63]lætatione. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir beatus, [64]qui talem propheticam habens scientiam, ventis et oceano, Christi invocato nomine, potuit imperare.

[1]DE VENERABILIS VIRI IN CURRU EVECTIONE ABSQUE CURRILIUM OBICUM COMMUNITIONE.

ALIO [2]in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot dies Sanctus conversaretur, aliquibus ecclesiasticis [3]utilitatibus[a] coactus, currum[b] ab eo prius benedictum[c] ascendit junctum; sed non insertis primo, qua [4]negligentia accedente [5]nescitur,

[44] retrahebat B. retraxerat D. [45] domini C. [46] precatus est D. [47] surrexit D. [48-49] abstinens lachrimis C. [50] gratias D. [51] egit D. [52] oravimus D. [53] aquilonem B. [54] convertit C. [55] nostra D. [56] commembra D. [57] iter *add.* D. [58] *om.* D. [59] spiravit C. [60] cormac A. [61] ad C. D. [62] repræsentavit C. viderunt D. [63] exultatione D. [64] fuerit *add.* C. fuerat D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3] visitantibus *male* Colg. Boll. [4] nescio *add.* C. [5] *om.* C.

[a] *Ecclesiasticis utilitabus.*—O'Donnell places this occurrence, together with the visits mentioned in chap. 36 (p. 152), and i. 3 (p. 23), *supra*, in the narrative of St. Columba's transactions in Ireland immediately after the convention of Drumceatt (iii. 16, Tr. Th. p. 433 *b*); but in this he seems to overlook the peculiar expression in the text, which states that the present journey was undertaken for ecclesiastical purposes, probably a visitation of his Irish monasteries, whereas his coming to Drumceatt was for secular purposes, and the visits then paid to churches were said to be "post regum in Dorso Cette condictum." See i. 49 (p. 91), 50 (p. 98), *supra*.

[b] *Currum.*—See i. 38 (p. 74) *supra*. In St. Brogan's metrical Life of St. Brigid we find the word ceiṫim in the sense of 'currus vimineus.'—vs. 13 (Tr. Th. p. 515); and cappac ḋiṗaċ for 'currus duarum rotarum.'—vs. 42 (*Ib.* p. 517).

[c] *Benedictum.*—See chap. 16 (p. 125) *supra*.

necessariis obicibus[d] per [6]axionum extrema foramina. Erat autem eadem diecula Columbanus filius [7]Echudi[e], vir sanctus, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotica vocitatur [8]lingua [9]Snam-luthir[f], qui operam aurigæ in eodem curriculo cum sancto exercebat Columba. Fuit itaque talis ejusdem agitatio diei per longa [10]viarum spatia sine ulla rotarum humerulorumque separatione [11]sive labefactatione, [12]nulla, ut supra dictum est, obicum retentione vel [13]commu-

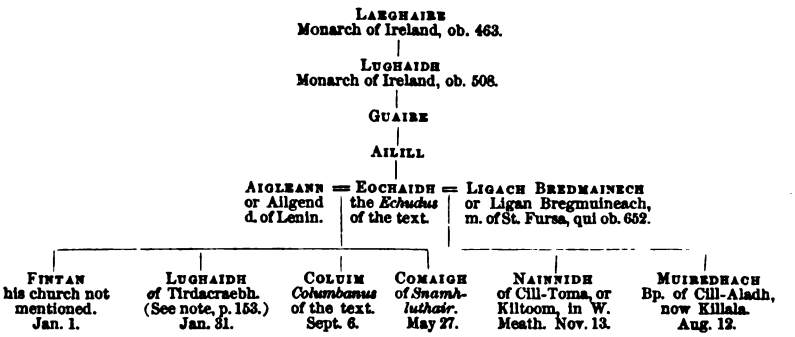
[6] axium B. occeanum D. [7] eochayd D. [8] longua D. [9] suam D. [10] dierum D. [11] sine D. [12] ulla D. [13] communione B. comminucione D.

[d] *Obicibus.*—See the passages cited in note [5] (p. 174) *infra*. the former of which is Du Cange's only authority for *rosetus*, or *roseta*, which he interprets "paxillus ferreus," commonly called the *linch-pin*, or in Irish ꝺealg-ꝓoiꞇleaiꞇ. But it rather means a large nut or box fastened on the end of the axle. The construction was afterwards changed, and the block wheel was introduced, where the axle was firmly fixed in the wheels, and revolved with them. Carts thus made are still common in Ireland.

[e] *Columbanus filius Echudi.*—The connexion of this Columbanus (or Colmanus, as the name is more generally written, vid. note [d], p. 29, *supra*) with the monastery mentioned in the text, is noticed also in the Life of St. Fechin of Fore: "Perrexit quodam die S. Fechinus ad locum, qui Snamh-luthir dicitur, in regione de Carbre gabhra. Et cum ibi offendisset Colmanum filium Eochadii a longo tempore oculis captum, aquâ, qua suas manus lavit, ad oculos ejus admota, et aspersa, eum perfectissimè visus beneficio redonavit."—cap. 30 (Act. SS. p. 136 *b*). St. Fechin died in 665, so that this occurrence was of a much later date than that in the text, at which time Colman was probably a youth: at least his employment with St. Columba, and his condition when visited by St. Fechin, indicate the opposite extremes of life. It may be observed here that St. Fechin is stated in his Life to have had an interview with Adamnan, and that the ancient author declares he was informed of it by Adamnan himself.—cap. 47 (Act. SS. p. 139 *a*). This Columbanus, or Colman, was of the race of Laeghaire, son of Niall, and was commemorated, Sept. 6, in Ros-glanda, now Donaghmore in the county of Tyrone, as well as in Snamh-luthair, where the festival of his sister Comaigh was kept on May 27. The Genealogy of the Saint in the Book of Lecan gives the following account of his lineage: Ꝑinꞇan mac Ꝗchach, ocur Colman .i. Coluim Ruir ꝳil ꝳlanda ꝑil ic Snam luꞇair ocur Midireal, ocur Nainḋiḋ Cilli ꞇomae, ocur Luꝳaiḋ Thiri-ḋachraeb, ocur Muireaḋaꞇ Chilli hAluiꝳ a nUib Amalꝳaiḋ, cuic meic anḋrin Ꝗachach mec Aeḋa mec Laeꝳaire mec Neill Naiꝳiallaiꝳ. Aiꝳleanḋ inꝳen Lenin maꞇair Ꝑinꞇain ocur Luꝳuiḋ, ocur Coluim. Comaiꝳh inꝳin Ꝗchach mic Aililla mic Ꝺuairi mic Luꝳach mic Laeꝳaire ic Snam luꞇair in ain chill ocur bratair. 'Fintan, son of Eochaidh and Colman, i. e. Coluim of fair Ros-glanda, who is [commemorated] at Snamh-luthair and Midiseal, and Nainnidh of Cill-toma, and Lughaidh of Tir-da-chraebh, and Muiredhach of Cill-Aluigh in Ui Amalgaidh, five sons of the same Eochaidh, son of Aedh, son of Laeghaire, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Aigleand, daughter of Lenin, was mother of Fintan, and Lughaidh, and Colum. Comaigh, daughter of Eochaidh, son of Ailill, son of Guaire, son of Lughaidh, son of Laeghaire, [is commemorated] in Snamh-luthair, in the same church with her brother.' The various members of this family are noticed on several days in the Calendar, the harmony of which among themselves, and with the state-

nitione retinente. Sed sola diali sic venerando præstante gratia viro, ut currus cui insederat salubriter, absque ulla impeditione, recta incederet orbita[s].

ments in the Life of St. Fechin, and the text, afford a most important testimony to the authenticity of these independent authorities. The following Table exhibits the descent and contemporary relations of the individual who forms the subject of the present note:



[s] *Snam-luthir.*—Stated in the passage cited in last note from St. Fechin's Life to have been in *Carbre Gabhra.* To which may be added the following, from the Life of St. Ruadhan of Lorrha: "Quadam autem die cum venisset Rodanus ad civitatem quæ dicitur *Snam-Luthir*, in regione Generis Karbri, in eadem hora rex Generis Karbri mortuus ferebatur in curru ad civitatem illam, totaque plebs circa illum valde lugens erat. Tunc Rodanus illis misertus oravit Dominum, et statim rex surrexit vivus, et obtulit civitatem illam Snam-Luthir et gentem sibi adhærentem sancto Rodano." (Act. SS. April. ii. p. 383 *a.*) Colgan thought that this Cairbre Gabhra was the same as Cairbre of Drumcliff, now the barony of Carbury, in the county of Sligo, and accordingly takes Snamh-luthir to that remote part of Connaught, but, as might be expected, is unable to fix its position. (Tr. Th. p. 384 *b*, n. 35; Act. SS. p. 141 *b*, n. 18.) Colgan's authority led Archdall to place Snamh-luthir in the county of Sligo: and, as a consequence, to confess, "we know nothing further of this abbey." (Monast. p. 639.) But Dr. O'Donovan was not to be so easily misled, for he shows that Cairbre Gabhra is represented by the modern barony of Granard, in the N. E. of the county of Longford. (Four Mast. 731.) That the territory, however, extended much further northwards, and included a considerable portion of Loughtee Upper, in the county of Cavan, will appear from the identification of Snamh-luthair. We are brought still nearer on our way by the ecclesiastical Inquisition taken at Cavan, in 1609, in which we read: "And the said jurors doe further uppon their oathes, say and present, that in the said barony of Loughty als. Cavan, are the abbey landes, ensuinge, viz. the late abbey or priorie of Trinitie iland scituate neere the Toaghor, with fower polles and a halfe of land therunto belonginge, viz. the poll of Clanlaskan, the poll of the Derrie, the poll of Bleyncupp and Dromore, the poll of *Snawlugher* and Killevallie, and the halfe poll of Trinitie iland, out of which halfe poll of *Snawlougher* the said bushopp of Killmore hath three shillings fower pence per annum, but

Huc usque de virtutum miraculis quæ per prædicabilem virum, [14]in præsenti [15]conversantem vita, divina operata est omnipotentia, scripsisse sufficiat[h]. [16]Nunc etiam quædam de his quæ post ejus de carne transitum[i] ei a Domino donata comprobantur, pauca sunt commemoranda.

[1]DE PLUVIA POST ALIQUOT SICCITATIS MENSES BEATI OB HONOREM VIRI [2]SUPER SITIENTEM, DOMINO DONANTE, TERRAM [3]EFFUSA.

ANTE annos namque ferme quatuordecim[a], in his torpentibus terris valde grandis verno tempore facta est siccitas jugis et dura, in tantum ut illa Domini

[14] columbam *add.* D. [15] conversante C. [16] *cetera hujus libri desiderantur in* C. D. F. S.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] *om.* B. [3] miraculum quod nunc domino propitio describere incipimus nostris temporibus factum propriis inspeximus oculis *add.* B.

claimes the land as his mensall." (Ulster Inquis. Append. vii.) These lands are now called Togher, Clonloskan, Derries, Bleancup, Drummora, Killyvally, Trinity Island, all townlands in the parish of Kilmore, in whose company there can be no hesitation in pronouncing another townland in the same parish, called *Slanore*, to be the required place. A metathesis of the letters *l* and *n* has taken place in the name within the last two centuries, for in Petty's DownSurvey the place is written *Snalore*. Thus we have the name in the successive forms of *Snam-luthir*, *Snamh-luthair*, *Snawlougher*, *Snalore*, and *Slanore*, descending from the biography of St. Columba to the Ordnance Survey of the present day. Slanore contains 130 acres, and is situate a little south of Lough Oughter, nearly opposite Trinity Island, on the west side of the parish of Kilmore. The spot marked *Abbey Field* on the Ordnance Map (Cavan, sheet 25, N. W. corner) is the site of the ancient monastery. The Abbey Field is now in pasture; not a vestige of the abbey remains; nor even of that last relique of a religious establishment, the cemetery—

"Quandoquidem data sunt quoque ipsis fata sepulcris."

About fifty-five years ago, when the field was first broken up, traces of Christian interment were abundantly discovered; but for ages there had not been a burial there, the place having been superseded by the Premontre foundation of 1237 on Trinity Island opposite, the cemetery of which is the principal burial-place of the peasantry in that neighbourhood. Besides SS. Coluim and Comaigh, two other names occur in the Calendar in connexion with this spot, namely, Maelan ocur Cuinc oc Snam luchair, 'Maelan and Cuint, at Snam-luthair.'—Martyrol. Tamlact., May 27.

[a] *Recta orbita.*—St. Brigid's blessing effected the same for bishop Conlaedh: "Quadam autem die, volens redire ad locum suum, dixit ad S. Brigidam; benedic diligenter currum meum, et illa benedixit. Auriga vero illius Episcopi jungens currum, rosetas oblitus est ponere contra rotas. Tunc currus ipse velox pertransivit campum. Cumque post magnum spatium diei Episcopus conspexisset currum, vidit illum rosetas non habere."—Vit. Tert. c. 51 (Tr. Th. p. 532 *a*). So also Vit. Quart. ii. 20 (*Ib.* p. 552 *b*). Thus also in Caelan's metrical Life:

"Tunc benedixit eos, signum crucis addit et illis:
Axis solus erat, currusque sine obice abibat,
Nec rota tunc cecidit Christo custode per arva."
(Tr. Th. p. 591 *b*.)

in Levitico libro[b] transgressoribus coaptata populis comminatio videretur imminere, qua dicit, Dabo cœlum vobis desuper sicut ferrum, et terram æneam. Consumetur incassum labor vester; nec proferet terra germen, nec arbores poma præbebunt; et cætera. Nos itaque hæc legentes, et imminentem plagam pertimescentes, hoc inito consilio fieri consiliati sumus, ut aliqui ex nostris senioribus nuper aratum et seminatum[c] campum cum sancti Columbæ candida circumirent tunica[d], et libris stylo ipsius descriptis; levarentque in aere, et excuterent eandem per ter tunicam, qua etiam hora exitus ejus de carne indutus erat; et ejus aperirent libros, et legerent in Colliculo Angelorum[e], ubi aliquando cœlestis patriæ cives ad beati viri condictum visi sunt descendere. Quæ postquam omnia juxta initum sunt peracta consilium, mirum dictu, eadem die cœlum, in præteritis mensibus, Martio videlicet et Aprili, nudatum nubibus, mira sub celeritate ipsis de ponto ascendentibus illico opertum est, et

But St. Aidus performed a greater wonder than either: "Pergens ad castra Mumoniensium, rota currus sui, in via plana fracta est, et currus altera rota sine impedimento currebat sub sancto Dei, suffultus Divino nutu."—Vit. c. 7 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 419 *a*).

[b] *Scripsisse sufficiat.*—Here the codd. of the shorter recension terminate the second book, with the observation: "animadvertere Lector debet, quod et de compertis in eo multa propter legentium prætermissa sunt fastidium."

[i] *De carne transitum.*—Some of his posthumous powers have been related in i. 1 (pp. 13, 17) *supra.*

[a] *Annos quatuordecim.*—The drought here mentioned was probably partial: had it been generally felt in Ireland, the likelihood is that it would have been recorded in the Annals, and thus means have been afforded of calculating exactly the date of Adamnan's writing. Tighernach at 714, and the Annals of Ulster at 713, record a *Siccitas magna*, but this cannot refer to the visitation mentioned in the text, for Adamnan died in 704. The substance of this chapter is briefly related in Cummian's Life, where it is prefaced, "Post mortem viri Dei." Now if this be a genuine work, and if the writer be Cuimine Ailbe, it will follow that the present chapter of Adamnan was written between 679 and 683: for Cummian, who relates the occurrence, died in 669, therefore that is the latest date to which we can add the 14 years in the text, which brings us to 683, four years after Adamnan's elevation to the abbacy of Hy.

[b] *Levitico libro.*—Chap. xxvi. 19, 20. The reading in the text agrees exactly with that in the Vulgate.

[c] *Seminatum.*—It appears in the sequel that this had been done at the end of April or beginning of May, so that we may conclude that agricultural operations were conducted in that age at an earlier time of the year than they now are. See chap. 3 (p. 107) *supra.*

[d] *Candida tunica.*—This was his inner garment. The garments which the rule of St. Benedict prescribed for monks in moderate climates were the *Tunica* and *Cucullus.*—Cap. 55. St. Columba's outer garment is called *amphibalus* in i. 3 (p. 25), cap. 6 (p. 113), and *cuculla*, cap. 24 (p. 136), *supra.* On one occasion St. Martin took off his *tunica* for a poor man, and proceeded "extrinsecus indutus amphibalo, veste nudus interius."—Sulp. Sever. Dial. (p. 576, ed. Horn.)

[e] *Colliculo Angelorum.*—This is the round green knoll in the Machar, commonly known by

pluvia facta est magna, die noctuque descendens; [4]et sitiens prius terra, satis satiata, opportune germina produxit sua, et valde lætas eodem anno segetes. Unius itaque beati commemoratio nominis viri in tunica et libris commemorata multis regionibus eadem vice et populis salubri subvenit opportunitate.

[1]DE VENTORUM FLATIBUS CONTRARIIS VENERABILIS VIRI VIRTUTE ORATIONUM IN SECUNDOS CONVERSIS VENTOS.

PRÆTERITORUM, nobis, quæ non vidimus, talium miraculorum præsentia, quæ ipsi perspeximus, fidem indubitanter confirmant. Ventorum namque flamina contrariorum tribus nos ipsi vicibus in secunda vidimus conversa. Prima vice cum dolatæ [2]per terram [3]pineæ et roboreæ [4]traherentur longæ naves[a], et magnæ navium pariter materiæ eveherentur domus; beati viri vestimenta et libros, inito consilio, super altare, cum psalmis et jejunatione, et ejus nominis invocatione, posuimus, ut a Domino ventorum prosperitatem nobis profuturam impetraret. Quod ita eidem sancto viro, Deo donante, factum est: nam ea die qua nostri nautæ, omnibus præparatis, supra memoratarum ligna materiarum proposuere scaphis per mare et curucis[b] trahere, venti, præteritis contrarii diebus, subito in secundos conversi sunt. Tum deinde per longas et obliquas vias tota die prosperis flatibus, Deo propitio, famulantibus, et plenis sine ulla retardatione velis, ad Iouam insulam omnis illa navalis emigratio prospere pervenit.

[4] *om.* B.

[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2-3] *om.* B. [4] trabes longæ et magnæ navium pariter et domus materiæ, eveherentur Boll.

the name *Sithean Mor*. See iii. 16, *infra*, where the occurrence from which it derived the name in the text is related.

[a] *Naves.*—Probably made of hollowed trees. Some boats of great length, thus formed, have been found in bogs and the bottoms of lakes. See Chalmers, Caledon. i. p. 101.

[b] *Curucis.*—Three kinds of vessels are mentioned in this chapter, *naves longæ*, *scaphæ*, and *curucæ*. Elsewhere we meet *barca* (i. 28, p. 57), *navicula* (i. 34, p. 64); *navis oneraria* (cap. 3, p. 106); *alnus* (cap. 27, p. 141); *caupallus* (ib.); *cymba*, *cymbula* (cap. 34, p. 150). The Ann. Ult., at 640, record the *Naufragium scaphae familiæ Jae*. Tighernach, 622, relates the drowning of Conan, son of Gabhran, with his curach. *Curuca* is evidently a Latinized form of the Irish curaċ. Gildas speaks of the descents of the Scots and Picts *de curicis*, which Josselin reads *curucis*. But the compiler of the Monumenta Brit. is by all means to be corrected when he explains *Curicæ* in his Index Rerum by "naves Saxonum ita vocatæ" (p. 903 *a*). The word is essentially Celtic. *Ciulæ*, or *ceolæ*, would be the Saxon term. We find in the sequel that the *curucæ* were furnished with *antennæ*, *vela*, and *rudentes*, as well as with oars, which were used as the occasion required.

[5]Secunda vero vice, cum post aliquantos intervenientes annos aliæ nobiscum roboreæ ab ostio fluminis [6]Sale[c], duodecim curucis[d] congregatis, materiæ ad nostrum renovandum traherentur monasterium[e], alio die tranquillo nautis

[5] *paragraphus novus, et litera S majuscula rubra* B. [6] sale *prius* salx. B.

[c] *Sale.*—See chap. 19 (p. 128) *supra.* The river Shiel, which connects the fresh-water lake of Loch Shiel with the sea, and forms part of the boundary between the counties of Inverness and Argyle, is excluded from identification with the name in the text, because it was a S. E. wind which conveyed the party from it to Hy, whereas a N. E. wind would be required to do this from beyond Ardnamurchan. We must therefore leave this name unidentified.

[d] *Duodecim curucis.*—We find this number prevailing, during the early ages of Christianity, in almost every department of *religious* economy. See iii. 4, *infra.* It was, however, largely adopted in *secular* use also: thus we read of Vortigern's 12 Druids (Irish Nennius, p. 90); the 12 battles of Arthur (*Ib.* p. 108); the 840 [70 × 12] men whom he slew in one day (*Ib.* p. 112); the 12 soldiers and Cadoc (Vit. Cad. c. 5, Rees, Lives, p. 32): the 12 horsemen (*Ib.* c. 20, p. 53); the 12 workmen (*Ib.* c. 17, p. 46); the 12 companions of Oswald (i. 1, p. 15, *supra*); the 12 soldiers of Eanfrid (Bede, H. E. iii. 1); Oswy's donation of the "duodecim possessiunculæ terrarum" (*Ib.* iii. 24); and the crew of 12 in the Orkney boat (Johnstone, Antiqq. Celt. Scand. p. 262).

[e] *Renovandum monasterium.*—See note [a], cap. 3 (p. 106) *supra.* An improvement seems to have been made, before this, on the rude system of building with wattles. St. Columba used to study in a hut "tabulis suffultum" (i. 25, p. 54, *supra*). St. Finan, in 652, erected a church after the model of Hy, "quam more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque harundine texit;" that is, the walls were made of wooden sheeting, which was protected from the weather outside by a coat of rush thatch. An improvement was again made on this system when a succeeding bishop, "ablata harundine, plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc est, et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes ejus cooperire curavit" (Bede, H. E. iii. 25). In the same manner Paulinus, having visited Glastonbury (the Inyswitrin of note [a], p. 106, *supra*), "muros vetustæ ecclesiæ ligneo tabulatu construere fecit, et extra a summo usque deorsum in terram plumbo undique cooperire fecit" (Gul. Malmesbur, ap. Ussher, Wks. v. p. 141). The church of St. Peter at York was also first "de ligno" (Bede, H. E. ii. 14). Stone building was considered at the time characteristic of Roman practice. Ninian's church of Whithern, among the southern Picts, got its name Candida Casa "eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brittonibus more fecerit" (*Ib.* iii. 4); and Naiton, king of the northern Picts, in 710, "architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent" (*Ib.* v. 21). Thus also Biscop Benedict, in 676, brought over from Gaul "*cæmentarios* qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum morem facerent" (*Id.* Hist. Abb. Wirem. § 5). In Ireland the national taste seems to have displayed itself in the same manner as in Britain. When St. Palladius came to Ireland, "tres ecclesias de robore extructas fundavit" (Jocel. c. 25, Tr. Th. p. 70 *b*). St. Patrick visited Tirawley, "et fecit ibi æcclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam quia non prope erat silva" (Tirechan, Lib. Armac. fol. 14 *bb*). St. Monenna of Cill-Sleibhe-Cuilinn, died in 517. Derlaisre was her third successor: "In cujus tempore contigit in omni Scotia famosum et tam grande miraculum. Ecclesia in monasterio sanctæ Monennæ cum

mare palmulis verrentibus, subito nobis contrarius insurgit Favonius, qui et Zephyrus ventus, in proximam tum declinamus insulam, quæ Scotice vocitatur [7]Airthrago[f], in ea portum ad manendum quærentes. Sed inter hæc de illa importuna venti contrarietate querimur, et quodammodo quasi accusare nostrum Columbam cœpimus, dicentes, Placetne tibi, Sancte, hæc nobis adversa retardatio? huc usque a te, Deo propitio, aliquod nostrorum laborum præstari speravimus consolatorium adjumentum, te videlicet æstimantes alicujus esse grandis apud Deum honoris. His dictis, post modicum, quasi unius momenti, intervallum, mirum dictu, ecce [8]Favonius ventus cessat contrarius, Vulturnusque[g] flat, dicto citius, secundus. Jussi tum nautæ antennas, crucis instar, et vela protensis sublevant rudentibus, prosperisque et lenibus flabris eadem die nostram appetentes insulam, sine ulla laboratione, cum illis omnibus qui navibus inerant nostris cooperatoribus, in lignorum evectione gaudentes, devehimur. Non mediocriter, quamlibet levis, illa querula nobis sancti accusatio viri profuit. Quantique et qualis est apud Dominum meriti Sanctus apparet, quem in ventorum ipse tam celeri conversione audierat.

[9]Tertia proinde vice, cum in [10]æsteo tempore, post [11]Hiberniensis synodi condictum[h], in plebe Generis [12]Loerni[i] per aliquot, venti contrarietate, retar-

[7] airtrago B. [8] fabonius A. [9] *paragraphus incipit, T majuscula in minio* B. [10] æstivo B. [11] iberniensis A. [12] lorrni B.

supradicta abbatissa construitur tabulis dedolatis, juxta morem Scotticarum gentium, eo quod macerias Scotti non solent facere, nec factas habere. Tota ergo ecclesia pene ad integram constructa, iterum artifices et lignorum cæsores vadunt ad silvas sibi propinquas arbores secare ad ea quæ deerant domui perficienda." (Vita S. Monennæ, fol. 54 *a*, Cod. Cottonian. Cleop. A. 2, Brit. Mus.) The well-known passage in St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachi, concerning the church of Bangor, proves that the Scotic attachment to wooden churches continued in Ireland to the twelfth century, and that though stone churches existed, they were regarded as of foreign introduction. See the able disquisition on this subject in Dr. Petrie's Essay on the Round Towers, pp. 122–154.

[f] *Airthrago.*—Lying to the south-east of Hy. Unidentified, unless it be Arran.

[g] *Vulturnus.*—This proves that the island in question lay to the S. E. of Hy.

[h] *Synodi condictum.*—Instead of this expression, we find *Congressio sinodorum* at An. Ult. 779. The date of this synod is not recorded, but from the closing words of the chapter it may be inferred to have been held a considerable time before the writing of these memoirs; possibly before Adamnan became abbot, or at least at an early period of his incumbency. The recorded visits of Adamnan to Ireland are at 687 (Ul. 686), 689, 692 (Ul. 691), 697 (Ul. 696), of Tighernach. In the interval between the last two dates he attended at a Synod of forty bishops or abbots (*antistites*), which was convened by Flann Febhla, the abbot of Armagh, at Derry or Raphoe as Colgan conjectures (Tr. Th. p. 503 *a*). A copy of the acts of this synod, with the subscriptions of the members,

daremur dies, ad Saineam devenimus insulam[k]; ibidemque demoratos festiva sancti Columbæ nox[l] et solemnis dies nos invenit valde tristificatos, videlicet desiderantes eandem diem in Ioua facere lætificam insula. Unde sicut prius

was in Colgan's possession; but he has done no more than make a few allusions to it, which is the less to be regretted as the document is fortunately preserved at Brussels, Burgund. Libr. No. 2324. He states that the acts were intituled *Cain Adhamnain*, 'that is, Canons of Adamnan (Act. SS. p. 382), from which it is probable that they were the same as the eight Canons bearing Adamnan's name which have been printed by Martene (Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. tom. iv. col. 18), and are also in a MS. in Marsh's Library, Dublin, called Precedents of the See of Armagh (p. 395), where they are intituled *Canones Adomnani*, into which they were copied from a MS. of Sir R. Cotton. Of the subscribing members Colgan has preserved the following names:—1. Aidus, Episcopus Sleptensis (Tr. Th. p. 218 *a*). 2. Colga filius Moenaigh, Abbas Luscanensis (Act. SS. p 382). 3. Mosacer, Abbas (*Ib.* p. 454*a*). 4. Killenus filius Lubnei, Abbas Sagirensis (*Ib.* p. 473 *b*). 5. Mochonna, Antistes Dorensis (*Ib.* p. 566 *a*; Tr. Th. p. 503 *a*). 6. Ecbertus, Anglus (Act. SS. p. 604 *a*). These acts were not dated, and though Colgan generally assigns them to the year 695, he is undecided between it and 694, 696, or 697. The topographical history of Tara Hill also records a synod at which Adamnan presided. Close to the wall of Tara churchyard, on the west, are the traces of an earthen enclosure anciently called the Rath na Senad, 'Rath of the Synods,' within which the Dinnseanchus places the Lathad Pupaill Adomnain, 'the site of the Tent of Adamnan' (Petrie's Tara, pp. 115, 151). Here, according to an ancient poem, was held—

Senad Adamnain iar sin
Ac ercaine Irgailig,

'The synod of Adamnan afterwards,
In cursing Irgalach.' (*Ib.* p. 122.)

Irgalach, surnamed Ua Conaing, seems to have been a neighbouring chief. He is mentioned by Tighernach at 701; and at 702 he was slain on Inis-mic-Nesan by the Britons. (Ann. Ult. 701.) It may have been on this occasion that Adamnan procured the enactment of a law prohibiting women from taking part in faction fights, which was called, from him, the Cain Adamnain, 'Law of Adamnan,' cen na mna do marbad, 'not to kill women;' and to which probably reference is had in the entry of Tighernach, A. D. 697: Adomnan cuc pecht leis in Erind an bliadain sea, 'Adomnan brought a law with him to Ireland in this year;' and in that of the Ulster Annals, 696: *Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit, et dedit legem innocentium populis.* It is to be regretted that we have not a more historical account of the institution of this law than the following, which is taken from the Leabhar Breac, and Book of Lecan: "Adamnan happened to be travelling one day through the plain of Bregia with his mother on his back, when they saw two armies engaged in mutual conflict. It happened then that Ronait, the mother of Adamnan, observed a woman, with an iron reaping-hook in her hand, dragging another woman out of the opposite battalion with the hook fastened in one of her breasts. For men and women went equally to battle at that time. After this Ronait sat down, and said, Thou shalt not take me from this spot until thou exemptest women for ever from being in this condition, and from excursions and hostings. Adamnan then promised that thing. There happened afterwards a convention [morbail] in Ireland, and Adamnan, with the principal part of the clergy of Ireland, went to that assembly, and he exempted the women at it." (Petrie's Tara, p. 147.) It is possible also that Adamnan, in his exertions to promote the observance of the

alia querebamur vice, dicentes, Placetne tibi, Sancte, crastinam tuæ festivitatis inter plebeios et non in tua ecclesia transigere diem? facile tibi est talis in exordio diei a Domino impetrare[m] ut contrarii in secundos vertantur venti, et

Roman Easter, may have attended synods of the Irish clergy: indeed it is scarcely to be conceived that he could otherwise have effected such a change as Bede describes (H. E. v. 15). But the reference in the text must be to an earlier period of his life. The Life of St. Gerald states that Adamnan spent the last seven years of his life in the presidency of the Saxon abbey of Mayo (Colg. Act. SS. p. 602 *a*). This account is open to exceptions; for it is a suspicious circumstance to find Adamnan unable, as Bede states, to make any impression upon the Columbian communities which were subject to him, yet cordially received in a monastery of settlers, who had left their home and travelled to a strange country, to avoid acquiescence in that very system which their honoured visitor was now endeavouring to promulgate. In reference to the synod mentioned in the text, Colgan (who seems to have been beside himself at the moment) questions whether it was any other than the Convention of Drumceatt (Tr. Th. p. 384 *b*, n. 36); upon which the Bollandist editor observes: "Meminisse debebat Synodum Drumchettensem, non tempore Adamnani, sed S. Columbæ celebratam." (Jun. ii. p. 226 *b*.)

[i] *Plebe generis Loerni.*—Colgan, despite of the text, conjectures *Lotharna*, now Larne, on the coast of Antrim (Tr. Th. p. 384 *b*, n. 37); and, for want of better information, is followed by the Bollandists (Junii, ii. p. 226 *b*). Pinkerton, who should have known to the contrary, fixes it "In boreali parte Hiberniæ" (p. 152). O'Flaherty, however, puts the matter in its true light: "Quatuor in hac colonia primariæ Dalriedinorum illis fratribus oriundæ sunt familiæ, viz. Cinel nGabrain, Gaurani familia, Cinel Loairn, Loarni familia, *unde Lorna* supradicta regio in Dalrieda videtur denominata, Cinel nAngusa, Æneæ familia, et Cinel Comgaill, Comgalli familia." (Ogyg. p. 470.) This is borrowed from the Irish tract on the *Men of Alba* preserved in the Books of Ballymote and Mac Firbis. To the Cinel Loairn we find the following references in the Annals of Ulster: A. C. 677, *Interfectio Generis Loairnn i Tirinn.* A. C. 718, *Bellum maritimum Ardenesbi inter Dunchadh mBecc* [*regem Cinntire*, 720] *cum Genere Gabhrain, et Selbacum cum Genere Loairn, et versum est super Selbachum pridie Nonas Septembris vel Octimbris, die* vi. *ferie in quo quidam comites corruerunt.* A. C. 732, *Muredac mac Ainfcellach regnum Generis Loairnd assumit.* Selbach, tenth in descent from Loarn Mor, who has been already mentioned as chief of the Genus Loairn, occupied *Dun Ollaig*, now Dunolly, near Oban (An. Ult. 685, 700, 713, 733), and it became the chief stronghold of the Cinel-Loairn, as it continued to be of the district of Lorn, when Mac Dougall was its lord, and as it still is, of the representative of that ancient branch of the Mac Donnells. This race of Loarn was closely allied to the founder of Hy; St. Columba was grandson of Erca, daughter of Loarn Mor; and, of the first twelve abbots of Hy, nine, including Adamnan, were descended from her. This connexion naturally gave the community a great hold upon the regard of their nearest neighbours, and rendered Adamnan's short sojourn among them less irksome than it would otherwise have been. In after times, when the race had permanently established themselves, the word cinel, or *Genus*, was dropped, and their settlement took the name simply of their founder, and appeared in the form *Lorn*, which, from being a secular name, was borrowed for ecclesiastical convenience also; and hence in the thirteenth century we read, not only of the sheriffdom, but of the rural deanry of Lorne (C. Innes, Orig. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 91, 109). One of the sub-territories of Lorn was *Kinnelbathyn* [cinel boe-

in tua celebremus ecclesia tui natalis missarum solemnia. Post eandem transactam noctem diluculo mane consurgimus, et videntes cessasse contrarios flatus, conscensis navibus, nullo flante vento, in mare progredimur[n], et ecce statim post nos auster cardinalis, qui et [13]notus[o], inflat. Tum proinde ovantes nautæ vela [14]subrigunt: sicque ea die talis, sine labore, nostra tam festina navigatio, et tam prospera, beato viro donante Deo, fuit, ut sicuti prius exoptavimus, post horam diei tertiam[p] ad Iouæ portum pervenientes insulæ[q], postea manuum et pedum peracta lavatione, hora sexta[r] ecclesiam cum fratribus in-

[13] nothus A. B. [14] submergunt Boll.

ɛain], so named from Boetan, great-grandson of Loarn Mor. The rural deanry, which is the best evidence of the original extent of the lordship on which it was modelled, included the parishes of Kilmartin, Craignish, Kilchattan, Kilbrandon, Kilmelford, Kilninver, Kilbride, Kilmore, Kilchrenan, Inishail, Muckairn, Glenorchy, Ardchattan, Lismore, and Appin, that is, the portion of the present county of Argyll lying north and west of Loch Awe, extending to Loch Leven on the north, and the Crinan Canal on the south-west. See Innes, Orig. Par. ii. 1, pp. 91–159. The *Genus Gabrani* has been mentioned by Adamnan, cap. 22 (p. 132) *supra*.

[k] *Saineam insulam.*—Now *Shuna*, an island in the parish of Kilchattan, lying close to Luing on the east, and separated from it by the Sound of Shuna. It is situate in Nether Lorne, near its southern extremity. The contrary wind which delayed them there was probably a north-west one, but they were in safety on the sheltered side of Luing. Fordun writes the name *Sunay*. (Scotichr. ii. 10.) There is another Shuna off Appin, on the north of Lismore, but it is too far up to suit the present description; still more so is Shona, off Moydart.

[l] *Festiva nox.*—The choice between 596 and 597, as the year of St. Columba's death, depends, Abp. Ussher says, upon the determination of the question, "num nox illa media, qua Columba decessisse diximus, diem Junii nonum vel inchoaverit vel finierit." (Wks. vi. p. 235.) The present expression favours *inchoaverit*, and thus indicates the latter year.

[m] *A Domino impetrare.*—The following chapter has, "orante pro nobis nostro venerabili patrono." In i. 1 (p. 13) *supra*, he speaks of the Saint as a "victorialis et fortissimus propugnator." The existence of a belief in the ministration and intercession of deceased saints in temporal matters is clearly indicated in the three concluding chapters of this book. St. Columba was invoked, *during his lifetime*, from remote places. See ii. 5 (p. 112), 13 (p. 122), 39 (p. 161), 40 (163), *supra*.

[n] *In mare progredimur.*—That is, by rowing. Presently, on getting clear of the islands, "nautæ vela subrigunt."

[o] *Notus.*—Shuna lies E. S. E. of Hy.

[p] *Post horam tertiam.*—They were within a fortnight of the longest day; and if they started at three in the morning, *diluculo mane*, the journey might have been accomplished in six hours: that is, supposing them to have arrived at nine. But the present expression allows a longer time, for it only asserts that the canonical "tertia hora" was past.

[q] *Portum insulæ.*—See note [b], i. 30 (p. 58) *supra*. If they chose to disembark at the nearest landing-place, Port-a-churaich was the one which they would choose. See *Map*.

[r] *Hora sexta.*—The *Missa Brendeni* was celebrated soon after "mane primo" by St. Co-

trantes, sacra missarum solemnia pariter celebraremus, in festo die in quam natalis sanctorum Columbæ et [15]Baithenei[s]: cujus diluculo, ut supradictum est, de Sainea insula, longius sita[t], emigravimus. Hujus ergo præmissæ narrationis testes, non bini tantum vel terni, secundum legem, sed centeni et amplius adhuc exstant[u].

[1]DE MORTALITATE.

Et hoc etiam, ut æstimo, non inter minora virtutum miracula connumerandum videtur de mortalitate, quæ nostris temporibus terrarum orbem bis ex parte vastaverat[s] majore. Nam ut de ceteris taceam latioribus [2]Europæ

[15] baitheni B.
[1] *capitul. totum om.* C. D. F. S. *titul. om.* Boll. [2] eoropae A.

lumba (iii. 11, *infra*), probably at *Prime*. So also that of bishop Columbanus (iii. 12, *infra*). On the present occasion the chief commemoration of St. Columba was reserved till noon.

[s] *Natalis Columbæ et Baithenei.*—That is, the ninth of June. St. Baithene, the immediate successor of St. Columba, was his first cousin, being son of Brendan, brother of Fedhlimidh. He was younger than St. Columba, being only sixty-six years of age at his death, which occurred in 599, after a presidency of three years. His acts are preserved in the Codex Salmanticensis at Brussels (fol. 201), from which they were printed by the Bollandists immediately after those of St. Columba. (Junii, tom. ii. pp. 236–238.) In them we find the following allusion to the coincidence of his and St. Columba's festival: "Tertia feria, dum S. Baithinus in ecclesia juxta altare Dominum oraret, sopor pene mortis super eum illic cecidit: cum autem Fratres circa eum lamentarentur, Diermitius minister Columbæ, ait: Ecce, Fratres, videtis, quod inter duas solennitates seniorum vestrorum magnum intervallum non erit. Hæc eo dicente Baithinus, quasi de gravi somno excitatus ait; Si inveni gratiam in oculis Dei, et si cursum perfectum in conspectu ejus consummaverim usque hodie; ego confido in eo, quod usque ad natale Senioris mei non obiturus ero: quod sic fere post sex dies factum est."—c. 10 (Jun. ii. p. 238 *a*). The joint festival is thus noticed in the Feilire of Ængus, June 9:

Ron ꝓnaḋuc ḃ'on bıch-laıch,
I m-bıch-bı lepp laınḋꝛnech,
baechine aꝓḋ aınꝡlech,
Colam cılle caınḋlech.

'They went into the eternal kingdom,
Into eternal life of brightest splendour,
Baethine the noble, the angelical;
Columb-cille the resplendent.'

(Book of Obits of C. C., Introd. p. lxiii.)

[t] *Longius sita.*—Shuna is full thirty miles distant from Hy.

[u] *Adhuc exstant.*—This expression seems to indicate that a considerable interval had elapsed between the occurrence and the present narrative of it.

[s] *Bis vastaverat.*—The disease here referred to belonged to the class called by the Irish ꝺalaꝺ buıḋe, 'yellow disorder,' and was known by the specific name Cꝛon Chonaıll, or buıḋe Chonaıll. In Britain it bore the name of *Vád Velen*, and was commonly called the 'Yellow Plague.' (Lhuyd, Archæol. voc. *Conail.*) "Flava pestis, quam et Physici ictericiam dicunt passionem." (Girald. Cambr.

regionibus, hoc est, Italia et ipsa Romana civitate, et [3]Cisalpinis Galliarum [4]provinciis, [5]Hispanis quoque [6]Pyrinæi montis interjectu [7]disterminatis, oceani insulæ per totum, videlicet Scotia[b] et Britannia, binis vicibus vastatæ sunt dira pestilentia, exceptis duobus populis[c], hoc est, Pictorum plebe et [8]Scotorum

[3] cisalpinas B. [4] provincias B. [5] hispanias B. [6] pirenei B. [7] disterminatas B. [8] scottorum B.

Itinerar. Cambr. ii. 1.) The first appearance of this disease in Ireland is stated by Tighernach to have been in the year 550; and in Britain, by the Annales Cambriæ, at 547. However, if the Life of St. Declan be entitled to credit, it was previously experienced in the former kingdom; for it is related that in the lifetime of that saint, "dira pestis venit in Momoniam; sed venenosior erat in civitate Cassel, quam in ceteris locis; quæ flavos primitus faciebat hominos, et postea occidebat." (Act. SS. Jul. tom. v. p. 602 *b*.) The second recorded visitation of the island by the disease was the most severe, when, during the abbotship of Cuimine Ailbe, in the year 664, Adamnan being then forty years of age, as Bede relates, "subita pestilentiæ lues, depopulatis prius australibus Brittaniæ plagis, Nordanhymbrorum quoque provinciam corripiens, atque acerba clade diutius longe lateque desæviens, magnam hominum multitudinem stravit. Hæc autem plaga Hiberniam quoque insulam pari clade premebat." (H. E. iii. 27.) Tighernach records its appearance in 664 in these words: *Tenebræ* [i. e. Eclipsis solis] *in Calendis Maii in hora nona, et in eadem estate celum ardere visum est. Mortalitas magna in Hiberniam pervenit in Calendis Augusti, i. e. in Magh Itha in Layenia. Et terræ motus in Britannia. In campo Ith in Fochairt exarsit mortalitas primo in Hibernia, a morte Patricii cciii. Prima mortalitas cxii.* These computations, it is to be observed, go back to the death of *Sen-Patrick*. Under the following year, the Annalist adds: *Abbatesque Regesque innumerabiles mortui fuerant.* With him agree the notices in the An. Ult. at 663, 664, 666, in which the continued prevalence of the mortality is recorded. At 667, it was still raging, for they have the entry, *Mortalitas magna Buidhe Conaill.* After this the disease appears to have abated for a time; but it soon after broke out with renewed violence. The Annals of Inisfallen, at 671, which is 683 of the common era, notice the *Initium tertiæ mortalitatis;* and the Ann. Cambr. (683) record "Mortalitas in Hibernia," with which agrees the Brut y Tywysogion at the same date; while at 682 they tell us, "Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia in qua Catgualart filius Catguolaum obiit." (Monum. Hist. Brit. pp. 833, 841.) The Ann. Ult., at 682, have, *Initium mortalitatis puerorum in mense Octobris;* and again, in the following year, *Mortalitas parvulorum.* The Four Mast. at 684 record, "A mortality upon all animals in general, throughout the whole world, for the space of three years, so that there escaped not one out of the thousand of any kind of animals." Which Florence of Worcester, at 685, describes as "Magna pestilentiæ procella, Britanniam corripiens, lata nece vastavit." (Monum. p. 537.) The existence of the scourge in England at 680 may be gathered from Bede (H. E. iv. 7, 14); and at 686, from his Historia Abb. Wiremuth (c. 8). From the date of its appearance in 664, to the commencement of the following century, the Irish Annals record a continued train of portents and calamities; thus affording evidence of the sufferings and terrors experienced during this period.

[b] *Scotia.*—Ireland as contra-distinguished from Britain.

[c] *Duobus populis.*—The other inhabitants

Britanniæ[d], [9]inter quos utrosque Dorsi montes Britannici[e] disterminant. Et quamvis utrorumque populorum non desint grandia peccata[f], quibus plerumque ad iracundiam æternus provocatur judex; utrisque tamen huc usque, patienter ferens, ipse pepercit. Cui alii itaque hæc tribuitur gratia a Deo collata, nisi sancto Columbæ, cujus monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos[g] fundata ab utrisque ad præsens tempus valde sunt honorificata. Sed hoc quod nunc dicturi sumus, ut arbitramur non sine gemitu audiendum est, quia sunt plerique in utrisque populis valde stolidi, qui se Sanctorum orationibus a [10]morbis defensos nescientes, ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur. Nos vero

[9] *om.* B. [10] moribus B. nobis *male* Colg. Boll.

were the Saxons and Britons. See note [e], i. 33 (p. 63), and note [b], cap. 32 (p. 145), *supra*.

[d] *Scotorum Britanniæ.*—Thus, Ven. Bede styles Ædan, "rex Scottorum qui Brittaniam inhabitant," and his successors, "reges Scottorum in Brittania." (H. E. i. 34.) "Pictorum atque Scottorum gentes, quæ septemtrionales Brittaniæ fines tenent." (*Ib.* ii. 5.) Speaking of King Oswald's banishment, he uses the word Scoti absolutely, "Scotti sive Picti;" "doctrina Scottorum" (H. E. iii. 1); "majores natu Scottorum;" "septentrionalis Scottorum provincia" (*Ib.* c. 3). Copying the account given by Gildas (Hist. c. 15) of the eruptions of the Scots and Picts, Bede substitutes for the *Tithicam vallem* [*Tythicam vallem*, Nennius, c. 37, evidently a poetic expression denoting a 'marine valley,' i. e. a strait or firth, probably a corruption of *Tethicam*, like the Irish Maȝ Lir, 'Plain of Lear,' and Maȝ Rem, 'Plain of the Track,' denoting the sea,] of his author, the word *transmarinas*, which he qualifies thus: "Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Brittaniam essent positæ; sed quia a parte Brittonum erant remotæ, duobus sinibus maris interjacentibus." (H. E. i. 12.) The occupation by these Scots was anterior to the Dalriadic settlement in 502: they were more migratory; but to guard against any mistake concerning their origin, he calls these same marauders *Hiberni* lower down (*Ib.* c. 14). The mention of *Scoti* in Britain no more proves that it was Scotia, than that of *Romani* does that it was Roma.

[e] *Dorsi montes Britannici.*—See i. 34 (p. 64), chap. 31 (p. 144), 42 (p. 167), *supra*, iii. 14, *infra*. When Nechtan [Naiton of Bede, H. E. v. 21], on his adoption of the Roman Easter and Tonsure, drove the non-conforming Columbian monks past his frontier in 717, the act is recorded by Tighernach as *Expulsio familiæ Ie trans Dorsum Britanniæ a Nectano rege.*

[f] *Grandia peccata.*—The so-called Epistle of St. Patrick to Coroticus had previously declared "In morte vivunt socii Scottorum atque Pictorum apostatarum." Coroticus was styled "traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum." Again, "ibi venumdati ingenui homines Christiani in servitutem redacti sunt, præsertim indignissimorum, pessimorumque, atque apostatarum Pictorum." (O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. i. Prol. i. pp. 117–119; Villanueva, Opusc. S. Patricii, pp. 241, 244, 245.) Gildas described these allies as "tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges, *moribus ex parte dissidentes*, et una eademque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes." (Hist. c. 15.)

[g] *Utrorumque terminos.*—"Erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianæ transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem, primusque fundator monasterii quod in Hii insula multis diu Scottorum Pictorumque populis venerabile mansit."—Bede (H. E. v. 9).

Deo agimus crebras grates, qui nos et in his nostris insulis, orante pro nobis venerabili patrono[i], a mortalitatum invasionibus defendit; et in Saxonia[k], regem [11] Aldfridum[l] visitantes amicum, adhuc non cessante pestilentia, et

[11] alfridum B.

[i] *Orante pro nobis patrono.*—See note [m], cap. 45 (p. 181) *supra.*

[k] *Saxonia.*—See i. 1 (p. 15), 9 (p. 36), *supra.* The word is not found in Bede's Hist. Eccl.; it occurs once in his Hist. Abb. Uuirem., where the abbot of Jarrow describes himself as an ecclesiastical office bearer *in Saxonia.*—c. 14 (p. 329, ed. Hussey). The Four Masters use Saxa, and its inflexions, for *Saxones.*

[l] *Aldfridum.*—Oswy, King of Northumbria, died in 670, and was succeeded by his son Egfrid. Aldfrid, though an elder brother, was superseded on the ground of illegitimacy. Whereupon, it is related, "in Hiberniam, seu vi seu indignatione, secesserat. Ibi, et ab odio germani tutus, et magno otio literis imbutus, omni philosophia composuerat animum. Quocirca, imperii habenis, habiliorem æstimantes, qui quondam expulerant ultro expetiverunt."—Wilhelmi Malmesbir., Gest. Reg. 52 (ed. Thomas D. Hardy, 1840). Bede states that when Elfleda applied to St. Cuthbert for information about her brother Egfrid's successor on the throne, his answer was: "Cernis hoc mare magnum et spatiosum, quot abundet insulis? Facile est Deo de aliqua harum sibi providere quem regno præficiat Anglorum. Intellexit ergo quia de Aldfrido, qui ferebatur filius fuisse patris illius, et tunc in insulis Scotorum ob studium litterarum exulabat." And adds, "Egfridus post annum Pictorum gladio trucidatur, et Alfridus in regnum frater ejus nothus substituitur, qui non paucis ante temporibus in regionibus Scotorum lectioni operam dabat, ibi ob amorem sapientiæ, spontaneum passus exilium."—Vit. S. Cuthberti, c. 24 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 668.) So in the Legenda Aurea (*Ib.* p. 683 *a*). Thus three reasons are assigned for his retirement to Ireland. Irish writers add two more: they state that his mother was a native of that country, and observe: "Non sui tantum literis excolendi causa in Hiberniam venit, verum etiam ut sanctis Hiberniæ deprecantibus limace qui in aurem ejus irrepsit, et capitis humoribus attractis intumuit educto, molestiâ, et morbo ex ea re contracta immunis efficeretur." (Lynch, Cambr. Evers. p. 128; or vol. ii. p. 236, reprint.) His descent by his mother's side is stated by Ængus, a writer of the eighth century, to have been from the princely house of Niall: Fina ingin Chindfaelad mathair Flonn Fina mic Ossa. *Aliter,* Fina ingin Colmain Rime mic baedain mic Muircertaig mic Muiredhaig, mathair Flonn Fina rig Saxan. 'Fina, daughter of Cennfaeladh, was mother of Flann Fina, son of Ossa. *Aliter,* Fina, daughter of Colman Rimidh, son of Baedan, son of Muircertach, son of Muiredhach, was mother of Flann Fina, king of the Saxons.' (Tract. de Matr. SS. Hib., Liber Lecan., fol. 43; H. 2. 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl. p. 365.) In the Clann Neill genealogy (Lib. Lecan. fol. 63), Fina is represented as great-granddaughter of Muircertach, either through his son Baedan, or Ailill, father of Cennfaeladh. Under the name *Flann Fina* Aldfrid was familiarly known by the Irish. Thus at A. C. 704, Tighernach recording his death says: Alfrith mac Ossu .i. Flann Fina la Gaedelu hinaidh [he was called Flann Fina by the Irish] *Rex Saxon fuit.* So the Ann. Inisfall. in the parallel place, Flann Fine mac Ossa *Rex Saxonorum quievit* (An. 694). An Irish poem, of twenty-four ranns, said to have been composed by him in reference to his sojourn in Ireland, is still preserved. (H. 2. 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl.) It begins:

Rodead in imir finn fail
I nErinn fe iar n-imardaig,
Immac ban, ni baeth an breach,
Imac laeth, imac clerech.

multos hinc inde vicos devastante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in prima post bellum [13]Ecfridi[m] visitatione[n], et in secunda[o], interjectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit, ut ne unus etiam de nostris comitibus moreretur, nec aliquis ex eis aliquo molestaretur morbo.

[13] egfridi B.

Flann Fína mac Cora
Arbraoi Erenn eolora
Ar bru t-ṡroṫa Rén arecc
Fuair a reir mar do raibeaḋ.

'It is natural in fair Inis-fail,
In Erin, without contention,
Many women, no silly boast,
Many laics, many clerica.'

'Flann Fina, son of Osa,
Arch-doctor in Erin's learning,
On the banks of the river Ren composed [this];
Received his due, as was natural.'—*Rann* 23.

Charles O'Conor, senior, had a copy of "this poem in a very obscure character" (O'Con. Rer. Hib. SS. iv. p. 129; Stowe Catal. i. p. 95); and other ancient copies are mentioned by O'Reilly (Irish Writ. p. 48). The original has been printed in Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, vol. ii. p. 372; a literal translation, by Dr. O'Donovan, in the Dublin Penny Journal (vol. i. p. 94); and a metrical one by the late J. C. Mangan. His surname *Fina* was derived from his mother, and thus he is distinguished from Flann Finn, an ecclesiastic, whom the Gloss on the Felire of Ængus at Jan. 14 places at Inbher Neola [an Ṡeaḋla 'of the Foyle'?] on the confines of Tir Connell and Tir Eoghain; or at Chuillinn beside Corcagh, as Marian Gorman at same day; as well as from Flann Finn, a chief of the Cinel Eoghain in 698, whom the An. Ult. call *Flann Albus* (An. 699). Pinkerton greatly errs in confounding this Aldfrid with Alchfrid, a legitimate son of Oswy, who was invested with regal power by his father, but died at an earlier date. T. Innes endeavours to make it appear that Aldfrid's place of retirement was Ycolmkill, and draws the startling conclusion: "We see that it was usual to the exactest writers to confound Scotland with Ireland in these times, when the name Scotia, and, as appears by this passage of Malmesbury and others, *even the name Hibernia was common to both.*" (Civ. Eccl. Hist. p. 278.) Goodall finishes the climax: "per illas insulas minime Hibernia, *literis nunquam celebris*, sed Hebrides, et ex eis Hii vel Iona insula præcipue designari videtur." (Fordun, vol. i. p. 159, note ⸸.) Fordun was less exclusive: "Qui non paucis annis in Scotia et Hibernia discendo literas curam dedit." (Scotichr. iii. 51.)

[m] *Bellum Ecfridi.*—In 685, according to Tighernach (684 An. Ult.), *Saxones Campum Breg vastaverunt et ecclesias plurimas in mense Junii.* In 686 he records: Cać Duin Nechtain [prælium Dun-Nechtain], xx. *die mensis Maii sabbati die factum est, in quo Ecfrit mac Ossu rex Saxonum* xv. *anno regni sui, consumata magna cum caterva militum suorum interfectus est* la [a] *Brudhi mac Bili rege* Fortrenn [Pictiniæ]. The An. Ult. at 685 have: *Bellum Duin Nechtain in vicesimo die mensis Maii, die sabbati, factum est, in quo Elfrith mac Ossu rex Saxonum,* xv. *anno regni sui, consummata magna cum caterva militum suorum interfectus est; et combussit* tula aman Duin Ollaigh. Dun Nechtain of the Annalists is supposed to be the modern Dunnichen, a parish in Forfarshire, next Forfar, on the south-east, and which is mentioned as *Dunnechtyn* in a charter of William the Lion to the abbey of Arbroath. (Liber de Aberbrothoc, pp. 4, 10, 124, 165.) The Saxon Chronicle places the scene of action near *the North Sea* (An. 685), to which the situation of Dunnichen answers, as it is only twelve miles distant from the German Ocean. (Old Stat. Account, vol. i. p. 419; Chalmers, Caledon. vol. i. pp. 210, 255.) Simeon of Durham adds: "Extinctum regem apud Nechtanesmere, quod est Stagnum Nectani, ejusque cor-

[14]Hic secundus de virtutum miraculis finiendus est liber: in quo animadvertere lector debet, quod, [15]etiam de compertis, in eo multa propter legentium evitandum prætermissa sint[16] fastidium.

[17]FINITUR SECUNDUS [18]LIBER.

[14-16] *post verbum* sufficiat *in cap.* 43 *supra, adjicitur monitio ut supra in* C. D. F. S. [15] et C. [17-18] ΦΙΝΙΤΥΡ CHKVNDVC ΛΙΒΕΡ *literis græcis uncialibus* A. explicit liber secundus B. C. F. S.

pus in Hii insula Columbæ sepultum." (Hist. Dunelm. Eccl., Twysden, p. 3, 5.) This lake formerly occupied the place of Dunnichen Moss. The above events are thus coupled by Bede: A.D. 684, "Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bercto, vastavit misere gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam; ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem, aut monasteriis, manus parceret hostilis. At insulani, et quantum valuere, armis arma repellebant, et invocantes divinæ auxilium pietatis, cælitus se vindicari continuis diu imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamvis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum est tamen quod hi qui merito impietatis suæ maledicebantur, ocius Domino vindice pœnas sui reatus luerent. Siquidem anno post hunc proximo idem rex, cum temere exercitum ad vastandam Pictorum provinciam duxisset, multum prohibentibus amicis, et maxime beatæ memoriæ Cudbercto qui nuper fuerat ordinatus episcopus, introductus est, simulantibus fugam hostibus, in angustias inaccessorum montium, et cum maxima parte copiarum quas secum adduxerat, exstinctus anno ætatis suæ quadragesimo, regni autem xv. die xiii. Kal. Juniarum. Et quidem, ut dixi, prohibuerunt amici ne hoc bellum iniret; sed quoniam anno præcedente noluerat audire reverentissimum patrem Ecgberctum, ne Scottiam nil se lædentem impugnaret, datum est illi ex pœna peccati illius, ne nunc eos qui ipsum ab interitu revocare cupiebant, audiret." (H. E. iv. 26.)

[n] *Prima visitatione.*—It was probably to effect the release of the captives whom Berct had carried away in 685. Alfred's accession, in 686, enabled him to entertain an application which his antecedent familiarity with the Irish predisposed him to grant. Accordingly, as Tighernach (A. C. 687) and the Annals of Ulster (A. C. 686) relate, *Adomnanus captivos reducsit ad Hiberniam sexaginta.* The Four Masters place this mission, as well as the "General Mortality," in the year 684.

[o] *Secunda.*—Tighernach, at 689, has the entry, *Adomnanus reduxit captivos in Hiberniam,* which may be a repetition of the similar entry at 687, or may refer to the second visit mentioned in the text. It was probably to the latter occasion that Bede alludes in his honourable mention of our abbot: "Adamnan presbyter et abbas monachorum qui erant in insula Hii, cum legationis gratia missus a sua gente, venisset ad Aldfridum regem Anglorum, et aliquandiu in ea provincia moratus, videret ritus ecclesiæ canonicos; sed et a pluribus qui erant eruditiores esset sollerter admonitus, ne contra universalem ecclesiæ morem, vel in observantia paschali, vel in aliis quibusque decretis cum suis paucissimis, et in extremo mundi angulo positis vivere præsumeret, mutatus mente est." (H. E. v. 15.) Matthew of Westminster fixes this mission at 701: and, if this be correct, a third visit was probably paid, as Adamnan would hardly have time, in the interval between that date and his death, for the compilation of these memoirs, which record the *second* visit. It was on the occasion of one of his visits to Alfred that he presented him with his work *de Locis Sanctis,* of which Bede has

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA[a] TERTII LIBRI.

De Angelicis Apparitionibus quæ vel aliis de beato viro, vel eidem de aliis, revelatæ sunt[b].

De angelo Domini qui ejus genitrici in somnis post ipsius in utero conceptionem apparuit[c].

De radio luminoso super dormientis ipsius pueri faciem viso[d].

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Brendenus, beati comites viri, per campum viderat commeantes[e].

De angelo Domini quem sanctus Fennio beati viri socium itineris vidit[f].

De angelo Domini, qui ad sanctum Columbam in Himba commorantem insula per visum apparuit, missus ut Aidanum in regem [1]ordinaret[g].

De angelorum apparitione alicujus Brittonis animam ad cœlum vehentium[h].

De angelorum revelata eidem sancto viro visione, qui animam alicujus Diormitii ad cœlum ducebant[i].

[1] ordinarent B.

cited enough to prove that the treatise on the Holy Land, printed under our author's name by Gretser (Ingolstd. 1619; and Opp. tom. iv. pt. ii. p. 239), and more correctly by Mabillon (Act. O. S. Bened. SS. tom. iv. p. 456), is the genuine production of Adamnan. It was during his stay in Northumbria that he visited Jarrow, and had the conference with Ceolfrid the abbot on the paschal and tonsure questions (Bede, H. E. v. 21). He visited Ireland in 692, the record of which in Tighernach and the An. Ult. has this peculiarity, that a predecessor's name is coupled with it: *Adomnanus* xiiii. *anno post pausam Failbhe Iea ad Hiberniam pergid.* This was probably his first endeavour to introduce paschal uniformity into Ireland. How long he remained is not recorded, but the Annals relate that, in 697, *Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit, et dedit legem innocentium populis* (Ult. 696). See note [b], cap. 45 (p. 179) *supra.* According to Bede he was in Ireland in 703: possibly having remained there since 697. "Navigavit Hiberniam, et prædicans eis, ac modesta exhortatione declarans legitimum paschæ tempus, plurimos eorum, et pene omnes qui ab Hiiensium dominio erant liberi, ab errore avito correctos ad unitatem reduxit catholicam, ac legitimum paschæ tempus observare perdocuit. Qui cum celebrato in Hibernia canonico pascha, ad suam insulam revertisset, suoque monasterio catholicam temporis paschalis observantiam instantissime prædicaret, nec tamen perficere quod conabatur posset, contigit eum ante expletum anni circulum migrasse de sæculo." (H. E. v. 15.)

[a] *Capitula.*—The *capitula* of this book are supplied, as in lib. ii. (p. 100 *supra*), from cod. B. and observe exactly the order of the chapters. The omission of *capitula* for the second and third books in cod. A. may in some measure be accounted for by the fact that the *prægustanda*, which form the subject of i. 1 *supra*, contain a synoptical, though irregular review of the contents of the three books. See pp. 12, 13, *supra.*

[b] Cap. 1, præf.
[c] Cap. 1.
[d] Cap. 2.
[e] Cap. 3.
[f] Cap. 4.
[g] Cap. 5.
[h] Cap. 6.
[i] Cap. 7.
[k] Cap. 8.

De angelorum contra dæmones forti belligeratione, Sancto in eodem bello opportune subvenientium[k].

De angelorum apparitione quos vir Dei viderat alicujus animam nomine Columbi, fabri ferrarii, Coilrigini cognomento, ad cœlos evehere[l].

De angelorum simili visione, quos vir beatus aspexerat alicujus bene moratæ feminæ animam ad cœlum ferre[m].

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Columba obvios in transitu viderat beati Brendeni animæ, illius monasterii fundatoris quod Scottice Birra nuncupatur[n].

De angelorum visione sanctorum, qui sancti Columbani episcopi, Moculoigse, animam ad cœlum evexerant[o].

De angelorum apparitione qui obviam animabus sancti monachorum Comgelli descenderant[p].

De angelorum manifestatione alicujus [2]Emchathi animæ obviantium[q].

De angelo Domini, qui alicui fratri lapso de monasterii culmine rotundi in Roboreti Campo opportune tam cito subvenerat[r].

De angelorum multitudine sanctorum visa ad beati condictum viri de cœlo descendentium[s].

De columna luminosa sancti viri de vertice ardere visa[t].

De Spiritus Sancti descensione sive visitatione quæ in eadem insula, tribus continuis diebus, totidemque noctibus, super venerabilem mansit virum[u].

De angelicæ lucis claritudine, quam Virgnous, bonæ indolis juvenis, qui post, [3]Deo auctore, huic præfuit ecclesiæ, cui ego, indignus licet, deservio, super sanctum Columbam in ecclesia, fratribus hiemali nocte in cubiculis quiescentibus, descendere viderat[v].

De alia prope simili celsæ claritudinis visione[w].

De alia parili divinæ lucis apparitione[x].

De alia angelorum sancto manifestata viro apparitione; quos sanctæ ejus animæ obviare incipientes quasi mox de corpore viderat migraturæ[y].

De transitu ad Dominum sancti nostri patroni Columbæ[z].

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA TERTII LIBRI.

[2] emdathi B. [3] de B.

[l] Cap. 9. [m] Cap. 10. [n] Cap. 11. [o] Cap. 12. [p] Cap. 13. [q] Cap. 14. [r] Cap. 15. [s] Cap. 16. [t] Cap. 17. [u] Cap. 18. [v] Cap. 19. [w] Cap. 20. [x] Cap. 21. [y] Cap. 22. [z] Cap. 23.

[1]HIC TERTIUS LIBER ORDITUR, DE ANGELICIS [2]VISIONIBUS.

IN Primo[a] ex his tribus libellis [3]libro, ut superius commemoratum est, de Propheticis Revelationibus quædam breviter succincteque, Domino navante, descripta sunt. In Secundo superiore, de Virtutum Miraculis, quæ per beatum declarata sunt virum, et quæ, ut sæpe dictum [4]est, plerumque prophetationis comitatur gratia. In hoc vero Tertio, de Angelicis Apparitionibus, quæ vel aliis de beato viro, vel [5]ipsi de aliis, revelatæ sunt; et de his, quæ utroque, quamlibet disparili modo, hoc est, [5]ipsi proprie et plenius, aliis [6]vero improprie, et ex quadam parte, sunt manifestatæ, hoc est extrinsecus et explorative, in [7]iisdem tamen, vel angelorum vel [8]cœlestis [9]visionibus lucis: quæ utique [10]talium [11]discrepantiæ visionum [12]suis [13]caraxatæ locis inferius clarebunt. Sed nunc, ut a primordiis beati nativitatis viri easdem describere angelicas apparitiones incipiamus:

ANGELUS[b] Domini in somnis genitrici[c] venerabilis viri quadam nocte inter conceptum ejus et partum apparuit, eique quasi quoddam miræ pulchritudinis peplum[d] adsistens [14]detulit; in quo veluti universorum [15]decorosi colores florum

[1-2] incipit textus tertii libri de angelicis visionibus B. incipit liber tertius de angelicis apparitionibus et de transitu sancti columbæ C. D. F. S. [3] libello D. [4] *om.* B. [5] ipse D. [6] *om.* B. [7] hisdem A. B. [8] celestibus D. [9] visionis C. [10] cultum D. [11] descriptarum C. discrepant D. discrepante F. [12] diversitate *add.* F. [13] craxate A. ataxate D. [14] retulit D. [15] decolorosi C. D. discolorosi F.

[a] *In primo.*—The opening part of this chapter forms a kind of preface to the book.

[b] *Angelus.*—This narrative is copied from Cummian. It approaches, however, nearer to Mabillon's than Colgan's text. The whole of the Life by Cummian, with the exception of two chapters, has been transferred by Adamnan into this third book; and, though it has been considerably enlarged, still the order of events is observed, and often the very forms of expression retained. See the acknowledged extract in cap. 5.

[c] *Genitrici.*—Eithne, called, in a Latin form, *Aethnea* in Præf. 2 (p. 8) *supra*. For her lineage, see ii. 40 (pp. 163, 164) *supra*.

[d] *Peplum.*—In the Life of St. Kiaran of Clonmacnois, a vision is related, which both he and Enna saw, of a tree that grew upon the banks of the Shannon, and covered all Ireland with its shadow, which St. Enna thus interpreted: "Honor tuus Hiberniam implebit, et umbra adjutorii pietatis et gratiæ tuæ proteget eam a dæmonibus, plagis, et periculis; et fructus tuus plurimis longe lateque proficiet."—c. 21 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 146 *a b*). For Talech's vision about her son Finnian, see Colgan, Act. SS. p. 393 *a*.

[16]depicti videbantur; quodque post aliquod breve intervallum [17]ejus de [18]manibus reposcens abstulit; [19]elevansque et expandens in [20]aere dimisit vacuo. Illa vero de illo tristificata sublato, sic [21]ad illum venerandi habitus virum, Cur a me, ait, hoc lætificum tam cito abstrahis pallium? Ille [22]consequenter, Idcirco, inquit, quia hoc sagum alicujus est tam magnifici honoris, apud te diutius retinere non poteris. His dictis, supra memoratum peplum[e] mulier paulatim a se elongari volando videbat, camporumque latitudinem in majus crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus majore sui mensura superare; vocemque hujuscemodi subsecutam audierat, Mulier noles tristificari, viro[f] enim cui matrimoniali [23]es [24]juncta [25]fœdere talem filium editura es floridum, qui quasi unus prophetarum Dei inter ipsos [26]connumerabitur, innumerabiliumque animarum dux ad cœlestem a Deo patriam est prædestinatus. In hac audita voce mulier expergiscitur.

[1]DE RADIO LUMINOSO SUPER DORMIENTIS IPSIUS PUERI FACIEM VISO.

ALIA in nocte, ejusdem beati [2]pueri nutritor[a], spectabilis vitæ vir, presbyter [3]Cruithnechanus[b], post [4]missam ab ecclesia[c] ad hospitiolum revertens, totam

[16] et frondium D. [17-18] temporis subito D. [19] elevans D. [20] loco D. [21] inquit *add.* D. [22] consequens F. [23] copula *add.* B. jure *add.* D. [24] vincta D. [25] *manu recentiori suprascript.* A. *om.* B. [26] coronam merebitur D. commemorabitur Colg. Boll.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] viri D. [3] *om.* C. D. F. S. [4] missarum sollemnia D.

[e] *Supra memoratum peplum.*—The old Irish Life describes it as bpat mop co poôc o Inbpiô Moô co Caep na mbpocc, 'a large cloak which reached from the Islands of Modh to Caer-na-mBroc,' that is, from Inishymoe, or the group of islands in Clew Bay, on the coast of Mayo, to the north-east coast of Scotland, probably to Burg Head. Caer-Abroc, or York, can hardly be intended.

[f] *Viro.*—*Fedilmithus* in Præf. 2 (p. 8) *supra.*

[a] *Nutritor.*—Many Irish saints are represented in their Lives as placed, at an early age, under the care of distinguished clerics.

[b] *Cruithnechano.*—Called in the old Irish Life Cpuiṫnechan mac Cellachain in t-uapal pacapṫ, 'Cruithnechan, son of Cellachan, the illustrious priest.' The name does not occur in the Irish Calendars, but there is a parish in the diocese and county of Derry now called Kilcronaghan, that is, Cill Cpuiṫnechain, *cella Cruithnechain*, or *Killcruchnacan*, as in the old Taxation. (Reeves, Colton's Visit. p. 82.) Colgan, in order to make a place for him in the Calendar, has identified him with Cairiotan of Druimlara, whose festival is March 7, and at that day has collected in a short memoir all that is recorded concerning him, drawn chiefly from this chapter, and the narrative of O'Donnell. (Act. SS. p. 600, *recte* 510.) But the connexion of the two names extends no further than their initials. *Cruithnechan* is a diminutive of *Cruithnech*, Pict, and occurs in the Irish Nennius, p. 126.

[c] *Ecclesia.*—Cillmicnenain, *Ecclesia filii Enani*,

invenit domum [5]suam clara irradiatam luce; globum quippe igneum[d] super pueruli dormientis faciem stantem vidit. [6]Quo viso statim intremuit, et prostrato in terram vultu valde miratus, Spiritus Sancti gratiam super suum intellexit alumnum cœlitus [7]effusam.

[1]DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS SANCTUS BRENDENUS BEATI COMITES VIRI PER CAMPUM VIDERAT COMMEANTES.

Post [2]namque multorum intervalla temporum, cum a quodam synodo[a] pro quibusdam veniabilibus et [3]tam excusabilibus causis, non recte, ut post in fine

[5] *om.* C. [6] qui C. [7] effusum C.
[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* C. [3] *om.* C.

anciently Doire-Ethne, and now Kilmacrenan, a parish in the county of Donegal, which gives name to a barony that was originally known as the territory of Cinel Luiġdeaḋ mic Setna, 'Tribe of Lughaidh, son of Setna,' or Siol Setna, 'Race of Setna,' being so called from Setna, brother of Fedhlimidh, St. Columba's father. The churches connected with the history of St. Columba's early life are all situated in this neighbourhood, namely, Gartan, where he was born; Tulach-Dubhglaisse, now Temple-Douglas, in the parish of Conwall, about half way between Letterkenny and Gartan, in the parish of Conwall, where he was baptized, by the individual mentioned in the text; Killmicnenain, where he was fostered; and Rath-enaigh, or Rath-maighe-enaigh, in Tirenna, now Raymochy, in the barony of Raphoe, whither he resorted with his teacher, to hear the instruction of Bishop Brugach, son of Deagadh. (O'Donnell, i. 22–32, Tr. Th. p. 393.) The old church of Kilmacrenan stood a little N. E. of the village of the same name, and beside it, on the N. E., are the remains, principally the south wall, of a small Franciscan monastery. The O'Firghils, now Freels, a family of the Cinel-Conaill, were the hereditary wardens of this church, whose privilege it was to inaugurate the chiefs of the O'Donnells, a ceremony which usually took place at the Rock of Doon in this parish. This civil distinction was probably the reason why the name of the parish was extended to the barony, under the English administration.

[d] *Globum igneum.*—A ball of fire was seen over the place where St. Declan was born. (Colg. Act. SS. p. 601 [*recte* 511] *a.*) The mother of St. Mochaomhoc left her infant asleep in her house, and, returning, witnessed a prodigy similar to that in the text. (*Ib.* p. 590 *a.*) St. Comgall's mother beheld a pillar of fire that extended from heaven to the head of her sleeping infant. (Flem. Collect. p. 304 *b.*) The place where St. Brigid lay when an infant was indicated by a similar wonder. (Tr. Th. p. 547 *b.*) Such portents, however, are not peculiar to hagiology:

> "Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli
> Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia molli
> Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci."
> *Æn.* ii. 682.

At a later date, "Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu." (Liv. i. 39.) The story in the text is borrowed from Cummian in almost his very words, with the addition of the presbyter's name (cap. 2).

[a] *Synodo.*—We have no means of ascertaining with certainty the date of this synod, or the acts of St. Columba which it condemned.

claruit, sanctus excommunicaretur Columba, ad eandem contra ipsum collectam venit congregationem. Quem cum eminus appropinquantem [4]sanctus vidisset Brendenus[b], illius monasterii fundator quod Scotice [5]Birra[c] nuncupatur, citius [6]surgit, et inclinata facie, eum veneratus [7]exosculatur. Quem cum [8]ali-

[4] *om.* D. [5] byrra D. [6] surrexit D. [7] osculatur D. [8] alicui B.

Adamnan's mention of it is only casual, and as an introduction to the main event of the chapter, the angelic manifestation. Had there been no vision to relate, no fact would have been recorded; and thus we have a painful instance of the secondary importance attached by the biographer to historical narrative. A word from him would have freed the inquiry of its difficulty, but to relate an ecclesiastical occurrence for its own sake was foreign to the scope of his work. O'Donnell, in his endeavour to reduce the irregular anecdotes of Adamnan into chronological order, places this occurrence immediately after the departure of St. Columba from the monastery of Clonard, and styles him "probus adolescens."—i. 42 (Tr. Th. p. 395 *b*). The present chapter, however, seems to imply his having now attained to manhood. The anonymous Life of St. Columba, most probably compiled by Stephen White, of which Abp. Ussher published an extract that had been communicated to him by that learned Irishman, represents St. Columba's conduct in bringing about the battle of Cul Dreimhne as the offence which the synod was assembled to condemn: "In illo vero tempore, quo hæc fiebant, seniores Hiberniæ miserunt per nuncios fideles epistolam ad S. Gildam de genere Saxonum [*recte* Britonum], ut charitatem mutuam nutrirent. Cumque literas per ordinem legeret, et epistolam a Columba scriptam in manibus teneret, statim illam osculatus est, dicens: Homo qui scripsit hanc, Spiritu sancto plenus est: et ait unus de nunciis: Ut dixisti ita est; sed tamen a synodo Hiberniæ reprehenditur, eo quod cognatos suos in periculo mortis constitutos belligerare jusserit."—Brit. Eccl. Ant. (Wks. vi. p. 468.) Ussher accordingly places this synod immediately after the battle of Cul Dreimhne, in the year 561. (*Ib.* Ind. Chronol.) Whom Colgan follows (Tr. Th. p. 450 *a*, n. 43). Messingham, in a marginal note on the present chapter, suggests, "Ob celebrationem Paschatis" (Florileg. p. 171 *a*); but this is a misconception, because, as Dr. Lanigan observes, "there was no dispute in Ireland about the time of celebrating that festival until after his death." (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 150, n. 138.) O'Donnell, to save his patron's reputation, thus distorts the present narrative: "Improborum quorundam hominum invidiam provocavit, odia conscivit: qui invidi virtutis ejus falsum, nescio quod, crimen affingunt, affictumque divulgant. Inde secutum, ut loci Antistes insontem excommunicatione impeteret. Fulminata excommunicatio cum Columbæ innotuit, ad Episcopum coacto tum Clero comitia celebrantem, convolavit, non magis suæ infamiæ, quam multorum scandalo occursurus. Capitularem locum intranti S. Brendanus Birra qui tum forte Congregationi inerat, comiter assurgit," &c.—i. 42 (Tr. Th. p. 395 *b*). The question is discussed by Dr. O'Donovan, with his usual ability, in his note on the year 555 of the Four Masters (vol. i. p. 193).

[b] *Brendenus.*—This Brendan, son of Neman, founder of Birr, is to be distinguished from Brendan, son of Finnlogh, the founder of Clonfert. They were contemporary, and intimate friends of St. Columba. For an account of St. Brendan of Birr, see cap. 11, *infra.*

[c] *Birra.*—Now Birr, commonly called, from the Earl of Rosse's family name, Parsonstown. See note on the name, cap. 11, *infra.*

qui illius seniores [9]cœtus seorsim [10]ceteris redarguerent [11]semotis, dicentes, [12]Quare coram excommunicato surgere [13]et eum exosculari [14]non renueris? taliter ad eos inquiens, Si vos, ait, videritis ea quæ mihi Dominus hac in die de hoc suo, quem dehonoratis, electo manifestare [15]non [16]dedignatus est, nunquam excommunicassetis [17]quem [18]Deus non solum, secundum vestram non rectam sententiam, nullo excommunicat modo, sed [19]etiam magis [20]ac magis [21]magnificat. Illi e contra, Quomodo, aiunt, ut dicis, ipsum glorificat Deus, quem nos non sine [22]causa excommunicavimus, scire cupimus? Ignicomam et valde luminosam, ait Brendenus, columnam vidi eundem quem vos despicitis antecedentem Dei hominem. Angelos quoque sanctos per campum ejus itineris comites. Hunc itaque spernere non audeo quem populorum ducem ad vitam a Deo præordinatum video. His ab eo dictis, [23]non tantum, ultra Sanctum excommunicare non ausi, cessarunt, sed etiam valde venerati honorarunt. [24]Hoc tamen factum est [25]hi [26]Teilte[d].

[9] fetus B. [10] *om.* B. a *add.* F. [11] semotim C. D. [12] miramur te D. [13-14] nisi eum excommunicare D. [15-16] dignatus D. [17] eum *add.* D. [18] dominus C. [19] *om.* D. [20] et C. [21] glorificat D. [22] culpa D. [23] *om.* D. [24-26] *om.* C. D. F. S. [25] in *add.* Boll. [25-26] hiseilte Colg. Boll.

[d] *Hi Teilte.*—There being no Latin preposition in the clause, it is plain that the particle *hi*, which is the Irish for *in*, must be understood as supplying its place. Thus in the sequel to this Life, preserved in the Cod. B., we find "qui sepultus est hi Cuiluisci" (fol. 70 *a*). In like manner, in the Latin memoirs in the Book of Armagh, *hi Raith-chungi*, *hi Tamnuch* (fol. 11 *bb*), *hi Muiriscc* (*Ib.* fol. 13 *b a*), *hi Rath-Argi* (*Ib.* fol. *a a*), *fecit alteram hi Tortena* (fol. 15 *b a*), &c. Teilte is most probably the name which is written Tailtɛ in Irish records. It was a place in Meath, situate between Kells and Navan, famous in old times for the great annual assembly and fair, called aonaḋ Tailtɛnn, which was held there about *Lughnas*, or the first of August, of which we find eleven notices in the Four Masters between the years 539 and 1168. Taillte was also a seat of royalty, so that the monarch of Ireland was sometimes styled ṗiġ Tailtɛnn, 'King of Taillte' (Book of Rights, p. 143); and as the ancient Irish synods generally embraced representatives of the secular as well as ecclesiastical authorities, and were, for this reason, held in places of civil note, as Tara, Uisnech, and Cashel, we can easily perceive the principle upon which the present synod was held at a royal station in Meath, especially if the object was, as White, Ussher, and Colgan suppose, to censure St. Columba in precipitating the battle of Cul-Dreimhne, Dermot Mac Cerbhaill being monarch of Ireland at the time, and Meath his hereditary dominion. A remarkable record of the union of the secular and religious in reference to this place and saint, occurs in the An. Ult. and Four Mast. at 1006: Aḋnuġuḋ oenaiġ Tailtɛen lá Maelṡechnall. Ferḋomnach i comarbur Colum cille a comairle fer nEṙenn iṙin oenach ṙin. 'The renewal of the fair of Taillte by Maelsechlann. Ferdomnach [placed] in the successorship of Columcille by appointment of the men of Ireland, in this fair.' How would the Derry clergy of the

[1]DE ANGELO DOMINI QUEM SANCTUS [2]FINNIO BEATI VIRI SOCIUM ITINERIS [3]VIDIT.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus venerandum episcopum [4]Finnionem[a], suum videlicet magistrum[b], juvenis[c] senem, adiit; quem cum sanctus [5]Finnio ad se appropinquantem vidisset, angelum Domini pariter ejus comitem itineris vidit:

[1-3] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] fennio B. [4] fennionem B. finbarrum D. [5] fennio B. fynbarrus D.

present day regard a bishop whose patent or rescript emanated from Donnybrook or Ballinasloe instead of Westminster or the Vatican? Taillte is now called *Teltown*, which is formed from Tailtcann, the genitive case of the word, agreeably to a common process in anglicizing Irish names. We find cill Tailtcann in Mar. Gorman, May 18, and teach Tailtcenn in the Calendar of Donegal at the same day. In the old Taxations of the diocese of Meath, *Kiltaltyn* is the form in which the name appears. Teltown is a small parish adjoining Kells on the south-east, and possesses not only a cemetery and the ruins of an old church, but the remains of a large rath and other ancient works (Ord. Survey, s. 17). On the origin of the name, and the ancient importance of the place, see Keating's Hist. (vol. i. pp. 192, 210, ed. Haliday); O'Flaherty, Ogyg. iii. 13, 56 (pp. 177, 304); Four Masters, An. Mund. 3370, and Dr. O'Donovan's note (vol. i. p. 22). Colgan, misled by an incorrect copy of Cod. A., reads *Hiseilte*, which he proposes to change (a favourite process with him) to *Geseilde*, that he may bring the word round to *Geisille*, the old name of Geashill in the King's County (Tr. Th. pp. 364 *b*, 385 *b*, n. 4). The Bollandist editor follows Colgan, and adds, on his own responsibility, the Latin preposition, to govern *Hiseilte* in the ablative case.

[a] *Finnionem.*—Cummian, from whom this anecdote appears to be borrowed, calls him *Finnianus*, and identifies him with the individual whom Adamnan calls *Findbarrus* in ii. 1 (p. 103) *supra*. St. Columba, as has been observed in the note on that place, had two teachers called Finnian, and the authorities there cited refer the event related in that passage to the Finnian of Magh-bile, to whom also the present narrative would seem referable. In support of this choice, it may be observed that Adamnan in both places calls Finnian *bishop;* and that while Finnian of Magh-bile is generally acknowledged to have been of this order, Finnian of Clonard is nowhere, either in his Life or the Calendars, so designated, and the only place where he is called a bishop is in the Life of St. Columba of Tirdaglas (Colg. Act. SS. p. 404 *a*). On the other hand, there is no reference to St. Columba in the published Lives of the former Finnian, with whom tradition describes him as being engaged in a serious dispute (p. 104, *supra*), while the Life of St. Finnian of Clonard not only numbers St. Columba among his disciples, but refers to the present interview in the following words: "Quodam tempore S. Finnianus intuens suum discipulum Columbam Kille venientem ad se, ait uni de suis Monachis; Vide comitem itineris Columbæ. Et respondit ille; video Angelos Dei in comitatu ejus. Et ait Finnianus, vere qui adhæret Deo, unus spiritus est cum eo."—c. 30 (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 397 *a*).

[b] *Magistrum.*—St. Finnian of Clonard is commemorated in the Calendar at Dec. 12, where Mar. Gorman, and after him O'Clery, style him oide naem Erenn ma aimrip, 'magister

et, ut nobis ab expertis traditur[d], quibusdam astantibus intimavit fratribus, [6]inquiens, [7]Ecce nunc [8]videatis sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui commeatus meruit habere socium angelum cœlicolam. Iisdem diebus[e] Sanctus cum duodecim[f] commilitonibus discipulis [9]ad [10]Britanniam transnavigavit.

[6] dicens C. [7] en B. [8] videtis C. D. [9] *om.* C. [10] brittanniam B.

sanctorum Hiberniæ sui temporis.' St. Kiaran of Clonmacnois was one of his disciples, in whose Life it is stated, "In schola sapientissimi magistri Finniani plures sancti Hiberniæ erant."—c. 15 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 146 *aa*). St. Columba of Tirdaglas "audiens famam S. Finniani Episcopi de Cluain-eraird, ut sacram scripturam addisceret, accessit." (Colg. Act. SS. p. 404 *a*.) St. Ruadhan of Lothra abode with him, "Legens diversas scripturas, et multum proficiens in eis. Et beatitudo vitæ S. Ruadani multis *magisterium* præbuit." (*Ib.* p. 404 *b*.) St. Molash of Damh-inis retired to the appointed place, "postquam divinam paginam sub *magisterio* S. Finniani studiose didicisset." (*Ib.* p. 405 *a*.) These quotations, which might easily be multiplied, form an admirable commentary on the interesting passage of Ven. Bede, where, speaking of the Anglo-Saxons who were in Ireland in 664, he says: "Et quidam quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt, alii magis circumeundo per cellas magistrorum, lectioni operam dare gaudebant: quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant." (H. E. iii. 27.) Afterwards, when the monastic system became better organized in Ireland, the educational duties which were discharged by the superior, as in St. Finnian's case, were delegated to a special officer styled Fir-leiginn, or *Scholasticus*. See Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 632.

[c] *Juvenis.*—St. Columba is called *juvenis* (ii. 1), and even *puer* (ii. 25, p. 138, *supra*), when in the diaconate. If the close of the present chapter properly refers to this interview, he was now forty-two years of age. The anonymous Life of St. Columba, cited by Ussher (which the Bollandists call the Pseudo-Adamnan, but which most probably was a compilation made by Stephen White), represents the occurrence related in the present chapter, as a sequel to the battle of Cul-Dreimhne, and furnishes the following commentary on it: "Post hæc S. Columba ad S. Finianum episcopum accessit, ut ab eo pœnitentiam condignam causa præfati belli acciperet. Angelus vero Domini comitator ejus apparuit: qui præ nimio splendore obtutibus humanis non videbatur, nisi tantum a sancto viro Finniano, qui Finnbarrus nominatur. Cumque a viro Dei pœnitentiam condignam S. Columba quæreret, respondit: Oportet, ut quot instigatione belli ad infernum dejecti sunt, tot per exemplum tuum ad cœlum vehantur." (Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17, Wks. vi. p. 467.)

[d] *Traditur.*—This is added by Adamnan to the narrative as given by Cummian.

[e] *Iisdem diebus.*—This clause is borrowed from Cummian, but differently applied. He concludes the third chapter with the words, "qui sui commeatus habere meruit angelum Domini;" and then commences the fourth in this manner: "Hiisdem diebus Sanctus, cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit. Quo proveniens, quadam solenni die, sancto magistro suo, et episcopo, Finniano, missam celebranti, vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu non inveniebatur," and the narrative proceeds as in ii. 1, *supra*. Colgan endeavours to overcome the difficulty by reading, "quo antequam pervenisset." (Tr. Th. p. 324 *b*, n. 3.) But even so, as the Bollandist

[1]DE ANGELO DOMINI QUI AD SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN [2]HINBA COMMORANTEM INSULA PER VISUM APPARUIT, MISSUS UT AIDANUM IN REGEM [3]ORDINARET.

[4]ALIO [5]in tempore[a], cum vir prædicabilis in [6]Hinba[b] commoraretur insula, quadam nocte in extasi mentis angelum Domini ad se missum vidit, qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum [7]habebat librum[c]: quem cum vir venerandus de manu angeli accepisset, ab eo jussus, legere cœpit. Qui cum secundum quod ei in libro erat commendatum[d] [8]Aidanum in regem [9]ordinare recusaret, quia magis Iogenanum[e] fratrem ejus diligeret, subito angelus, extendens

[1-3] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] himba B. [4-5] quodam D. [6] himba B. F. hymba D. Cummian. [7] haberet D. [8] aeð. [9] *om.* D.

editor observes, "vix omnem anachronismi suspicionem tolles." (Jun. tom. ii. p. 187 *b.*) The truth is, there is a serious anachronism in Cummian, which Adamnan has endeavoured to correct, subjecting himself to the difficulty only of making a man a *juvenis* at forty-two.

[f] *Duodecim discipulis.*—Their names are preserved in the sequel of Cod. B., and have been printed at various times with more or less incorrectness. See *Additional Notes.*

[a] *Alio tempore.*—Tighernach, with whom the Annals of Ulster and Ussher agree, places the death of Conall, son of Comgall, Ædan's predecessor, at 574. T. Innes, whom Chalmers follows, refers it to 571. But the former is a much higher authority.

[b] *Hinba.*—See i. 21 (p. 50), 45 (p. 87), ii. 24 (p. 135), *supra;* chaps. 17, 18, 23, *infra.* The identification of this island remains the great desideratum in Hebridean topography.

[c] *Vitreum librum.*—Called *vitreus codex* further on. T. Innes says of it: "This ceremonial book is called by Adamnan, Liber Vitreus, because, perhaps, the cover of it was encrusted with glass or crystal."—Civ. Eccl. Hist. p. 202. He supposes the contents to have been "the prayers and ceremonies of the Ordination or Inauguration of kings." (*Ib.* p. 200.) From the context, however, it may be inferred that the present expression is not intended as a proper name, but rather as descriptive, and that the idea conveyed is 'a book of glass,' containing heaven's decrees concerning the succession of earthly monarchs, among whose names that of Ædan was expressly entered, as the individual destined to govern Dalriada. This was the *prærogativa monarchiæ prædestinata*, mentioned in i. 14 (p. 42) *supra*, and the *Deo auctore ordinatio* of i. 1 (p. 16), 36 (p. 68), *supra.* This book of glass, "clear as crystal," was only presented to the saint while in an *extasis mentis*, and on each occasion of its perusal was delivered by the angel. It contained the fiat of Ædan's inauguration; and the saint's hesitation was, not an unwillingness to employ any formulas supposed to have been contained therein, but a reluctance to receive the object of heaven's choice instead of his own. See the story told by Bede of the soldier's vision, in which "candidum codicem protulerunt angeli, deinde atrum dæmones." (H. E. v. 13.)

[d] *Ei commendatum.*—This may either mean that an injunction to ordain Ædan was specially addressed to him, or, what is more likely, that the will of Providence concerning Ædan being herein communicated to him, it became his duty to perform it.

[e] *Iogenanum.*—This is a diminutive of *Iogen*,

manum, Sanctum percussit flagello, cujus livorosum in ejus latere vestigium omnibus suæ diebus permansit vitæ. [10]Hocque [11]intulit [12]verbum, Pro certo scias, inquiens, quia [13]ad [14]te a Deo missus sum cum [15]vitreo libro, ut juxta verba quæ in eo legisti, [16]Aidanum in [17]regnum ordines. Quod si obsecundare huic nolueris jussioni, percutiam te iterato. Hic itaque angelus Domini, cum per tres continuas noctes, eundem in [18]manu vitreum habens codicem, apparuisset, eademque Domini jussa de regis ejusdem ordinatione commendasset, Sanctus, verbo obsecutus Domini, ad Iouam transnavigavit insulam, ibidemque [19]Aidanum, iisdem adventantem[f] diebus, in regem, sicut erat jussus, ordinavit. Et inter ordinationis verba, de filiis[g] et nepotibus[h] pronepotibusque[i] ejus [20]futura prophetizavit: imponensque manum super caput ejus, ordinans benedixit[j].

[10] hoc D. [11-12] esse angelicum D. [13-14] *om.* D. [15] hoc D. [16] aeðanum D. [17] regem D. [18] navi B. [19] aeðanum D. [20] futuris D.

a name which we find in St. Columba's family. The death of Iogenanus is recorded by Tigh. at 595: *Mors Eoghani mic Gabhrain.* An. Ult. 594. See Four Mast. 616; ii. 9 (p. 117) *supra.*

[f] *Adventantem.*—Chalmers despatches the proceedings of this chapter in the following brief manner: "Aidan, the successor of Conal, thinking that the solemnity of inauguration might contribute to the stability of his power, passed over to the sacred isle, for obtaining his object, whether of policy, or religion: and, here, in 574, was the king *ordained*, and *inaugurated*, by the abbot, according to the ceremonial of the *liber vitreus.*"—Caledon. i. 322. The idea of the ceremonial he derives from Innes; and in divesting the story of its miraculous character he should have left it out. The service which St. Columba rendered on this occasion was productive of reciprocal advantage, for, while it conferred the sanction of religion upon the questionable title of Ædan, it secured to the abbot of Hy a prescriptive supremacy in the politico-religious administration of Dalriada.

[g] *Filiis.*—See note [c], i. 9 (p. 35) *supra.*

[h] *Nepotibus.*—His successor in the kingdom was *Eochaidh Buidhe*, whose sons were, according to the Irish tract on the Men of Alba, Domhnall Breac (mentioned in the text); Domhnall Donn; Conall Crandamhna (rex. 642–660); Conall Beag; Connadh Cearr (success., et occis. 630); Failbhe (fell in battle of Feda Euin, Tig. 629); Domhangart; and Cuganmathair. *Eochaidh Finn*, Ædan's second son, had eight sons, namely, Baodan; Pordan; Pleatan; Cormac; Cronan; Fearadach; Fedhlimidh; and Caiplene. *Conang*, Ædan's sixth son (who was drowned in 622), had nine sons, namely, Rioghallan; Fearchar; Artan; Artur; Donnchadh; Domhangort; Nechtan; Nemh; Cruimine. *Gartnat*, Ædan's eighth son, had four sons, whose names are not recorded. (Lib. Ballymot. fol. 84 *b a*; Mac Firbis, Gen. MS. p. 401.)

[i] *Pronepotibus.*—Fearcadh, or Fearcar, son of Connadh Cearr, succeeded his father in 630. Cathusach (who died in 650), and Domangard, were sons of Domhnall Breac. Domhnall Donn (rex. 660–673), and Maolduin (rex. 673–690), were sons of Conall Cranndamhna (Duan Alban.; Ogyg. p. 478); and it was on their death that the house of Loarn came into power.

[j] *Ordinans benedixit.*—Conventual, not episcopal, rank was what conferred importance on ecclesiastics in the eyes of the Scots at that

[21]Cummeneus Albus,[k] in libro quem de virtutibus sancti Columbæ [22]scripsit[l], sic dixit quod sanctus Columba de [23]Aidano et de posteris ejus, et de regno suo, prophetare cœpit, dicens, Indubitanter [24]crede, O [25]Aidane, [26]quo-

[21] *usque ad fin. cap. om.* B. [22] scribens D. [23] aeḋano D. [24] credo C. [25] aeḋane D. [26] quod C.

day; and St. Columba, whose influence was now confirmed by a ten years' successful administration of Hy in addition to his royal descent, occupied the same relation to the Dalriadic kings that the abbot of Armagh did to the sovereigns of Ireland. There was this difference, however, in the systems, that the Dalriadic dynasty commenced under Christian auspices, whereas the sovereignty of Ireland had descended from Pagan times, and had probably conveyed into Christian ages a Pagan mode of inauguration. The earliest notice we have of ecclesiastical interference in the confirmation of royalty in Ireland, is found in the Annals of Ulster, A.C. 992, where it is recorded that the Coarb of St. Patrick, ro erleġ ġrad righ for Aeḋ mac nDomnaill i fiadhnuse ramha Patraic, *contulit gradum regis super Aedum filium Domnalli in conspectu congregationis Patricii.* This, however, was only the case of a provincial king, and was probably the commencement of the practice. But see O'Donovan, Hy-Fiachr. p. 452; Four Mast. 992; R. King, Memoir of Primacy, p. 38. Martene, treating *De solemni Regum benedictione,* has the following observation on the present occurrence: "Antiquissima omnium, quas inter legendum mihi reperire licuit, ea est quæ a Columba abbate Hiensi facta est jussu angeli in Aidanum Scotorum regem, cujus meminit Cumeneus Albus in Vita S. Columbæ n. 5. Sæc. 1. Benedictino. Sed ea supponit hunc ritum tanquam usu jam receptissimum, quippe ait angelum Domini, ad dictum abbatem missum, *qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum:* Quæ verba plane innuunt jam antea reges ordinatos fuisse. Sed in Aidani benedictione illud singulare occurrit, quod non ab episcopo, sed ab abbate fuerit ordinatus."—De Antiq. Eccl. Ritib. ii. 10 (tom. ii. p. 213 *a*, Antverp. 1763). Martene supposed the book presented by the angel to have been a formulary, and suggested the mistaken notion to Innes, who refers to the passage just quoted.

[k] *Cummeneus Albus.*—Son of Ernan, son of Fiachna, of the race of Conall Gulban. He was seventh abbot of Hy, and presided from 657 to 669. The name is variously written in Irish Cumine (Tigh. 661), Cumaine (*id.* 669), Cummine (Four Mast. 668), Cummein (Mar. Gorm.; Cal. Dungall. 24 Feb.), Cumine (Mart. Taml.) To which is added the surname Gilbe (Tigh. 661, 669), or Fionn (Mart. Taml.; Cal. Dungall.; Four Mast.), rendered *Albus* in the present instance, and An. Ult. 668. The writer of the Paschal Epistle printed by Ussher (Syll. xi.) calls himself *Cumeanus,* and is generally supposed to have been the same as Cummineus Albus, though the identity is very questionable. The abbot of Hy died in 669, Feb. 24, which is the day of his commemoration in the Calendars. Colgan has collected all the facts and conjectures that are recorded of him, at Feb. 24. (Act. SS. pp. 408–411.)

[l] *Libro quem scripsit.*—Colgan printed an anonymous Life of St. Columba, which had been taken from a manuscript of Miræus, at Antwerp, and was included in Belfortius' supplement to Surius. He pronounced it ancient, and placed it first in order in his collection, but expressed no opinion of its authorship. (Tr. Th. pp. 321–324.) Subsequently there appeared in Mabillon's Acta Sanct. Bened. Ord. (vol. i. pp. 342–349, Venet. 1733) a Life of St. Columba, differing only, as the Bollandist editor observes, "in aliquibus loquendi formulis," from that in Colgan. It was printed from a manuscript of Compeigne (Compendiensis mo-

niam nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere, donec prius [26]fraudulentiam agas in me et in posteros meos. Propterea ergo tu filiis commenda ut et ipsi filiis et nepotibus et posteris suis commendent, ne per consilia mala eorum sceptrum regni hujus de manibus suis perdant. In quocunque enim tempore [27]adversum me aut adversus cognatos meos qui sunt in Hibernia fecerint, flagellum, quod causa tui ab angelo sustinui per manum Dei super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur, et cor virorum auferetur ab eis et inimici eorum vehementer super eos confortabuntur[m].

Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est, in bello [28]Roth[n],

[27] malum *add.* C. [28] maiðe rath D.

nasterii), and was intituled *Auctore Cummeneo Albo.* Thus a work which was supposed by some to have been lost was brought to light from two independent sources. It forms the groundwork of Adamnan's third book, into which he has transferred the whole tract, with the exception of two chapters which he has worked into an earlier part, observing the order of the narrative, and in many instances employing the very expressions of his predecessor. The Bollandist editor was of opinion that the scribe who wrote the Compeigne MS. "recentiorem Latinæque linguæ studiosorem fuisse" than the writer of the Belfort exemplar, and for that reason gave a preference to the latter as a text for the *Vita Brevior* at St. Columba's day. (Act. SS. Jun. tom. ii. p. 185 *b.*) On comparison, however, it will be found that Mabillon's text agrees better with Adamnan's than that of Colgan. The Irish Franciscans, who saved the hagiology of their country, supposed that the Life, or rather portions of two Lives, which are preserved in the Codex Salmanticensis, and are printed No. 2 in Colgan's collection, were the genuine production of Cummineus. Accordingly O'Clery, in the Calendar of Donegal, under *Cummian Fionn*, at Feb. 24, observes: Do rgriob bfeca Columcille i 34 do caibdilid, biaroh tur *Ven. Abbas et plurimorum pater cenobiorum*, 'He wrote a Life of Columkille in 34 chapters, which commences thus: *Venerabilis Abbas*, &c.' This description led Colgan to express it as his opinion that the second Life in his collection was by Cummineus; and though he was unable to find in it the passage cited by Adamnan, he supposed that its absence was caused by a chasm in the manuscript. Pinkerton reprints Mabillon's text. (Vit. Antiq. pp. 27–45.)

[m] *Confortabuntur.*—The following are Cummineus' words as found in Mabillon's text, to which are added in brackets the variations in Colgan: "Indubitanter crede o Aidane, quoniam [quod] nullus adversariorum tuorum [*om.* Colg.] tibi poterit resistere donec prius fraudem agas in me et in posteros meos. His eisdem [ipsis] verbis alloquere filios tuos, ne regnum perdant. Quod si non obaudierint flagellum quod causa tui ab Angelo Dei [*om.* Colg.] sustinui, in eos retorquebitur." (Act. SS. Benedict. Ord. i. p. 343; Colg. Tr. Th. p. 321 *b*; Act. SS. Jun. ii. p. 186 *a.*)

[n] *Bello Roth.*—It was fought in 637, and the following is the record of it in Tighernach, under that year: Cath Muige Rath ria n-Domnall mac Aeda, ocur ria macaib Aeda Slaine [The battle of Magh Rath by Domhnall, son of Aedh (see p. 94, *supra*), and by the sons of Aedh Slaine (p. 42, *supra*)], *sed Domnall regnavit Temoriam in illo tempore; in quo cecidit Congal Caech*, ri Uladh 7 [king of Uladh, and] *Faelan cum multis nobilibus.* The

[29]Domnail Brecco[o], nepote [30]Aidani, sine causa vastante provinciam [31]Domnill[p] nepotis [32]Ainmuireg. Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis[q]: quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit.

[29] donaldo C. D. [30] aeɫdani D. [31] domnaill C. donaldi D. [32] amureg C. ainmireach D. ainmuireg F. ainmirech Colg.

An. Ult. relate the occurrence more succinctly, but in the exact form of the text: A. C. 636, *Bellum Roth.* An ancient historical romance, called *The Battle of Magh Rath*, was published in the original Irish, with a translation and notes, for the Irish Archæological Society, in 1842, by Professor O'Donovan. This curious tale, while it contains many statements that are inaccurate, seems in its main features to have been founded upon fact, and supplies the information which is required to identify the accounts of Adamnan and the Annals. It states that Congal Claen, the prime mover of the expedition, was maternal grandson of Eochaidh Buidhe, and consequently that Domhnall Breac was his uncle. That, flying to Alba, he presented himself at his grandfather's court of Dun Monaidh (p. 46), at Sliabh Monaidh (p. 56). Which place is identified by some with Dunstaffnage (Battle of Magh Rath, p. 46; Irish Nennius, p. 285), but on insufficient grounds. Edinburgh is called *Dun Monaidh* on the title of Bishop Carsewell's Psalms. (See also Trans. Gael. Soc. p. 118.) The following summary of the tale is given by Charles O'Conor of Belanagare: "Domnall, son of Aodh, the son of Ainmirey, ascended the throne, and began his administration with an act of extreme justice; that of taking vengeance on the murderer of his predecessor. Congal Claon he defeated in the battle of Dunkehern (see p. 95, *supra*), and obliged him to fly into Britain. Congal Claon remained nine years in exile. Saxons, Britons, Albanian Scots, and Picts flocked to his standard. His domestic partizans prepared for his reception, and he landed safely on the coast of Down. Domnall, king of Ireland, was not unprepared. He immediately encamped near the enemy at Moyrath, and began as bloody a battle as can be found in the records of that age: it continued with various success for six whole days, until victory declared for the nation on the seventh. Congal Claon, the soul of the enemies' army, was defeated and slain at the head of the troops of Ulad. The foreign troops were soon broke with great slaughter; and Domnal Breac, King of the Albanian Scots, hardly escaped to Britain, with the sorry remains of a fine army, which should be employed for the defence of the people he so wantonly attacked."—Dissert. on Hist. of Ireland, p. 210 (Dubl. 1812). Fordun, who notices this prophecy, represents Ædan as acting "contra B. Columbæ monita," and paying the penalty in defeat (Scotichr. iii. 27); but he omits to notice the real drift of the alleged prediction. Magh Rath is supposed to be the modern Moira, a well-known village and parish in the county of Down; but as the identification is based upon the name alone, the existence of other places in the county of Down similarly called, renders the supposition doubtful; especially as the chief clue given in the tale leads to the neighbourhood of Newry (pp. 274, 276). The places mentioned in connexion with the battle, *Magh-comair* (pp. 110, 227), *Tulchan-na-dtaillgeann* (p. 119), *Daire-in-latha*, *Carn Congail* (p. 174), *Ard-na-himaircsi* (p. 180), *Cnocan-an-choscair* (p. 216), and *Ath-an-ornaimh* (p. 226), will probably determine the situation.

[o] *Domnail Brecco.*—Son of Eochodius Buidhe (i. 9, pp. 35, 36, *supra*). The *Dyvnwal Vrych* of Aneurin's continuator.—Gododin. vss. 753, 884 (ed. Williams, pp. 150, 156, 184, 199).

[p] *Domnill.*—See i. 10 (p. 37), 49 (p. 94), *supra.*

[q] *In proclivo ab extraneis.*—The text of Cum-

[1] DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE ALICUJUS BEATI BRITONIS ANIMAM AD CŒLUM VEHENTIUM.

ALIO [2]in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Ioua [3]commoraretur insula, quidam de suis [4]monachis, Brito, bonis actibus intentus, molestia correptus corporis, ad extrema perductus est. Quem cum [5]vir venerandus in hora sui visitaret

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3] conversaretur C. [4] monachus C. D. [5] *om.* D.

mian in Mabillon thus expresses the fulfilment of St. Columba's prediction: "Quod ita factum est: mandatum namque viri Dei transgredientes, regnum perdiderunt." Colgan's text is less explicit: "Quod ita evenit mandatum viri Dei transgredientibus." The expression *regnum perdiderunt* seems to refer to the departure of the sceptre from the house of Gabhran to that of Loarn, which took place when Ferchar Fada succeeded Maelduin. Chalmers fixes this event at 681, while the Irish Annals record the death of Maelduin at 689. In either case the words appear to be interpolated, for Cummian died in 669. Adamnan, however, with propriety uses the words in the text, for he was thirteen years old when the battle of Magh Rath was fought, and he lived to see Ferchar Fada, of the house of Loarn, several years on the throne. During this period various reverses happened to the house of Gabhran; and not only did the rival families of the race improve them to their own advantage, but the Picts, Strathclyde Britons, and Saxons were sure to profit by their neighbours' declension. Tighernach records, at 678, and the An. Ult. 677 [recte 634, for the entry is taken from a chronicle, forty-four years in arrear], *Bellum i Calathros, in quo victus est Domhnall Breacc.* (Query, Calathros, now Culros, on the north side of the Forth; or a tract in Stirlingshire? See An. Ult. 735, *Bellum Cnuicc-Cairpri i Calatros* uc ecap linnou [ad inter stagna] *inter Dalriatai et Fortren* [i. e. Scotos Albienses et Pictos], *et Talorggan mac Ferguso filium Anfceallaich fugientem cum exercitu persequitur; in qua congressione multi nobiles ceciderunt.* Williams identifies Cattraeth and Calatros, Gododin, p. 184.) And again, at 638 (An. Ult. 637), Cath Glinne Mairiron [Muneron—*Ult.*] in quo muinntir Domnaill brice do teicheb: et obreprio Etain, 'the battle of Gleann-Maireson, in which the army of Domhnall Breacc was routed: and the siege of Etan.' The scene of this battle was not Glenmorison, on Loch Ness in Inverness, as Chalmers (i. p. 286) and O'Conor (vol. iv. p. 47) suggest, but a tract in the debateable ground of West Lothian. *Etan*, again, is not Edinburgh, as some suppose (Williams, Gododin. p. 99), which was anciently Agned, and Dun Monaidh, but *Cair-Eden*, the *Eiddyn* of Aneurin (Gododin, vss. 113, 157, 183, 733), now Carriden, a parish on the Forth, in Linlithgowshire, the identification of which we learn from the interpolator of Gildas' History: "Kair Eden, civitas antiquissima, duorum ferme millium spatio a monasterio Abercurnig, quod nunc vocatur Abercorn." (Capit. 9, Monument. p. 5.) In 642, according to Tighernach, and 641 of the An. Ult., *Domhnall Brecc*, i cath Sraba Cairinn [in the battle of Strath-Cairin] *in fine anni in Decembre interfectus est* xv. *regni sui ab Hoan rege Britonum.* This occurrence is entered a second time in those Annals forty-four years later, a repetition which is observable in other cases, and indicates the employment of a different authority. There king Hoan is called *Haan*, who seems to be the same as *Auin*,

exitus, paulisper ad [6]lectulum [7]ejus [8]assistens, et ei benedicens, ocyus domum egreditur, nolens [9]videre [10]morientem. Qui eodem momento post sancti de domu [11]secessum [12]viri præsentem finiit vitam. Tum vir prædicabilis, in [13]plateola[a] sui deambulans monasterii, porrectis ad cœlum oculis, diutius valde obstupescens, admirabatur. Quidam vero frater, [14]Aidanus nomine, [15]filius [16]Libir[b], bonæ indolis et religiosus homo, qui solus de fratribus eadem adfuit hora, flexis genibus, rogare cœpit ut Sanctus eidem tantæ admirationis causam [17]intimaret. Cui Sanctus, Nunc sanctos angelos in aere contra adversarias potestates belligerare vidi; Christoque [18]agonothetæ gratias ago quia victores angeli animam hujus peregrini, qui primus apud nos in hac insula mortuus est[c], ad cœlestis patriæ gaudia evexerunt. Sed hoc quæso sacramentum nemini in vita mea reveles.

[6] lectum C. [7] *om.* D. [8] assidens C. accessit D. [9-10] se ab aliis videri D. [11] recessum C. D. [12] *om.* D. [13] platea D. [14] aedanus D. [15-16] *om.* C. D. [16] liber B. [17] diceret D. [18] agonithetæ A. B. agonizante D.

whose son, Domhnall, king of Ailcluaithe (see note [b], p. 43, *supra*), died in 694. This battle was fought in the valley of the Carron in Stirlingshire. At 650, is recorded the 'Death of Cathasach, son of Domhnall Breac.' At 673, is recorded the *Jugulacio Domaingairt mic Domhnaill Bricc regis Dalriata.* In 689, *Mors Cathasaig nepotis Domhnaill Bricc*, and *Mors Maelduin mic Conaill Crandamhna.* On the death of Maelduin, the royalty passed to Ferchar Fada, of the house of Loarn, who was able to entail the dignity on his descendants.

[a] *Plateola.*—See note [e], i. 50 (p. 98) *supra.*

[b] *Aidanus filius Libir.*—Colgan, who strives to canonize every member of the fraternity, conjectures that this was the bishop Aidan who was sent in 635 to convert the Northumbrians, and died in 651. But as it appears from the narrative that the present occurrence happened soon after 563, at which date this Aidanus was an adult, it is not likely that he could have undertaken the active duties of a missionary sixty or seventy years after.

[c] *Qui primus mortuus est.*—If this be understood absolutely, it may help to qualify the curious and not very creditable story of the first Christian performance in Hy. Ꝑbert Columcille ꝺoꝛıꝛ ꝑa muınteıꝛ ıꝛ maıch ꝺun aꝛ ꝓhéṁa ꝺo ꝺul ꝑo ċalmaın ꝓunꝺ, acaꝛ aꝑbeꝛt ꝑꝛıu, ıꝛ ceꝑ ꝺıꝺ nech ecın uaıꝺ ꝺo ꝺul ꝑo uıꝛ na h-ınnꝛıꝛe ꝺıa ċoıꝛecꝛaꝺ. Ꝑtꝛachꝑ ꝓuaꝛ Oꝺꝛan eꝛlaꝑꝑaꝺ, acaꝛ ıꝛeꝺ aꝑbeꝛt. Ꝺıa nam ꝷaꝺċa olꝛe ıꝛ eꝛlom lem ꝓın. A Oꝺꝛaın ol Colum cılle ꝓoꝑbıa a loꝷ ꝓın .ı. nı ꝑıbeꝛꝑhep a ıꝑꝷe ꝺo neoch ı comlıꝷe ꝓı mına ꝑoꝛꝑꝛa ꝓıꝛꝑeꝛ aꝛ ꝑuꝛ. Luıꝺ ıaꝛum Oꝺꝛan ꝺoꝺum nıṁe. Ꝑoꝑhaıꝷıꝛ ıum eꝑlaıꝛ hı la ıaꝛum. 'Columkille said, then, to his people, It would be well for us that our roots should pass into the earth here. And he said to them, It is permitted to you that some one of you go under the earth of this island to consecrate it. Odhran arose quickly, and thus spake: If you accept me, said he, I am ready for that. O Odhran, said Columcille, you shall receive the reward of this: no request shall be granted to any one at my tomb, unless he first ask of thee. Odhran then went to heaven. He (Colum) founded the church of Hy then.' Such is the story in the old Irish Life, which O'Donnell transfers into his narrative (ii. 12, Tr. Th. p. 411 *a*), adding, "Sacrum corpus eo loco cre-

[1]DE ANGELORUM REVELATA EIDEM SANCTO VIRO VISIONE, QUI ANIMAM ALICUJUS DIORMITI AD CŒLUM DUCEBANT.

ALIO in tempore, quidam [2]Hiberniensis peregrinus ad Sanctum perveniens, per aliquot apud eum menses in [3]Ioua [4]commanebat insula. Cui vir beatus alia die, Nunc, ait, quidam de [6]provincialibus [7]tuis clericis ad cœlum ab angelis portatur, cujus adhuc ignoro nomen. Frater vero hoc audiens cœpit secum de [8]provincia perscrutari Anteriorum[a], [9]qui Scotice [10]Indairthir[b] [11]nuncupantur, et de illius beati hominis vocabulo; [12]hocque consequenter intulit verbum, [13]inquiens, Alium Christi scio [14]militonem qui sibi in eodem territorio, in quo et ego commanebam, [15]monasteriolum construxit, nomine [16]Diormitium[c]. Cui Sanctus ait, Ipse est de quo dicis, qui nunc ab angelis

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] everniensis A. C. [3] iona B. [4] commanens D. [6] comprovincialibus B. provincia D. [7] tua D. [8] vita B. [9-11] *om.* C. D. F. S. [10] ondairtir B. [12] hoc eis D. [13] dicens D. [14] commilitonem C. [15] monasterium D. [16] diarmatum D.

ditum est, qui deinceps *Odrani sepulchretum* est appellatus." It is a remarkable fact that the principal, and now only cemetery in Hy is called the *Reilig Orain*, after him instead of the patron saint, and has been so for many centuries; for in the gloss to the Feilire of Ængus, at St. Odhran's commemoration, Oct. 27, it is observed, o hI Cholaim cille .i. Relic Oḋṙain, 'of Hy Colaim-cille, .i. of Relic Odhrain.' Probably Odhran was the first of St. Columba's fraternity who was interred in the island, and the whole island being called after the patron, the cemetery took its name from the first kinsman of his community who was buried in it. The story had not lost in its carriage when it was told to Pennant, and the late Hon. A. Herbert has revived it in a way which will surprise if it does not convince. See his *Peculiarities of Culdeism*, British Magazine, vol. xxvi. p. 10; Irish Nennius, p. xxv. See also the drawings of St. Oran's chapel, a building of the twelfth century, but the oldest now remaining in the island, and of the Reilig, in Graham's Antiqq. of Iona, plates 5, 6 (Lond. 1850).

[a] *Anteriorum.*—Equivalent to *Orientalium.* See the note on the word, i. 43 (p. 82) *supra.*

[b] *Indairthir.*—This word is compounded of ind, an old form of the article in the nom. plural, which is usually joined to its noun (see Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. pp. 230, 237; O'Donovan, Ir. Gr. p. 67), and airthir, 'Easterns.' Sometimes it appears in the early Annals in the form na nairther, and sometimes, as An. Ult. 640, in its equivalent Latin *Orientales.* Ri na nairthir, of Tigh. 722, is *rex Orientalium* in An. Ult. 721. Thus in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, *Oirthir, id est Orientalis*, iii. 71 (Tr. Th. p. 162 *b*). The people were so called, as inhabiting airtear airḟiall, *East Oriel* (Four Mast. 1099). See the note, p. 83, *supra.*

[c] *Diormitium.*—Not expressly noticed in the calendars. Colgan conjectured that he was "Diarmait, son of Meachar, bishop of Airthermagh in Tuath-ratha," who is commemorated at Jan. 16; but incorrectly, for Tuath-ratha is now called *Toora*, and is part of the barony of Magheraboy, in the county of Fermanagh;

Dei in paradisum deductus est. Sed hoc [17]etiam non negligenter adnotandum est, quod idem vir venerabilis multa sibi a Deo arcana, ab aliis celata, sacramenta[d], nullo modo in hominum notitiam prodi passus sit, duabus, ut ipse aliquando paucis [18]intimaverat fratribus, causis existentibus; hoc est, ut jactantiam devitaret, et ad semetipsum interrogandum, insustentabiles turbas de se aliqua interrogare volentes, divulgata revelationum fama, non invitaret.

[1]DE ANGELORUM CONTRA DÆMONES FORTI BELLIGERATIONE SANCTO IN EODEM BELLO OPPORTUNE [2]SUBVENIENTIUM.

ALIA die, vir sanctus, in [3]Ioua conversans insula, remotiorem ab [4]hominibus locum, aptumque ad orationem, in saltibus quæsivit: ibidemque cum orare cœpisset, subito, ut ipse postea paucis intimaverat fratribus, videt contra se nigerrimam dæmonum[a] cum ferreis verubus aciem prœliari: qui, sicuti sancto viro per Spiritum revelatum erat, monasterium ejus invadere, et multos

[17] jam D. [18] *om.* D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] subvenientis B. [3] iona B. [4] omnibus B. D.

whereas the church mentioned in the text was on the east side of the county of Armagh.

[d] *Sacramenta.*—See note [k], i. 43 (p. 84), and chap. 6 (p. 203), *supra.*

[a] *Dæmonum.*—St. Columba is represented as engaged on various occasions in personal encounters with demons; as, when he went to the aid of Cainnech of Aghabo, and Eugenius of Ardstraw (O'Donnell, ii. 22, Tr. Th. p. 412 *b*); and of Ruadhan of Lothra (Tr. Th. p. 461 *a*, c. 39). But his most brilliant achievement is related in the Irish legend of King Brandubh's death, of which the following is a literal translation: "Brandubh was killed on the morrow, and demons carried off his soul into the air. And Maedhog [abbot of Ferns] heard the wail of his soul as it was undergoing pain, while he was with the reapers. And he went into the air, and began to battle with the demons. And they passed over Hy; and Columkille heard them while he was writing; and he stuck the style [ȝnaıb, *graphium*] into his cloak, and went to the battle to the aid of Maedhog, in defence of Brandubh's soul. And the battle passed over Rome, and the style fell out of Columkille's cloak, and dropped in front of Gregory, who took it up in his hand. Columkille followed the soul of Brandubh to heaven. When he reached it, the congregation of heaven were at Celebration, namely, *Te decet hymnus*, and *Benedic anima mea*, and *Laudate pueri Dominum;* and this is the beginning of the Celebration of heaven. Columbkille did the same as the people of heaven. And they brought Brandubh's soul back to his body again. Columbkille tarried with Gregory; and brought away Gregory's brooch [ᴅealc] with him, and it is the hereditary brooch [ᴅelȝ aıᴅechta, literally *testamentary brooch*, being an heirloom in Hy, as the cloȝ an eaᴅachta, or *testamentary bell*, was in Armagh] of the coarb of Columkille to this day. And he left his style with Gregory."—Lib. Lecan, fol. 183 *a*. The legend is transferred from the Irish original into O'Donnell's Life. See Colgan's abridgment, iii. 45 (Tr. Th. p. 439 *a*).

ex fratribus iisdem volebant jugulare sudibus[b]. Ipse vero contra tales æmulos unus homo innumeros, accepta Pauli armatura[c] apostoli, forti conflictu dimicabat. Et ita ex majore diei parte utrinque dimicatum est, nec innumerabiles unum [5]vincere poterant, nec eos unus de sua valebat insula repellere; donec angeli Dei, ut Sanctus post quibusdam non multis retulerat, in adminiculum affuere; [6]quorum timore [7]proturbati dæmones loco cessere. Eademque die, Sanctus ad monasterium post dæmoniorum reversus de sua insula effugationem, hoc de [8]eisdem [9]turmis hostilibus verbum profatur, inquiens, Illi [10]exitiabiles [11]æmuli qui hac die de hujus [12]terrulæ, Deo propitio, regione, angelis [13]nobis subvenientibus, ad [14]Ethicam[d] [15]effugati sunt[e] [16]terram, [17]ibidemque [18]sævi [19]invasores, fratrum monasteria invadent, et pestilentes [20]inferent morbos, quorum molestia infestati, multi morientur. Quod iisdem diebus, juxta beati [21]præscientiam viri, ita [22]et factum est. Et post, interveniente biduo, ei revelante Spiritu, Bene, ait, Baitheneus[f], auxiliante Deo, dispensavit ut ejus-

[5] *om.* D. [6] quo B. [7] perturbati C. D. [8] demoniacis D. [9] *om.* D. [10] exitiati D. [11] demones D. [12] terræ D. [13] *om.* D. [14] aethicam C. [15] fugati C. D. F. S. [16] *om.* D. [17] ibidem C. [18-19] intrantes D. [20] ferent D. [21] sententiam D. [22] *om.* D.

[b] *Sudibus.*—This may be taken metaphorically, for, on the expulsion of the demons to the Ethica terra, their assaults were felt in the form of pestilent diseases. Thus the word *arrow* is used in Psal. xci. 5; and ἰὸς in Iliad, A. 48. At sea their violence was experienced in the raging of tempests. See ii. 34 (p. 149) *supra*, cap. iii. 13 (p. 214) *infra*.

[c] *Pauli armatura.*—Ephes. vi. 13–17. It was thus, as Bede relates, that St. Cuthbert freed the little island of Farne from demoniacal occupation. Vit. S. Cuthb. c. 17; Hist. Eccl. iv. 28.

[d] *Ethicam terram.*—The island of Tiree. See note [b], i. 19 (p. 48) *supra*. To which may be added, in reference to the transition forms of the name, that Martin calls it *Tire-iy*, but partly errs in deriving it from *Tire*, a country, and *iy*, an isthmus. (West. Islands, p. 267.)

[e] *Effugati sunt.* — Cruachan-aichle, now Croagh Patrick, a mountain in Mayo, is famous in legendary record as the scene of St. Patrick's final conflict with the demons of Ireland: from its summit he drove them into the ocean, and completed their discomfiture by flinging his bell, the *Bearnan Brighde*, among their retreating ranks. (Vit. Trip. ii. 64, Tr. Th. p. 138 *a*.) Passing northwards, they emerged from the deep, and took up their abode in the savage wilds of Seangleann, on the south-west of Donegal. Here they remained unmolested till our Tirconnellian saint was directed by an angel to rid the place of its foul inhabitants. After a violent struggle with the demons, he completely routed them, and with the help of the *Dubh-duaibseach*, his bell, drove them once for all into the sea. His name was henceforward associated with the tract, and the wild parish of Glencolumbkill preserves in its topography and traditions a living commentary on the legend of St. Columba's first visit to it, as told by Manus O'Donnell in 1520. (Vit. S. Columbæ, i. 89, Tr. Th. p. 403 *b*.) Sliabh Liag, commonly called Slieve-League, a precipitous mountain in this region, commands, in clear weather, a view of Croagh Patrick on the south-west.

dem ecclesiæ cui, Deo auctore, præest, in Campo [23]Lunge[g], jejuniis et orationibus collectio[h] a dæmonum [24]defendatur invasione: ubi nemo, excepto uno qui mortuus est, hac vice morietur. Quod ita, juxta vaticinium ejus, expletum est. Nam cum multi in ceteris ejusdem insulæ monasteriis[i] eodem morbo morerentur, nemo, nisi unus de quo Sanctus dixit, apud [25]Baitheneum in sua est mortuus congregatione.

[1]DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE QUOS VIR DEI VIDERAT ALICUJUS ANIMAM, NOMINE COLUMBI, FABRI FERRARII, COILRIGINI COGNOMENTO, AD CŒLOS EVEHERE.

QUIDAM faber ferrarius in [2]mediterranea [3]Scotiæ habitabat [4]parte[a], eleemosynarum operibus satis intentus, et ceteris justitiæ actibus plenus. Hic, cum ad extrema in bona senectute perduceretur, supra memoratus Columbus [5]cog-

[23] lugne D. [24] defendantur B. [25] baithenum D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-4] media parte hybernie que vocatur midi habitabat D. [3] scothicæ C. [5-6] *om.* C. D. F. S.

[f] *Baitheneus.*—His connexion with the *Ethica Terra* is mentioned in i. 19 (p. 49), 30 (p. 59), 41 (p. 78), ii. 15 (p. 125), *supra.*

[g] *Campo Lunge.*—See note [f], i. 30 (p. 59).

[h] *Collectio.*—Called *congregatio* further on.

[i] *Ceteris insulæ monasteriis.*—Besides that of *Campus Lunge*, mention is made by Adamnan of that at *Artchain in Ethica Terra* (i. 36, p. 66, *supra*). Compared with its extent, the ecclesiastical remains of Tiree are very numerous: Kilbride, Kilchenich, Kilfinnan, Kilmoluag, Claodh-Odhrain, and Templepatrick, commemorative of SS. Brigid, Cainnech, Finnian, Molua, Odhran, and Patrick, in the common calendar of Ireland and Scotland, are the names of farms on which there are, or were, religious houses. Soroby and Kirkapoll, the ancient parish cemeteries, are rich in curious monuments; besides which, the vestiges of Christian sepulture have been found in Ardkirknish, Knock-a-chlaodh, Claodhbeg, and Templefield. See the ecclesiastical notice of Tiree in the Ulst. Journal of Archæol., vol. ii. pp. 238-244.

[a] *Mediterranea Scotiæ parte.*—Durrow is placed there in i. 3 (p. 23) *supra.* Cod. D. supplies in the present passage the name of Meath. The five original provinces [cuiꝛ coiꝛḟḋa] of Ireland are said to have met at the hill of Uisnech in Westmeath, where the point of junction was marked by a large stone called Ail na mireann (*Elnamiran*), 'stone of the portions.' Tuathal Teachtmar is reported to have cut off from each the part adjacent to the common centre, and from them combinedly to have formed the province of Miḋi, or Meath. See Keating, Hist. vol. i. pp. 126, 128, 140 (Ed. Haliday). Thus Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the five provinces, observes: "Quarum capita in lapide quodam conveniunt apud Mediam juxta castrum de Kyllari, qui lapis et *umbilicus Hiberniæ* dicitur: quasi in medio et meditullio terræ positus. Unde et Media pars illa Hiberniæ vocatur, quia in medio est insulæ sita."—Topogr. Hib. iii. 4 (p. 736, ed. Camden). "Pro quo tamen umbilico, Birræ in comitatu regio alius quidam excavatus lapis hodie osten-

nominatus [6]Coilriginus[b], eadem hora qua de corpore eductus est, sanctus Columba in Ioua commanens insula, paucis quibusdam [7]se circumstantibus, sic profatus, senioribus, [8]Columbus [9]Coilriginus, ait, [10]faber ferrarius[c], non incassum laboravit, qui de propria manuum laboratione suarum præmia, emax, felix, [11]comparuit æterna. Ecce enim, nunc anima ejus a sanctis vehitur angelis ad cœlestis patriæ gaudia. Nam quodcunque de suæ artis negotiatione acquirere potuit, in egenorum eleemosynas expendit.

[1]DE ANGELORUM SIMILI VISIONE QUOS VIR BEATUS ASPEXERAT ALICUJUS BENE MORATÆ FEMINÆ ANIMAM AD CŒLUM FERRE.

ALIO itidem [2]in [3]tempore, vir sanctus in Ioua conversans insula, [4]quadam [5]die, subito oculos ad cœlum dirigens, hæc profatus est verba, Felix mulier, felix bene morata, cujus animam nunc angeli Dei ad paradisum evehunt. Erat autem quidam religiosus frater, Genereus nomine, Saxo[a], [6]pistor[b], opus

[7] de D. [8] columb A. [9] *om.* C. D. F. S. [10] et *add.* D. [11] comparavit C.
[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* C. D. [3] die D. [4-5] *om.* D. [6] A. B. C. D. F. S. pictor Colg. Boll.

ditur."—Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. cap. 13 (Wks. v. p. 518; and vi. Ind. Chronol. 591). The Life of St. Kiaran is still more exact: "Cluainmic-nois qui est in medio Hiberniæ."—cap. 29 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *a b*). Thus Finnian saw at Clonmacnois a silver sun which "Hiberniæ umbilicum mire irradiatum prope incendebat." —O'Don. i. 20 (Tr. Th. p. 392 *b*). Even Seirkieran in the King's County is represented as a central position: Saiger "in medio Hiberniæ positum."—Vit. S. Kierani, c. 25 (Act. SS. p. 461 *b*). Athlone is nearly the exact centre of Ireland, and the adjacent parts of Westmeath and King's County are indicated as the probable scene of the present narrative.

[b] *Coilriginus.*—A surname possibly denoting that he was of the *Calraighe*, a tribe of whom, called *Calraighe Teathbha*, gave name to Sliabh gCalraidhe, now Slieve Golry, near Ardagh, in the middle of Longford, not far north of the exact centre of Ireland.

[c] *Faber ferrarius.*—From the mention of his occupation Colgan supposes him to be the Colum gobha, 'Colum the smith,' commemorated in the calendars at June 7. St. Patrick's three smiths appear in the Calendar (O'Donovan, Four Mast. 448, i. p. 137.) St. Dega, the bishop of Iniscaindega (now Inishkeen in Monaghan), derived his name of *Dayg* ("hoc enim nomen Scotica lingua magnam flammam sonat") from his employment in making "plurima de ferro et ære de auro atque argento utensilia ad usum ecclesiæ." (Act. SS. Aug. tom. iii. p. 659 *a*.) His day is Aug. 18.

[a] *Saxo.*—Another is mentioned in cap. 22 *infra*. "These converts were not indebted for their faith to Augustin or the other Roman missionaries, who had not as yet arrived in G. Britain, nor to British preachers, whereas the Britons, as Gildas and Bede have complained, added to their other crimes the horrid sin of neglecting to announce the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. On the contrary, the Irish clergy and monks undertook that duty as soon

[7]pistorium exercens, qui hoc audierat verbum ex ore Sancti prolatum. Eademque die mensis, eodem terminato anno, Sanctus eidem Genereo, Saxoni, Miram rem video, ait; ecce, mulier de qua, te præsente, præterito dixeram anno, [8]nunc mariti sui religiosi cujusdam plebeii in aere obviat animæ, et cum sanctis angelis contra [9]æmulas pro ea [10]belligerat potestates: quorum adminiculo, ejusdem homuncionis justitia suffragante, a dæmonum belligerationibus erepta, ad æternæ refrigerationis locum anima ipsius est perducta.

[1]DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS SANCTUS COLUMBA OBVIOS IN TRANSITU VIDERAT BEATI [2]BRENDENI ANIMÆ, ILLIUS MONASTERII FUNDATORIS QUOD SCOTICE BIRRA[a] NUNCUPATUR.

ALIA itidem die, dum vir venerandus in [3]Ioua [4]conversaretur insula, mane primo suum advocat sæpe memoratum ministratorem [5]Diormitium no-

[7] A. pistorum B. C. D. F. S. pictorium Colg. Boll. [8] *om.* D. [9] emulos D. [10] belligerantes D.
[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] B. brendini A. [3] iona B. [4] conversatur D. [5] diarmatum D.

as a fit opportunity occurred, and have been on that account often praised by Bede. It can scarcely be doubted, that they were the instruments used by the Almighty for the conversion of those early Anglo-Saxon Christians in Columba's time; and that, with regard to a part of that nation, they got the start of the Roman missionaries in the blessed work of bringing them over to the Christian faith."—Lanigan, Eccles. Hist. ii. p. 174.

[b] *Pistor.*—The corrupt reading *pictor* in Colgan and the Bollandists has been productive of opposite results. On the one hand, it has afforded to the admirers of ancient Irish art a supposed evidence of its cultivation in Hy (see Dr. F. Keller's *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten*, p. 73, where Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra* is cited); and, on the other, it suggested to the half-informed Dr. John Smith the notion that it was a wilful perversion of the text, to serve religious ends. "Thus we find Adomnan mentions several Saxons in Iona, such as St. Pilo, a Saxon; St. Gueren, a Saxon; and a Saxon baker, or *pistor* (*Edit. Pinkert.*), which the editions of the Bollandines, Colgan, and other Catholics, have printed *pictor*. But as Columba had no images, he had no occasion for a painter."—Life of St. Columba, p. 115. This statement is full of blunders; less flippancy and more learning would have excused *other Catholics*, for Canisius and Messingham read *pistor*. The joint error in Colgan and the Acta Sanctorum arose from the use of a common manuscript, Stephen White's transcript of Cod. A., which probably contained the incorrect reading. Colgan's abridged version of O'Donnell has *pictor*, ii. 26 (Tr. Th. p. 413 *b*); so has the *Vita Secunda*, from the Cod. Salmanticensis, c. 24 (Tr. Th. p. 328 *a*). Possibly in these places Colgan has ventured on an imagined emendation.

[a] *Birra.*—See cap. 3 (p. 193) *supra.* bior, or bir, gen. birra, signifies a 'stream,' and sometimes becomes a proper name, as in this case, and that of the Moyola Water in the county of Londonderry, which was anciently called the

mine, eique præcipit, inquiens, Sacra celeriter Eucharistiæ ministeria præparentur. Hodie enim natalis[b] beati [6]Brendeni[c] [7]dies. Quare, ait minister, talia missarum[d] solemnia hodierna [8]præparari [9]præcipis? nullus enim ad nos de Scotia sancti illius viri obitus pervenit nuncius. Vade [10]tum, ait Sanctus, meæ obsecundare jussioni debes. Hac enim [11]nocte præterita[e] vidi subito apertum cœlum, angelorumque choros [12]sancti [13]Brendeni animæ obvios descendere: quorum luminosa et incomparabili claritudine totus eadem hora illustratus est mundi orbis.

[1]DE ANGELORUM VISIONE SANCTORUM QUI SANCTI COLUMBANI EPISCOPI, MOCU [2]LOIGSE[a], ANIMAM AD CŒLUM EVEXERANT.

QUADAM [3]itidem die, [4]dum fratres, se calceantes[b], mane ad diversa monasterii opera ire præpararent, Sanctus e contra ea die otiari præcipit, sacræque

[6] B. brendini A. brendani D. [7] est *add.* C. [8] die *add.* D. [9] die *add.* C. [10] tu C. [11] die D. [12] innumerorum *add.* B. [13] B. brendini A. brandani D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] A. B. [3] *om.* D. [4] cum C.

Bior (see note [d], p. 52, *supra;* Colg. Tr. Th. p. 396 *a*, c. 46). The monastery of Birr, so called from the stream on which it stood, grew in after times into a town bearing the same name, for which Parsonstown is a modern substitute. Birr is set down by Keating as a boundary of ancient Meath (vol. i. p. 128, ed. Haliday). It was formerly part of Eile O'Carroll, in Munster, but is now at the S. W. extremity of the King's County, in Leinster, "in ipso Hiberniæ meditullio." (Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 523.)

[b] *Natalis.*—That is, *dies obitus.* See ii. 45 (p. 182) *supra;* Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vi. p. 445).

[c] *Brendeni.*—Mentioned already in cap. 3 (p. 193) *supra.* He was son of Neman and Mannsena, and was one of the race of Corb Aulam, great-grandson of Rudhraighe, the founder of the Clanna Rudhraighe (O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 274). Ussher in one place (Ind. Chron. 571) erroneously calls him *filius Luaignei*, but elsewhere he correctly writes "Neimi sive Nemaindi clari poetæ filius." (Wks. vi. p. 523.) He was sometimes called *senior Brendanus*, to distinguish him from Brendan of Clonfert, son of Finnlogh, and is spoken of as "Brandanus Biorra, qui Propheta in scholis illis, et etiam sanctorum Hiberniensium habebatur."—Vit. Finniani, c. 19 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 395 *a*). His acts are preserved in the Cod. Salmant., from which Colgan published the portion relating to St. Columba (Tr. Th. p. 462 *a*, n. 44). The date of his founding the church of Birr is not recorded, but Tighernach, at 559, has this curious entry: *Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo in aerem.* His death is entered in Tighernach at 565 and 573; in the An. Ult. at 564 and 571; and in the An. Inisfall. at 565. The later date in Tighernach seems preferable. Ussher and the Four Mast. fix the event at 571. He died on the night before the 29th of November, which is his day in the Calendar, in the eightieth year of his age.

[d] *Missarum.*—See the observations of Ussher, Works, vol. iv. p. 276.

[e] *Nocte preterita.*—Here, as in the case of

oblationis obsequia præparari, et aliquam, quasi in Dominico, prandioli adjectionem fieri[c]. Meque, ait, hodie, quamlibet indignus [5]sim, ob venerationem illius animæ quæ hac in nocte[d] inter sanctos angelorum choros vecta, ultra [6]siderea cœlorum [7]spatia ad paradisum ascendit, sacra [8]oportet Eucharistiæ celebrare [9]mysteria[e]. Et his dictis fratres obsequuntur, et, juxta Sancti jussionem, eadem ociantur die: præparatisque sacris, [10]ad ecclesiam, [11]ministeriis, quasi [12]die solenni [13]albati[f] cum Sancto pergunt. Sed forte, [14]dum inter talia cum modulatione officia [15]illa consueta [16]decantaretur [17]deprecatio[g], in qua sancti Martini [18]commemoratur nomen[h], subito [19]Sanctus ad cantores, ejus-

[5] sum D. [6] sydera D. [7] *om.* D. [8] *om.* D. [9] decet *add.* D. [10] misteriis *add.* D. [11] *om.* D. [12] *om.* D. [13] A. abbati B. C. sabbati Colg. Boll. [14] cum C. [15-17] illam consuetam deprecaretur prefacionem D. [16] decantarent C. [18] commemoraretur C. [19] pater D.

St. Columba's death, the occurrence of the night was commemorated on the following day. Thus *hac in nocte* in cap. 12, *infra.*

[a] *Mocu Loigse.*—That is, mac U Loigse, *filius Nepotum Loigisi.* Loigsech or Laeighseach Cenn-mor was the son of Conall Cernach, a famous hero of the first century; his son, Lughaidh Laeighseach, obtained from the then king of Leinster a tract in that province, in which he settled, and which received from his descendants the name of *Laighis*, afterwards called *Leix.* That territory is now represented by the four central baronies of the Queen's County, and the ancient name is preserved in the compound *Abbeyleix*, a parish situate therein. Oennu, second abbot of Clonmacnois, who was of the same race, is designated Mac hua Laigse in Tighernach, An. 570, and the Calendars at Jan. 20. See the note on Columbanus, next page. Concerning the territorial Laeighis, see O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 293; Book of Rights, p. 215.

[b] *Calceantes.*—See ii. 13 (pp. 122, 123) *supra.* In the Irish Lives we often meet with the words *fico*, and *subtalaris* or *sotularis*, instead of *calceus.*

[c] *Adjectionem fieri.*—From this passage we learn that Sundays and other holidays were marked at Hy by rest from labour, celebration of the Eucharist, and improved diet.

[d] *Hac in nocte.*—According to our mode of speaking he would have said *nocte præterita.* See note [1], i. 45 (p. 181), note [e], cap. 11 (p. 210), *supra.*

[e] *Celebrare mysteria.*—See note [d], on preceding chapter.

[f] *Albati.*—The reading in Colgan and the Bollandists is absurd, for *sabbatum*, which in Adamnan and other authors until modern times always signifies *Saturday*, was a *dies solemnis* only among Jews. So *albatis induti vestibus*, cap. 16: *albatorum millium*, cap. 23, *infra.*

[g] *Consueta deprecatio.*—This was a prayer, "pro animabus defunctorum," among which St. Columba now introduced a fresh name, directing the choristers *pro sancto Columbano episcopo decantare.*

[h] *Martini nomen.*—In the ancient Gallican Liturgy, which seems to have been closely followed by the Irish, it was usual for the priest, after he had placed the oblation on the altar, to say the prayer, "Veni Sanctificator Omnipotens Æterne Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium tuo nomini præparatum, per Christum Dominum nostrum." This was followed by the recital from the diptychs of the saints' names, both deceased and living, in whose memory, or for whom, the offering was made. The nature of this commemoration we learn from the form prescribed by St. Aurelianus for the church of

cujusdam monticelli[c] cacumine, qui eidem supereminet campulo, se occulte collocat; videlicet [6]illius causam solitariæ beati egressionis viri explorare cupiens. Quem cum idem explorator de monticelli vertice, in quodam illius campuli colliculo stantem, et expansis ad cœlum manibus orantem, oculosque ad [7]cœlum elevantem conspiceret, mirum dictu, et ecce subito res miranda apparuit, quam idem supra memoratus homo, ut æstimo, non sine permissione Dei, de [8]propioris monticelli loco, oculis etiam corporalibus aspexerat, ut nomen Sancti et ejus honorificentia, quamvis ipso nolente, ob hanc manifestatam visionem postea magis in populis devulgaretur. Nam sancti angeli, cœlestis patriæ cives, mira advolantes subitatione, sanctum virum orantem circumstare cœperunt, [9]albatis induti vestibus[d]; et post aliquam cum beato sermocinationem viro, illa cœlestis caterva, quasi se exploratam sentiens, ad summa citius repedavit cœlorum. Beatus et ipse vir, post angelicum condictum[e], reversus ad monasterium, iterum collectis fratribus, cum quadam non mediocri objurgatione inquirit quis de illis esset [10]transgressionis obnoxius. Quibus consequenter se nescisse protestantibus, ille, conscius sui inexcusabilis [11]transgressus, ultra non sustinens delictum celare suum, flexis genibus, in medio fratrum choro, coram Sancto, veniam supplex precatur. Quem Sanctus seorsum ducens, [12]ingeniculanti cum grandi commendat comminatione, ut nulli hominum de illa angelica visione in diebus ejusdem beati viri aliquid etiam parvum occultum [13]aperiret. Post egressum vero [14]de corpore sancti viri [15]illam cœlestis cœtus apparitionem fratribus cum [16]grandi intimavit protestatione. Unde [17]hodieque et locus illius angelici [18]condicti rem in eo gestam suo proprio protestatur vocabulo, qui Latine potest dici Colliculus Angelorum, Scotice vero [19]Cnoc [20]Angel[f]. Hinc itaque animadvertendum est, [21]et non negligenter perscru-

[6] ejus C. [7] cælos B. D. F. [8] prioris C. [9] albis C. [10] transgressionibus B. [11] transgressor C. [12] ingeniculati B. [13] que *add.* D. [14] illius *add.* D. [15] anime *add.* D. [16] ingenti admiratione D. [17] hodie D. [18] conducti D. [19-20] cnocangel B. cnocán na naingeal D. [21] vel C.

[c] *Monticelli.*—Most probably the eminence now called *Cnoc Orain*, which is situate in the way from the monastery to the Machar, and commands a view of the Colliculus Angelorum. The south-eastern shoulder of *Cnoc-mor*, the hill which overhangs the school-house, also commands a view of the Machar, and is nearer to the monastery; but the words *propioris monticelli* seem to indicate the former situation.

[d] *Albatis vestibus.*—In like manner, *albati*, cap. 12 (p. 211) *supra*, cap. 23, *infra*.

[e] *Condictum.*—This word, which occurs in the title of the chapter, and again lower down, is found also in i. 49 (p. 91), 50 (p. 98), ii. 6 (p. 113), 44 (p. 175), 45 (p. 178), *supra*. The term occurs in Ricemarch's Life of St. David.

[f] *Cnoc Angel.*—Cod. D., as may be seen in the *Var. Lect.*, puts the name in a more modern

tandum, quantæ et quales ad beatum virum, [22]in hyemalibus [23]plerumque noctibus[g], insomnem, et in locis remotioribus, aliis [24]quiescentibus, orantem, angelicæ fuerint [25]et suaves frequentationes, quæ nullo modo venire in hominum notitiam potuere: quæ procul dubio valde [26]numerosæ [27]fuerunt; si etiam quædam ex ipsis quoquo modo ab hominibus, vel in die vel [28]noctu explorari potuerint; quæ absque dubitatione paucæ [29]admodum ad earum comparationem angelicarum frequentationum, quæ videlicet a nemine sciri poterant. Hoc idem similiter [30]et de quibusdam luminosis manifestationibus annotandum, quæ a paucis exploratæ, inferius [31]caraxabuntur.

[1]DE COLUMNA LUMINOSA SANCTI VIRI DE VERTICE ARDERE VISA.

[2]ALIO [3]in tempore, [4]quatuor, ad sanctum visitandum Columbam, monasteriorum sancti fundatores de [5]Scotia transmeantes, in [6]Hinba[a] eum invenerunt

[22] *om.* C. D. [23-24] *incuria scribæ om.* Colg. Boll. [25] *om.* D. [26] plures valde numero D. [27] fuerant B. D. F. [28] nocte C. in nocte D. [29] *om.* C. [30] *om.* C. [31] taxabuntur D. tractabuntur *male* Colg. Boll.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2-3] quodam D. [4] multorum D. [5] hybernia D. [6] himba B. F. Cummian. hymba C. D.

form. This spot is one of the best marked in the island: it is a smooth, round, green knoll, formed of sand, but covered over with a thick clothing of sward, and measuring about 167 paces at the base. It is situate close on the left-hand side to the little road which leads to the west shore. The name *Cnoc-an-Aingel* is locally preserved, and is marked on Graham's Map of the island; but that by which it is more familiarly known is *Sithean Mor*, or 'Great Fairy-hill,' as distinguished from *Sithean Beg*, 'Little Fairy-hill,' which lies a short way north-west from it. A place in Wales called *Mons Angelorum*, and supposed to be *Carn Ingli*, a corruption of *Carn Engylion*, in Pembrokeshire, is stated in the Life of St. Brynach to have derived its name from a visitation of angels. (Rees, Lives Cambr. Brit. SS. pp. 10, 295.)

[g] *Hyemalibus noctibus.*—The Bollandist editor observes that the saints, especially the British and Irish, were wont to subdue the body by subjecting it to extreme cold, and cites the case recorded in Bede, H. E. v. 13 [*recte* 12]. To this may be added, from Irish hagiology, the following: S. Scutinus (Colg. Act. SS. p. 10 *a*, c. 4); S. Gildas, Vit. c. 2 (*Ib.* p. 178 *a*); S. Cuanna, Vit. c. 9 (*Ib.* p. 250 *b*); S. Conallus, Vit. S. Attractæ, c. 6 (*Ib.* p. 278 *b*); S. Farannan, Vit. c. 10 (*Ib.* p. 337 *b*); S. Kieran, Vit. c. 32 (*Ib.* p. 462 *a*); S. Cadroe, Vit. c. 15 (*Ib.* p. 497 *a*). O'Donnell states that St. Columba immersed himself every night in cold water, and remained therein while reciting the psalter.—iii. 37 (Tr. Th. p. 437 *a*).

[a] *Hinba.*—See i. 21 (p. 50), 45 (p. 86), ii. 24 (p. 135), c. 5 (p. 197), *supra*, 18, 23, *infra*. A similar story to the present is told in the old Irish Life, but Comghall and Cainnech are described as the persons present, and Rechra (note [b], p. 164, *supra*) as the island where the occurrence took place.

insula; quorum [7]illustrium vocabula [8]Comgellus [9]Mocu [10]Aridi[b], [11]Cainnechus [12]Mocu [13]Dalon[c], [14]Brendenus [15]Mocu [16]Alti[d], [17]Cormacus [18]Nepos [19]Leathain[e]. Hi uno eodemque consensu elegerunt ut sanctus Columba coram ipsis in

[7] illustria C. [8] còngellus C. comgallus D. [9-10] *om.* C. D. F. S. [11] cahinnechus C. cainnichus D. [12-13] *om.* C. D. F. S. [14] brendanus D. [15-16] *om.* C. D. F. S. [17] cormac A. [18-19] *om.* C. D. F. S. [19] lethani B.

[b] *Comgellus Mocu Aridi.*—In the Antiphonary of Bangor (circ. 690) his name is written *Comgillus;* in his Life, *Comgallus.* In the early Calendars and Annals it is always written Comgall. The meaning assigned by some is *pulchrum pignus* (Flem. Collect. pp. 302 *b*, 304 *b*, marg.; Act. SS. Mai. tom. ii. p. 580), but there is the highest authority for a different interpretation. St. Columbanus, his disciple, in his *Instructio* ii. thus writes: "Non primum nostræ parvitatis fundamenta jacere præsumimus, alicujus majoris doctoris authoritatem quærentes, sancti scilicet *Fausti* luculentissimam, elegantissimamque doctrinam, de cujus dictis pauca ad initiandum opus nostrum satis convenienter elegimus." (Flem. Collect. p. 47 *a*.) So also Notker Balbulus: "Cum plurimos discipulos, vel socios sanctitatis suæ pares habuisset, unum tamen Congellum, latinè *Fausti* nomine illustrem, præceptorem B. Columbani, magistri domini et patris nostri Galli."—Martyrol. Jun. 9. Comgall was born in Mourne, now Magheramorne, a district on the coast of the county of Antrim, a little south of Larne. (Reeves, Eccl. Ant. p. 269.) His father's name was Setna, and his mother's Brig, and they belonged to the kingdom of Dal-Araidhe, or Dalnary as the Life calls it, which comprehended the southern half of the county of Antrim. (Flem. Collect. p. 303 *a*.) The tribe name given to Comgall in the text is mac u Araidhe, *filius nepotum Araidi*, he being fourteenth in descent from Fiacha Araidhe (circ. 220), the ancestor of the Dal-Araidhe, whose territory was commonly called Dalaradia. See Reeves, Eccl. Antiqq. pp. 334–342. Comgall, according to Tighernach, was born in 517 (An. Ult. 516); founded his church of Bangor in 558 (An. Ult. 557); visited Scotland, and founded a church in *Terra Heth* or Tiree, 565 (note [d], p. 152, *supra*); died in 602 (601, An. Ult.) *Comgall ab. Bendchair* XCI. *anno etatis sue, principatus vero sui* L. *anno, et tertio mense, et decima die,* VI. *Id. Maii quievit.*—Tigh. His festival is May 10, at which day two Lives are printed in the Bollandists. They are also given by Fleming (Collect. pp. 303–313). The Antiphonary of Bangor, published by Muratori from an ancient Bobio manuscript (Anecdota Ambros. vol. iv. p. pp. 127–159; reprinted in his Opere, tom. xi. pt. iii. pp. 217–251), preserves a very curious alphabetical hymn on St. Comgall. See i. 49 (p. 92), cap. 13 (p. 213), *supra.*

[c] *Cainnechus Mocu Dalon.*—See i. 4 (p. 28), ii. 13 (p. 121), 14 (p. 123), *supra.* He was akin to St. Comghall, being a descendant of Rudhraighe Mor, of the race of Ir, king of Ireland, but of a totally different stock from St. Columba. The family he belonged to was the *Corca-Dallann*, a branch of the Clanna Rudhraighe (Ogyg. p. 275; Ir. Nennius, p. 264), and from Dalan, his great-grandfather, he derived the surname mac-ua-Dalann, *filius nepotis Dallani*, mentioned in the text, and other authorities. (An. Inisfall. 595; Bat. of Magh Rath, p. 26.) In the Feilire of Ænguss, at his day, Oct. 11, he is commemorated as Cainnech mac h-ui Dallaind, to which the gloss adds, Achad bo a prim chell, ocus aca pecler do h-i Cill Rigmonaig i nAlbain, 'Achadh-bo is his principal church; and he has a monastery at Kil-Righmonaigh [St. Andrew's] in Alba.' (See note [b], p. 121, *supra.*) His Life contained in the Codex Salmanticen-

ecclesia sacra Eucharistiæ consecraret mysteria[f]. Qui, eorum obsecundans jussioni, simul cum eis, die Dominica ex more, post Evangelii lectionem, ecclesiam ingreditur, ibidemque, dum missarum sollemnia celebrarentur, sanctus [20]Bren-

[20] brendanus D.

sis, at Brussels, commences thus: "Sanctus Kannechus de genere Corcotolano ab aquilonali parte hujus insulæ ortus fuit. Cui pater erat poeta venerabilis, et nomen ipsi dicebatur Laitech Lecerd, mater vero ejus erat de Nepotibus Mac-Guais [i. e. Ui-mic-Uais], et nomen ejus vocabatur Meld" (p. 1, ed. Marq. Ormonde). The Life in the Cod. Marsh. at Dublin, begins in this manner: "Cainnichus sanctus abbas, de genere Connach-duinne-gemyn [i. e. Cianachta of Dungiven], quæ est aquilonalis pars Hiberniæ insulæ, ortus." (fol. 124.) His pedigree is prefixed to his Life in the Cod. Marsh., and is contained also, but with considerable variations, in the Book of Lecan, and Mac Firbis's Genealogical MS. (p. 730.) All, however, agree in representing him as son of Lughteach, son of Lughaidh, son of Dalann. To these may be added the pedigree of St. Cronan, or Mochua, of Balla, who was grandson of Nathi, St. Cainnech's brother (Colg. Act. SS. p. 791 *a*).

Brendenus Mocu Alti.—See i. 26 (p. 55) *supra.* Founder of the church of Clonfert, called by the Irish Cluain ferta brenainn, to distinguish it from Cluain ferta Molua, now Clonfertmulloe. He was of the race of Ciar, son of Fergus, son of Ros, son of Rudhraighe, whose descendants, the *Ciarraighe*, gave name to several districts in Ireland, the principal of which was that now known as the county of Kerry (Ogyg. p. 276). The surname mac ua Alta, *filius nepotis Altæ*, by which he is designated both in the text and other native records (Tighernach, 559; Chron. Scot. 554; Vit. Trip. S. Patr. ii. 47, Tr. Th. p. 158 *a*), was derived from his great-grandfather Alta, whose son Olchu was father of Finnlogh, the father of St. Brendan. His pedigree is preserved in the Book of Lecan, and four versions of it in the Geneal. MS. of Mac Firbis (p. 729). It is also prefixed to his Life in the Cod. Marsh. fol. 56 *b a*. The copies of his Legend which are preserved at home and on the Continent are numerous. Jubinal enumerates eleven MSS. of it, varying in age from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris; besides one at the Arsenal, one at Strasbourg, and one at St. Gall (Preface, pp. iv. v.) Another is preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna, and four more in the Burgundian Library at Brussels (num. 1160, 2329, 4190, 4672). There is an imperfect copy in the MS. E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl.; and another in the Brit. Museum (Cotton, Vesp. A. xix.), which is printed most incorrectly in Rees, Lives of the Cambr.-Brit. SS. (pp. 251–254.) Colgan, at Mar. 22, has recorded the *Egressio familiæ S. Brendani*, in which he has given three long extracts from several MSS. of the legend. (Act. SS. pp. 721–725.) The Life in the Cod. Marsh. commences thus: "Natus est beatissimus Brendanus abbas in zepharia [western] Mumunensi plaga, in regione quæ dicitur Kyarraghi: quæ gens est circa oras Littoris Ly, contra solis occasum. Cujus pater Findluagh nomine erat fidelis." (fol. 56 *b a*.) The legend in Jubinal opens in a different form: "Sanctus Brendanus, filius Finlocha, *nepotis Alti*, de genere Eogeni e Stagnile [Straguile—*Rees;* Stanguilem—*MS. Vindobon.*] regione Mimensium ortus fuit." (p. 1.) Now the *Kyarraghi* of Cod. Marsh. is the modern Kerry, and *Littus Ly* is Tragh-li, commonly called Tralee, the county town. And this name Trag-li, with the prefix *S*, which Irish names beginning with *T* frequently assume (Reeves, Eccl. Ant. p. 32), has been corrupted into the forms Stagnile and Straguile in foreign copies. He founded Clon-

denus [21]Mocu [22]Alti, sicut post [23]Comgello et [24]Cainnecho intimavit[g], quendam criniosum igneum globum[h], et valde luminosum, de vertice sancti Columbæ, ante altare stantis, et sacram oblationem[i] consecrantis, tamdiu ardentem, [25]et instar alicujus [26]columnæ sursum ascendentem, vidit, donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta [27]ministeria.

[1]DE SPIRITUS SANCTI DESCENSIONE SIVE VISITATIONE QUÆ IN EADEM INSULA TRIBUS CONTINUIS DIEBUS [2]ET NOCTIBUS SUPER [3]VENERABILEM MANSIT [4]VIRUM.

ALIO [5]in tempore, cum sanctus vir in [6]Hinba[a] commaneret insula, gratia sancti spiraminis super eum abunde et incomparabiliter effusa, per triduum mirabiliter mansit, ita ut per tres dies totidemque noctes, intra obseratam et repletam cœlesti claritudine domum manens, nullum ad se accedere permitteret,

[21-22] *om.* C. D. F. S. [23] congello C. [24] cainnicho D. [25] ad B. [26] columbæ F. [27] mysteria B. C. D. F. S.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] totidemque B. [3] venerabile B. [4] vitum B. [5] *om.* D. [6] himba B. F. hymba C. D.

fert in 559 (553 An. Inisfall.), and died May 16, 577, aged 95. Like St. Columba, he was only a presbyter; but the higher functions of the ministry were exercised by a bishop who was attached to his monastery; and thus we are enabled to account for an entry in the Annals six years antecedent to his death, which records: *Maenu episcopus Cluana-ferta Brenaind quievit.* (Tigh. 571.)

[e] *Cormacus Nepos Leathain.*—See i. 6 (p. 30), ii. 42 (p. 166), *supra.* He is commemorated in the Calendar at June 21, as abbot of Dearmagh, but there is no record to show of what monastery he was the founder. Marian Gorman styles him Cormac Leir Ua Liathan, 'Cormac Ua Liathain of the Sea,' and the gloss adds Abb Durmaigi, ocus epscob, ocus ba hanchore beor an Corbmaic sin, 'Abbot of Durrow, and bishop, and anchorite, was this Corbmac.' Two ancient Irish poems—the one purporting to be a dialogue between him and St. Columba, after his escaping the perils of the sea, and the other an address to him, on coming from Durrow—are preserved in one of the O'Clery MSS. at Brussels. See *Additional Notes.*

[f] *Mysteria.*—See i. 44 (p. 85) *supra.*

[g] *Intimavit.*—The abbots mentioned in this chapter had continual intercourse, and the frequency of their churches in the west of Scotland indicates the connexion which existed between them and that region. In the Life of St. Munna we find Columba, Brendan, and Cainnech in company.—c. 26 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 129 *a b*). In another Life we find Comgall, Columba, and Cainnech associated (note [d], p. 152, *supra*).

[h] *Criniosum globum.*—Thus in Sulp. Severus' Life of St. Martin: "Globum ignis de capite ejus vidimus emicare, ita ut in sublime contendens longum admodum crinem flamma produceret." (Lib. Armacan. fol. 209 *a b.*)

[i] *Oblationem.*—See i. 40 (p. 77), 44 (p. 85), ii. 1 (p. 104), iii. 11 (p. 210), 12 (p. 211), *supr.*

[a] *Hinba.*—From the narrative it might appear to be situate north of Hy. See i. 21 (p. 50), 45 (p. 86), ii. 24 (p. 135), cap. 5 (p. 197), 17 (p. 219), *supra.*

neque manducans neque bibens. De qua videlicet domo, immensæ claritatis radii, per rimulas valvarum, et clavium foramina, erumpentes, noctu [7]visebantur. Carmina quoque quædam spiritalia et [8]ante inaudita decantari ab eo audiebantur. Sed et multa quædam, ut ipse post coram paucis [9]admodum professus est, occulta ab exordio mundi arcana aperte manifestata videbat: Scripturarum quoque sacrarum obscura quæque et difficillima, [10]plana, et luce clarius [11]aperta, mundissimi cordis oculis patebant. [12]Baitheneumque alumnum[b] non adesse querebatur; qui [13]si forte adesset illo in triduo, vel de præteritis vel de futuris deinceps sæculis ab ore viri beati quædam plurima, ab aliis ignorata hominibus, mysteria describeret; aliquantas quoque sacrorum explanationes voluminum. Qui tamen Baitheneus, in Egea insula[c] venti contrarietate detentus, usquequo illi trinales illius incomparabilis et honorificæ visitationis dies, et totidem noctes, terminarentur, adesse non potuit[d].

[1]DE ANGELICA LUCIS [2]CLARITUDINE QUAM VIRGNO, BONÆ INDOLIS JUVENIS, QUI [3]POSTEA DEO AUCTORE HUIC PRÆFUIT ECCLESIÆ[a], SUPER SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN ECCLESIA, FRATRIBUS [4]HYEMALI NOCTE IN CUBICULIS [5]QUIESCENTIBUS, DESCENDERE VIDERAT, [6]CUI EGO, INDIGNUS LICET, [7]DESERVIO[b].

QUADAM hyemali nocte, supra memoratus [8]Virgnous, in Dei amore fervens, ecclesiam, orationis studio, aliis quiescentibus, solus intrat: ibidemque

[7] videbantur B. D. [8] *om.* B. [9] ad domum C. [10] plena C. [11] aperto C. [12] baithenumque D. [13] *interlin. manu correctoris* B.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] claritate B. [3] post B. [4] hyemalis B. [5] questibus B. [6] [7] *om.* B. [8] fergna virgnous F.

[b] *Alumnum.*—See note [f], i. 2 (p. 19), *supra.* Notker calls him "familiarissimus discipulus."

[c] *Egea insula.*—Now the island of Egg. Ꝺeꝯ, *gen.* Ꝺeꝯo, or Ꝺeꝯa, is the Irish form of the name. *Egea* in the text seems to be an adjective agreeing with *insula*, according to Adamnanic usage. See note [a], p. 50, and note [b], p. 51, *supra.* A monastery was founded in this island by St. Donnan, an Irishman, and disciple of St. Columba, who was put to death, together with his community of fifty-one persons, by a band of pirates in 617. From him the church of the island was called Killdonain, which gave name in after times to a parish, including Egg, Muck, and Rum. See Innes, Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 334. The reader will find in the *Additional Notes* the early notices of this island which are contained in the Irish Calendars and Annals.

[d] *Adesse non potuit.*—This detention by adverse wind, for three days and three nights, resembles that recorded in cap. 23, *infra*, on the occasion of St. Columba's death.

[a] *Huic ecclesiæ.*—That is, of Hy. See i. 30 (p. 58), 37 (p. 72), *supra.*

[b] *Ego deservio.*—Hence it appears that these

in quadam exedra[c], quæ oratorii adhærebat parieti, devotus orabat. Et post aliquantum quasi horæ intervallum unius, vir venerandus Columba eandem sacram ingreditur domum, simulque cum eo aurea lux, de summa cœli altitudine descendens, totum illud ecclesiæ spatium [9]replens. Sed et illius exedriolæ separatum conclave, ubi se [10]Virgnous[d], in quantum potuit, latitare conabatur, [11]ejusdem cœlestis claritas luminis, per interiorem illius cubiculi januam, quæ ex minori patebat parte, erumpens, non sine aliquo formidabili repleverat terrore. Et sicut nullus [12]æsteum et [13]meridianum solem rectis et irreverberatis potest intueri oculis, sic et illam cœlestem claritudinem ille [14]Virgnous, qui viderat, sustinere nullo poterat modo; quia valde oculorum [15]reverberabat aciem illa luminosa et incomparabilis effusio. Quo [16]fulminali et [17]formidabili splendore viso, in tantum idem supra memoratus frater exterritus erat, ut nulla in

[9] replevit C. D. [10] fergna D. vir gnous F. [11] et *add.* D. [12] æstivum B. C. D. [13] meridionalem C. [14] fergna D. [15] reverberat C. D. [16] fulminari D. [17] incomparabili C.

memoirs were written by Adamnan during his presidency over Hy, that is, between 679 and 704. He writes in the first person also in i. 1 (p. 16), 49 (p. 95), *supra*, cap. 23, *infra*. The titulus being omitted in the Bollandists, the words *supra memoratus* which refer to it are without meaning in their edition.

[c] *Exedra.*—Further on we meet with the diminutive *exedriolæ separatum conclave*. The term, which is borrowed from Cummian, denotes a small chamber, or chapel, attached to the side of a church. It was probably the name of an apartment formed in the same manner as Aidan's lodging under the *apposta* or *destina* of his church outside. (Bede, H. E. iii. 17.) The Irish word Erdom is employed in a similar sense. See Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 432-438. The *exedra* is called *cubiculum* lower down. Adamnan uses the word *exedra* in his tract *De Locis Sanctis* also, where speaking of the church on Calvary he says: "quædam inest exedra in qua est calix Domini."—i. 8 (Mabillon, Act. SS. O. Bened. Sæc. iii. p. 461). See Valesius on Euseb. Vit. Constant. iii. 50, p. 208*b* (Par. 1678); Bingham, Orig. Eccles. lib. viii. c. 7, § 1.

[d] *Virgnous.*—The same name appears in the form *Fergnous*, i. 26 (p. 55) *supra*, and *Fergnouus*, as well as *Virgnous*, in cap. 23, *infra*. Cummian, in the parallel passage (Mabillon's text), reads *Fernaus;* but in Colgan's, which is corrupt, *Servanus* (Tr. Th. p. 322 *b*, c. 15). This was Fergna Brit, afterwards fourth abbot of Hy, 605-623. His day in the Calendar is March 2. Fergna brit mac Failbe eprcop agur abb Ia Cholaim cille e for do cenel cConuill Gulban mic Neill do. A°. D°. 622. 'Fergna Britt, son of Falbhe, was bishop and abbot of Ia Colaim Cille, and he was of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall. A. D. 622.'—Calend. Dungall. Tighernach has his obit at 623, the true year, the An. Ult. at 622, and An. Inisfall. at 616; but none of them makes mention of his being a bishop. The Four Masters, at 622, state: "St. Feargna Brit, abbot of Ia, and a bishop, died on the second day of March." The earliest authority for calling him bishop is the gloss on Marian Gorman's Festology, which has Fergna brit abb Iae Cholum cille, ocur eprcop beor, 'Fergna Brit, abbot of Ia-Columkille, and bishop also.'—Mar. 2. He was descended from Enna Boghaine, son of Conall Gulban, who gave name to boganig, now *Banagh*, a barony in the west of Donegal.

eo virtus remaneret. Sanctus vero Columba, post non prolixam orationem, egreditur ecclesiam. [18]Virgnoumque valde timoratum ad se crastina advocat die, hisque brevibus compellat consolatoriis [19]verbis, Bene, O filiole, ingeminans, hac præterita nocte in conspectu Dei placuisti, oculos ad terram deprimendo, claritatis timore perterritus ejus; nam, si non ita fecisses, illa inæstimabili obcæcarentur tui luce [20]visa oculi. Sed hoc non negligenter observare [21]debebis, ut talem hanc lucis manifestationem nemini unquam in mea denudes vita. Hæc itaque prædicabilis et admirabilis res, post beati viri transitum, multis, eodem [22]Virgnouo narrante, innotuit. Cujus scilicet [23]Virgnoui sororis filius Communus[e], honorabilis presbyter, mihi [24]Adamnano[f] de hac supra visione [25]caraxata aliquando, sub testificatione, enarraverat. Qui etiam enarratam ab [26]ore ipsius [27]Virgnoui, abbatis, et avunculi sui, ab eo in quantum potuit visam, audierat.

[1]DE ALIA PROPE SIMILI CELSÆ CLARITUDINIS VISIONE.

ALIA itidem nocte, quidam de fratribus, [2]Colgius nomine, [3]filius Aido Draigniche, de Nepotibus [4]Fechreg, cujus in primo [5]fecimus mentionem[a], casu ad januam ecclesiæ, aliis dormientibus, devenit, ibidemque aliquamdiu stans orabat. Tum proinde subito totam videt ecclesiam cœlesti luce repleri: quæ scilicet [6]fulguralis lux dicto citius ab ejus recessit oculis. Sanctum vero Columbam hora eadem intra ecclesiam orantem ignorabat. Postque talem subitam luminis apparitionem, valde pertimescens, domum revertitur. Postera die Sanctus, illum advocans, asperius objurgavit, inquiens, De cetero præcavere debes, fili, ne, quasi explorator, cœleste lumen, quod tibi non est donatum, inspicere coneris, quia te effugiet; et ne alicui in meis diebus quod vidisti enarres.

[18] fergnaque D. [19] *om.* C. [20] *om.* D. [21] debes C. D. [22] virgnono B. fergna D. viro gnouo F. [23] fergna D. viri gnoui F. [24] D. adomnano A. B. C. F. S. [25] craxata A. tractata Colg. Boll. [26] *in marg.* B. [27] fergna D. viri gnoui F.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] colgus C. colgu D. [3-4] *om.* C. D. F. S. [4] fechrech B. [5] libro *add.* B. [6] fulgoris D.

[e] *Communus.*—Colgan identifies him with the following: Comman eppcop mac Ernain. Do cenel cConuil Gulban mic Neill Do, 'Comman, bishop, son of Ernan: he was of the race of Conal Gulban, son of Niall' (Cal. Doneg. Mar. 18); and asserts that Adamnan's epithet *honorabilis presbyter* is not incompatible with the term eppcop in the Calendar, and Four Mast. 676. This Comman was brother of St. Cuimine Fionn, the seventh abbot of Hy. See Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vi. p. 540).

[f] *Mihi Adamnano.*—See i. 1 (p. 16), 49 (p. 95), *supra*, cap. 23, *infra*.

[a] *Mentionem.*—See i. 17 (pp. 45, 46) *supra*.

[1]DE ALIA PARILI DIVINÆ LUCIS APPARITIONE.

ALIO itidem [2]in tempore, vir beatus cuidam suo sapientiam discenti alumno, nomine Berchano, [3]cujus [4]cognomentum [5]Mesloen[a], non mediocriter quadam denunciavit die, inquiens, Caveto, fili, [6]ne hac sequenti nocte, juxta tuam semper consuetudinem, ad meum appropinques hospitiolum. Qui [7]hæc audiens, contra interdictum, ad domum beati viri, in noctis silentio, aliis [8]quiescentibus, accessit, callideque explorans, oculos e regione ad clavium foramina posuit, æstimans scilicet, ut res probavit, aliquam intus cœlestem visionem Sancto manifestari. Nam eadem hora beati viri illud [9]hospitiolum cœlestis splendore claritudinis erat repletum[b]: quam non sustinens intueri, transgressor juvenis illico aufugit. Quem die crastina, Sanctus seorsum ducens, cum magna severitate objurgans, hæc ad eum profatur verba, dicens, Hac in nocte, fili, coram Deo peccasti, nam tuæ infitialis explorationem calliditatis a Spiritu Sancto celari vel abscondi posse inaniter putasti. Nonne ad mei ostium hospitioli te illa [10]in hora appropinquantem et inde redeuntem vidi? et nisi ego eodem momento pro te orarem, ibidem ante januam, aut cadens morereris, aut tui de suis foraminibus oculi eruerentur[c]. Sed [11]tibi hac vice propter me Dominus pepercit. Et hoc scito, quod in tua [12]Hibernili patria luxuriose vivens, exprobrationem facies tua omnibus patietur diebus vitæ tuæ. Hoc tamen a Domino orans impetravi, ut quia noster sis alumnus, lacrymosam ante exitum [13]agas pœnitudinem, et a Deo [14]misericordiam consequaris. Quæ omnia, secundum verbum beati viri, ita ei postea contigerunt, sicuti de eo prophetata sunt.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] *om.* D. [3-5] *om.* C. D. F. S. [4] cognomento B. [5] molloen B. mesloer Colg. Boll. [6] de B. [7] hoc C. [8] acquiescentibus C. [9] hospitium D. [10] *om.* C. D. [11] tui B. [12] B. evernili A. hibernali C. D. F. [13] tuum *add.* D. [14] veniam D.

[a] *Mesloen.*—A remarkable form of name, which the Editor is unable to illustrate.

[b] *Repletum.*—A similar story is told of St. Comgall.—Vit. capp. 15, 19 (Flem. Collect. p. 306).

[c] *Oculi eruerentur.*—O'Donnell relates that when St. Columba was at Drum-fionn he borrowed a book from St. Finnian the abbot, which he copied in the church at night, deriving from the fingers of his unemployed hand the necessary light. The abbot, being desirous to get back the book, sent a messenger to the church, who, spying through a hole in the door, beheld the saint by the light of his luminous hand; but while he was thus engaged, a pet crane belonging to the monastery, which had followed St. Columba into the church, came over to the door, and putting its bill to the hole picked out the observer's eye.—ii. 1 (Tr. Th. p. 408 *b*; Act. SS. p. 644 *b*, where the version is different). A similar story is told in the Life of St. Senan (Act. SS. p. 607 [517] *a*).

DE ALIA ANGELORUM SANCTO MANIFESTATA VIRO APPARITIONE, QUOS SANCTÆ EJUS ANIMÆ OBVIARE INCIPIENTES, QUASI MOX DE CORPORE VIDERAT MIGRATURÆ.

ALIO in tempore[a], dum vir beatus in Ioua commaneret insula, [4]quadam [5]die sancta facies ejus subita [6]mirifica et [7]lætifica hilaritate effloruit, oculosque ad cœlum elevans, incomparabili repletus gaudio, valde lætificabatur. Tum post modicum alicujus [8]momentioli intervallum, illa sapida et suavis lætificatio in mæstam convertitur tristificationem. Duo vero viri, qui eadem hora ejus tugurioli ad januam stabant[b], quod in eminentiore loco[c] erat fabricatum, et ipsi cum eo valde tristificati, quorum unus Lugneus erat [9]Mocublai[d], alter vero Pilu nuncupabatur, Saxo[e], causam ipsius subitæ lætationis [10]inquirunt, et illius [11]subsequentis mæstitiæ. Ad quos Sanctus sic profatur, Ite in pace, nec illius [12]lætaminis causam, nec [13]etiam tristificationis, a me nunc inquiratis manifestari. Quo audito, illacrymati, [14]ingeniculantes, prostratis in terra vultibus, suppliciter rogant, scire volentes aliquid de illa re quæ hora eadem Sancto erat revelata. Quos valde tristificatos videns, Quia vos, ait, amo, [15]tristificari nolo. Promittere [16]prius debetis ne ulli hominum sacramentum[f] quod inquiritis in vita mea prodatis. Qui continuo, [17]secundum ejus commendationem, [18]prompte promiserunt. Et post talem promissionem vir venerandus sic ad eos [19]proloquitur, Usque in hunc, inquiens, præsentem diem, meæ in [20]Britannia peregrinationis terdeni completi sunt anni[g]. Interea multis ante diebus a Domino meo devote postulavi, ut in fine tricesimi hujus præsentis anni me de meo absolveret incolatu, et ad cœlestem patriam illico advocaret.

[4-5] *om.* D. [6] et *add.* D. [7] lætificaque D. [8] momenti D. [9] *om.* C. D. F. S. [10] leticie B. lætificationis C. D. [11] subsequentes B. [12] lætitiæ B. [13] et C. [14] et *add.* C. [15] tristificare B. [16] mihi *add.* D. [17] sanctam C. [18] prompta B. [19] alloquitur. [20] brittanniam D.

[a] *Alio in tempore.*—This was in 593, thirty years after St. Columba's settlement in Hy, and four years before his death. The substance of this chapter is taken from Cummian.

[b] *Stabant.*—See note [c], cap. 15 (p. 216) *supr.*

[c] *Eminentiore loco.*—We are unable even to conjecture where this spot was, as all traces of the original monastery have long since been swept away.

[d] *Lugneus Mocublai.*—See cap. 15 (p. 216) *supra.* On the surname see i. 43 (p. 81) *supra.*

[e] *Saxo.*—See note [a], cap. 10 (p. 208) *supra.*

[f] *Sacramentum.*—See i. 43 (p. 84), 50 (p. 99), cap. 6 (p. 203), 7 (p. 205), *supra.*

[g] *Terdeni anni.*—An. 563, *Navigatio Coluimcille ad insulam Ia etatis sue xlii.* (Tigh.) Bede subtracts two years from the term, for he places his *navigatio* at 565, and his death "post annos circiter triginta et duos ex quo ipse Brittaniam prædicaturus adiit" (H. E. iii. 4).

Et hæc fuit mei causa [21]lætaminis, de qua vos [22]me mæsti interrogatis. Angelos enim sanctos de excelso vidi missos throno ad meam de carne animam obvios educendam. Sed ecce nunc, subito retardati, ultra nostræ fretum insulæ [23]stant in rupe[h], scilicet volentes ad me de corpore advocandum appropiare. Sed propius accedere non permittuntur, mox ad cœlorum summa repedaturi; quia Dominus quod mihi totis viribus roganti donavit, ut hac in die ad ipsum de mundo transirem, multarum magis ecclesiarum pro me orationes exaudiens, dicto citius immutavit. Quibus scilicet ecclesiis exorantibus [24]sic a Domino donatum est, ut, quamlibet contra meam voluntatem, quatuor ab hac die mihi in carne manenti superaddantur anni. Hæc talis mihi mæsta [25]retardatio hodiernæ tristificationis non immerito causa fuit. Quibus videlicet quatuor futuris, Deo propitio, terminatis in hac vita annis, subita emigratione, nulla præcedente corporis molestia, cum sanctis mihi obviaturis illo in tempore angelis, ad Dominum lætus emigrabo. Secundum hæc verba, vir venerabilis, quæ non sine magno gemitu et mærore, ut traditur, necnon et ingenti lacrimabilitate, prolocutus est, quatuor postea annis in carne mansit.

[1]DE TRANSITU AD DOMINUM SANCTI [2]NOSTRI PATRONI COLUMBÆ.

ANNORUM supra quatuor memoratorum termino jam appropinquante, post quorum completionem, finem præsentis vitæ veridicus præsagator sibi futurum fore multo ante præsciebat tempore, [3]quadam die, mense Maio, sicut in priore secundo scripsimus libro[a], ad visitandos operarios fratres senex senio fessus, plaustro vectus, [4]pergit. Ad quos, in occidua [5]insulæ [6]Iouæ laborantes parte[b], sic ea die exorsus est loqui, dicens, In Paschali solemnitate nuper [7]Aprili peracta[c] mense, desiderio desideravi[d] ad Christum Dominum, sicut et mihi ab eo

[21] lætitiæ B. [22] *om.* D. [23] stantes B. [24] sicut C. [25] *om.* D.

[1] *titul. om.* C. D. F. S. Boll. [2] ac venerabilis deo dilecti *add.* B. [3] *capit. novum incipit* D. [4] perrexit D. [5] insula C. [6] ionæ B. D. [7] aprilis F.

[h] *Rupe.*—The Ross of Mull presents an iron-bound coast opposite Iona. See note [a], i. 25 (p. 54) *supra.*

[a] *Libro.*—See ii. 28 (p. 142) *supra*, where the expression is "die æstei temporis."

[b] *Occidua parte.*—The *campulus occidentalis*, or *Machar*. See i. 37 (p. 71), ii. 28 (p. 142), cap. 16 (p. 217), *supra*. The ancient Irish Life says: ceic do ṡiṁ ꞇoel na n-aiṁeṁun i ꞇuaiꞇceꞇ na h-iṁbṙi, 'he went to see how the ploughmen were in the *north* of the island.'

[c] *Aprili peracta.*—Easter-day fell on the 14th of April in 597, the computed year of St. Columba's death.

concessum erat, si maluissem, emigrare. Sed ne vobis lætitiæ [8]festivitas in tristitiam verteretur, diem meæ de mundo emigrationis paulo diutius protelari malui. His ab eo [9]mæstis monachi familiares auditis interim dictis valde tristificati sunt: quos in quantum poterat verbis cœpit consolatoriis lætificare. Quibus finitis, ut erat in vehiculo sedens, ad orientem[e] suam convertens faciem, insulam cum insulanis benedixit habitatoribus; ex qua die, ut [10]in supra memorato [11]caraxatum est libello[f], viperarum venena trisulcarum linguarum[g] usque in hodiernum diem, nullo modo aut homini aut pecori nocere potuere. Post ejusdem benedictionis verba Sanctus ad suum [12]revehitur monasterium.

Tum proinde, paucis diebus transactis, [13]dum missarum solemnia, ex more, Dominica celebrarentur die, subito, sursum elevatis oculis, facies venerabilis viri [14]florido respersa [15]rubore videtur: quia, sicut scriptum est, Corde lætante vultus floret[h]. Eadem namque hora angelum Domini supra volitantem solus vidit intra ipsius oratorii parietes: et quia sanctorum angelorum amabilis et tranquillus aspectus gaudium et exultationem electorum pectoribus infundit, hæc fuit illius subitæ causa lætitiæ beato infusa viro. De qua scilicet causa [16]inspiratæ [17]lætationis, cum qui inerant ibidem præsentes inquirerent, hoc eis Sanctus responsum, sursum respiciens, dedit, Mira et incomparabilis [18]angelicæ subtilitas naturæ. Ecce enim angelus Domini, ad repetendum aliquod Deo carum missus depositum, [19]nos desuper intra ecclesiam aspiciens et benedicens, rursum per [20]parasticiam[i] ecclesiæ reversus, nulla talis vestigia exitus

[8] festivitatis C. [9] mæsti C. [10] *om.* D. [11] craxatum A. tractatum Colg. Boll. [12] revertitur Colg. Boll. [13] cum D. [14] floride D. [15] *om.* D. [16] insperatæ C. Boll. [17] læticie B. [18] est *add.* C. [19] et Boll. [20] parusticiam Colg. Boll.

[d] *Desiderio desideravi.*—Borrowed from St. Luke, xxii. 15.

[e] *Orientem.*—Ro ṫai tra iarṁiṁ a aḋaḋ ṁar co ṇo bennach na h-inḋṁi cona h-aitṫrebṫaiḋ, 'He then turned his face *westwards*, and he blessed the island, with its inhabitants.'—*Ancient Irish Life.*

[f] *Supra memorato libello.*—See ii. 28, *supra.*

[g] *Trisulcarum linguarum.*—Virg., Georg. iii. 439, Æn. ii. 475.

[h] *Vultus floret.*—"Cor gaudens exhilarat faciem."—Prov. xv. 13, Vulg. Sabatier has no *Versio Antiqua* for this passage.

[i] *Parasticiam.*—The Bollandist editor observes: "Mihi videtur hic fenestra aut foramen aliquod circa templi tectum significari." (Jun. ii. p. 236 *a*); and in the *Index Onomasticus* explains *Parustitia* by *posticum, fenestella.* The present is the only authority for the word in Du Cange, who proposes *posticiam* as its explanation, adding, "Alii a παρὰ et *statio* deducunt, quasi ad *stationem.*" (Glossar. *in voc.*) Mabillon also conjectures, "*forte* posticiam." Colgan's version of O'Donnell represents it by "per ecclesiæ parietem" (iii. 49, Tr. Th. p. 440 *a*). But none of these interpretations convey the author's meaning, who describes the angel as *over* the congregation, and introduced in such a way as to show the *subtilitas* of angelic nature, that is, through

reliquit. Hæc Sanctus. [21]Sed [22]tamen de qualitate illius depositi ad quod missus est angelus requirendum nemo de circumstantibus recognoscere potuit. Noster vero patronus sanctum, propriam a Deo sibi commendatam animam, depositum nuncupavit. Quæ, sicuti inferius narrabitur, alia, senis intervenientibus continuis diebus, Dominica nocte ad Dominum emigravit.

VIR itaque venerabilis in fine ejusdem hebdomadis, hoc est die sabbati[a], ipse et ejus pius minister Diormitius ad proximum pergunt benedicendum horreum. Quod intrans Sanctus cum benedixisset, et duos in eo frugum sequestratos [1]acervos[b], hoc intulit verbum cum gratiarum actione, inquiens, Valde congratulor meis familiaribus monachis, quia hoc etiam anno, si [2]quoquam a vobis emigrare me oportuerit, annuum sufficientem habebitis. [3]Quo audito verbo [4]Diormitius minister tristificari cœpit, et sic [5]dicere, Hujus anni tempore, [6]pater, sæpius nos contristas, quia de tuo transitu crebro commemoras. Cui Sanctus hoc dedit responsum, Aliquem arcanum habeo [7]sermusculum, quem, si mihi firmiter promiseris, nemini ante meum denudare obitum, de meo tibi egressu aliquid manifestius intimare potero. Quam cum talem minister promissionem, juxta voluntatem Sancti flexis, genibus, terminasset, vir [8]venerandus [9]consequenter sic profatur, Hæc in sacris voluminibus dies Sabbatum nuncupatur, quod interpretatur requies. Et mihi vere est sabbatum hæc hodierna, quia hujus præsentis laboriosæ vitæ mihi ultima est, in qua post meas laborationum molestias sabbatizo[c]; et hac sequenti media venerabili Dominica nocte[d], secundum eloquia Scripturarum, patrum [10]gradiar viam. [11]Jam enim Dominus meus Jesus Christus me invitare dignatur; ad quem, inquam,

[21] dicens D. [22] tunc C. D.

[1] vidisset C. [2] quodam C. [3] panem *add.* B. victum *manu correctoris add.* F. [4] diarmatus D. [5] dixit C. [6] *om.* C. [7] sermonusculum D. [8] venerabilis D. [9] *om.* D. [10] ingrediar C. [11] ita B.

substance impermeable to material beings. The second part of the *Vita Secunda* in Colgan, which is really a fragment of an ancient memoir closely resembling Adamnan, sets the matter at rest, by reading in the parallel place "per *culmen* ecclesiæ" (cap. 30, Tr. Th. p. 329 *a*).

[a] *Sabbati.*—Our Saturday. The practice of calling the *Lord's Day* the *Sabbath* commenced about a thousand years after this date.

[b] *Sequestratos acervos.*—These must have remained over from the preceding year. The idea of *reserved*, or, possibly, *winnowed*, seems to be conveyed by the Latin *sequestratos*.

[c] *Sabbatizo.*—The verb σαββατίζω was formed by the LXX., and was introduced into Latin by Christian writers, as Tertullian. At first it denoted the observance of the Sabbath proper, and afterwards 'to rest,' as, in the capitula of Boniface, "diebus Dominicis sabbatizare." (Du Cange *in voc.*)

[d] *Dominica nocte.*—That is, the night preceding Sunday. See note [1], ii. 45 (p. 181); note [c], cap. 11 (p. 210), and note [d], cap. 12 (p. 211), *supra*.

hac mediante nocte, ipso me invitante, emigrabo. Sic enim mihi ab ipso Domino revelatum est. Hæc [12]mæsta minister audiens verba, cœpit amare flere. Quem Sanctus [13]in [14]quantum potuit consolari conabatur.

Post hæc [15]Sanctus horreum egreditur, et ad monasterium revertens, media residet via, in quo loco postea crux, molari infixa lapidi[e] hodieque [16]stans, in margine cernitur viæ[f]. Dumque [17]ibidem Sanctus, ut præfatus sum, senio fessus, paululum sedens, requiesceret, ecce albus occurrit caballus, obediens servitor, qui scilicet lactaria bocetum[g] inter et monasterium vascula gestare consueverat. Hic ad Sanctum accedens, mirum dictu, caput in sinu ejus ponens, ut credo inspirante Deo, cui omne animal [18]rerum sapit sensu quo jusse-

[12] mestus D. [13-14] ut D. [15] verba *add.* D. [16] stat D. [17] idem D. [18] brutum B. in *marg.* F.

[e] *Molari lapidi.*—C. Innes suggests *in a quern* (Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 299). More probably a millstone of larger dimensions. See the account of a *molaris lapis* in Cogitosus's Life of St. Brigid, cap. 32 (Tr. Th. p. 523 *a*).

[f] *In margine viæ.*—Maclean's Cross is the only one remaining in the island whose position answers to this description. Its age probably is not so high as the date of these memoirs, but it may occupy the site of an earlier and less elaborate monument. See Graham's Iona, plates 4, 43; and the Description, pp. 6, 24.

[g] *Bocetum.*—This word seems peculiar to the Irish school. Du Cange notices it, and explains it by *bubile:* his editor adds to his citation from the Life of St. Comgall the present passage, but errs in proposing *pascua* as the meaning. The parallel passage in the second part of Colgan's second Life reads *bostarium*, which is the same as our *cow-house* or *byre*, and the Irish buaıłıð. St. Kieran's "domus armentaria sive bovile decem habebat portas, et decem particularia reclusoria.' (Colg. Act. SS. p. 471 *a*.) Pinkerton seems to have laboured under an excess of flippant inaccuracy when he said, "*Bocetum* non occurrit apud Du Cange" (Vit. Ant. p. 180). To the two examples in Du Cange he might have added the following, from authorities within his reach: "Quodam die missus est Sanctus Molua, ut lac a boceto super equum deferret."—Vit. S. Moluæ, c. 20 (Fleming, Collect. p. 372 *a*); where the editor observes in the margin, "Sic vocat locum campestrem, mapalibus, et vaccis emulgendis destinatum." Or, as in the Bollandists: "Alio autem die Lugidius puer missus est, ut lac a boceto deferret; cumque in via ambularet, equus calcitravit sub vasis." (Act. SS. Aug. tom. i. p. 345.) The Life of St. Dega adds a synonym: "Illi enim vas lacte plenum sine fundo ad monasterium de boceto vel vaccario attulerunt." (Act. SS. Aug. tom. iii. p. 661 *a*.) The Life of St. Ruadhan agrees with the other authorities as to the situation of the bocetum and the mode of carriage: "Quodam tempore, cum cocus lac a boceto in civitatem deferret, intrans per porticum civitatis quotidie, lac effundebatur in terram, per septem dies. Quadam autem die S. Rodanus perrexit ad porticum, ut mali istius causam cognosceret: viditque in porticu duos dæmones, unum a dextris, et unum a sinistris, habentes in manibus malleos ferreos, et hinc inde percutientes lactea vasa statim confracta de equo cadebant in terram." (Act. SS. April. tom. ii. p. 383 *a*.) See *boutig* in Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. p. 100; Four Mast. An. 1044; Spenser's View, p. 82 (Dubl. 1809).

rit ipse Creator, dominum a se suum mox emigraturum, et ipsum ultra non visurum sciens, cœpit plangere, ubertimque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium Sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere. Quod videns minister, cœpit illum flebilem repellere lamentatorem: sed Sanctus prohibuit eum, dicens, Sine hunc, [19]sine [20]nostri amatorem, ut in hunc [21]meum sinum fletus [22]effundat amarissimi plangoris. Ecce tu, homo cum sis, et [23]rationalem animam habeas, nullo modo scire de meo exitu potuisti, nisi quod tibi ego ipse nuper manifestavi: huic vero bruto et irrationali animanti, quoque modo [24]ipse Conditor voluit, egressurum a se dominum manifeste revelavit. Et hæc dicens mæstum a se revertentem equum benedixit ministratorem.

Et inde egrediens, et monticellum monasterio supereminentem[h] ascendens, in vertice [25]ejus paululum stetit, et stans, ambas elevans palmas, suum benedixit cœnobium, inquiens, Huic loco, quamlibet angusto et vili, non tantum Scotorum reges, cum populis, sed [26]etiam [27]barbararum et exterarum gentium regnatores, cum plebibus sibi subjectis, grandem et non mediocrem conferent honorem[i]: a Sanctis quoque etiam aliarum ecclesiarum non mediocris veneratio conferetur.

[19-20] si nostri ne. C. [21] *om.* C. [22] fundat B. [23] rationabilem C. [24] ut *add.* B. [25] *om.* C. [26] *om.* C. [27] *om.* B.

[h] *Monticellum supereminentem.*—See note [a], i. 30 (p. 58) *supra*. Immediately opposite the west entrance of the cathedral is a small rocky eminence called *Torr Abb*, 'Abbot's tower,' on which there formerly stood a cross. But this spot is too far north, and does not command the probable site of the monastery as well as the hill called *Cnoc nan-Carnan*, which is situate to the west of the Reilig Orain. This hill, *Blar Buidhe*, and *Cnoc Mor*, form a range extending southwards, from any part of the east side of which the religious settlement could have been fully seen.

[i] *Conferent honorem.*—The strongest testimony to the honour in which this island was held, is the fact that it was chosen as the burial-place of many illustrious kings. Putting aside all the unauthentic statements which are current about the forty-eight kings of Scotland, and the places of their interment, we have historical evidence that, at an early period, it was a favourite burial-place for the great. King Egfrid was laid here in 685 (p. 187, *supra*); and though Ædan, St. Columba's friend, was buried in Kilcheran (p. 36, *supra*), many of his successors were carried to Iona. (Scotichr. iii. 24, 48, 56; Johnstone, Antiqq. Celto-Normann. pp. 147, 148.) So Fordun comprehensively states concerning I-Columbkill: "Monasterium vero monachorum, usque ad tempus regis Malcolmi, viri Sanctæ Margaretæ, fuit locus sepulturæ, et sedes regalis quasi omnium regum Scotiæ et Pictiniæ." (Scotichr. ii. 10). The oft-cited passage from Archdeacon Monro's Description of the Western Isles, makes mention of three tombs as then existing in the Reilig-Oran, intituled *Tumulus Regum Scotie*, *Tumulus Regum Hybernie*, and *Tumulus Regum Norvegie*, supposed to contain the remains of forty-eight Scotch, four Irish, and eight Norwegian kings. See J. H. Smith in the Ulst. Journ. of Archæol. vol. i. p. 82.

Post hæc verba, de illo descendens monticellulo, et [28]ad monasterium revertens, sedebat in tugurio Psalterium scribens[k]; et ad illum tricesimi [29]tertii [30]psalmi [31]versiculum perveniens ubi scribitur, Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono[l], Hic, ait, in fine cessandum est paginæ; quæ vero sequuntur [32]Baitheneus scribat. Sancto [33]convenienter [34]congruit [35]decessori novissimus versiculus quem scripserat, cui nunquam bona deficient æterna: successori vero sequens patri, spiritalium doctori filiorum, Venite, [36]filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos, congruenter convenit; qui, sicut decessor commendavit, non solum ei docendo, sed etiam scribendo, successit.

Post talem superius memoratum terminatæ versum perscriptum paginæ, Sanctus ad vespertinalem Dominicæ noctis [37]missam[m] ingreditur ecclesiam: [38]qua continuo [39]consummata, ad hospitiolum revertens, in lectulo residet pernox; ubi pro stramine nudam [40]habebat petram[n], et pro pulvillo lapidem[o],

[28] *om.* D. [29] *om.* D. [30] psalmum D. [31] *om.* D. [32] baithenus D. [33] congruenter C. [34] convenit C. [35] decessuro C. D. [36] fili C. [37] officium B. [38] quo B. [39] consummato B. [40] habeat C.

[k] *Psalterium scribens.*—See i. 23 (p. 53) *supra.* There is a very curious reliquary preserved in the O'Donnell family, called the Caah (from cabach, *præliator*), because it was anciently borne as a standard into battle. It is a silver case, containing a portion of the Latin Psalter, traditionally reported to be in St. Columbkille's handwriting, and believed to be the very copy which he made from St. Finnian's book. It certainly is not the book here referred to, as it contains from Psal. 31 to 106, in the same handwriting. See Betham, Antiq. Res. vol. i. pp. 109–121, and the fac-simile, p. 112.

[l] *Deficient omni bono.*—Cummian has the same reading as Adamnan, but the later Lives, as those in the Cod. Salmant. (Colg. Tr. Th. pp. 327 *a*, 329 *b*), and O'Donnell (iii. 53, p. 440 *b*), have substituted the reading *minuentur*, which is found in the Caah also (fol. 2), though after the word *bono* there is this marginal mark ÷|÷ (Psal. xxxiii. 11; or xxxiv. 10.) On Adamnan's use of the Ante-Hieronymian Latin text, see Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 247, n. 225.

[m] *Dominicæ noctis missam.*—Midnight was just past, and the existing portion of the night belonged to Sunday. The office which he attended was that commonly known as the *Vigiliæ nocturnæ.* Maugina is described in ii. 5 (p. 112) *supra*, as similarly engaged. On the use of the word *missa* see Ussher, Wks. vol. iv. p. 276. The present reading in Cod. B. indicates a modern limitation of the term.

[n] *Nudam petram.*—In the upper apartment of St. Columba's house at Kells "there is a flat stone, six feet long, and one foot thick, now called St. Columba's penitential bed."—Petrie, Round Towers, p. 426. The Four Mast. relate that in 1034 Mac Nia Ua hUachtain, lector of Ceanannus [Kells], was drowned coming from Alba with the bed of Colum-Cill; but they have mistaken the original in the An. Ult.

[o] *Lapidem.*—Thus Maguir, in his gloss on the Feilire, as translated by Colgan, says of St. Kieran of Saiger: "Quando aliquantulum pausabat, saxum erat ipsi pulvinaris loco" (Act. SS. p. 471 *a.*) The Life of St. Kiaran of Clonmacnois states that he "Cervical lapideum sub capite semper habebat, quod usque hodie in monasterio sancti Kiarani manet, et ab omni-

qui hodieque quasi quidam juxta sepulcrum ejus[p] titulus stat monumenti. Ibidem itaque residens, ultima ad fratres mandata, solo audiente ministro, commendat, inquiens, Hæc vobis, O filioli, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuam et non fictam habeatis charitatem, cum pace: et si ita, juxta sanctorum exempla [41]patrum, observaveritis, Deus, confortator bonorum, vobis auxiliabitur, et ego, cum [42]ipso manens, pro vobis interpellabo[q]; et non tantum præsentis vitæ necessaria [43]ab eo [44]sufficienter administrabuntur, sed etiam æternalium bonorum præmia, divinorum observatoribus [45]præparata, [46]tribuentur. Hucusque extrema venerabilis patroni verba, quasi de hac tediali peregrinatione ad cœlestem patriam transmeantis, brevi textu narrata deducta sunt.

Post [1]quæ, [2]felici appropinquante novissima [3]paulisper hora, Sanctus conticuit. Tum proinde media nocte[a] pulsata personante clocca[b], festinus surgens, ad ecclesiam [4]pergit, citiorque ceteris currens, solus introgressus juxta altare flexis in oratione genibus recumbit; [5]Diormitius minister, tardius prosecutus, eodem momento eminus totam intrinsecus ecclesiam angelica luce erga Sanctum repleri videt: quo ad januam appropinquante, eadem lux visa ocius

[41] *om.* C. [42] ipse B. [43] vobis *add.* C. [44] *om.* C. [45] mandatorum *add.* B. *in marg.* F. [46] præceptorum *add.* C. D. [1] *om.* C. [2] felicia C. [3] *om.* D. [4] perrexit D. [5] diarmatus D.

bus veneratur. Cum autem ipse infirmaretur, noluit illum lapidem a se moveri, sed jussit illum humeris suis apponi."—c. 32 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *b b*).

[p] *Sepulcrum ejus.*—It would appear from these words, which are borrowed from Cummian, that at least a century was allowed to elapse before the remains of St. Columba were disinterred. They were enshrined, however, before the year 824, as we learn from Walafridus Strabo's verses on the martyrdom of St. Blaithmac.

[q] *Interpellabo.*—See note [m], p. 181, *supra.*

[a] *Media nocte.*—The saint had previously attended at the *vespertinalis Dominicæ noctis missa*, an office equivalent to the nocturnal vigil, and now, on the turn of midnight, the bell rings for matins, which were celebrated, according to ancient custom, a little before day-break. Further on, the office is named in the expression, *hymnis matutinalibus finitis.* The occurrence is thus related in the old Irish Life: O ċaṁic ṫra cuṙ na ḃeḋenċu ḋo Colum cille, acuṙ o ṗo benaḋ cloco ıaṙmeṙġı aiḋḋe ḋoṁnaiġ ċengceḋaiṙ, luıḃ ṙıum ṗıa each ḋo ċumm na h-eclaıṙı, acaṙ ḋo ṗıġne ṙlechtaın acaṙ eṙnaıġṫı n-ḃıċṙa ıcon altoıṙ. 'When now Columcille approached his last moments, and when the bell for matins was rung on the night of Pentecost Sunday, he went before the rest to the church, and knelt and prayed fervently at the altar.' The introduction of the word *Pentecost* is probably an error.

[b] *Clocca.*—See i. 8 (p. 33) *supra.* Cummian reads *campana.* We find the word *clocus* in the Book of Armagh (fol. 8 *b b*), and *cloccum* in the Life of St. Boniface (Act. SS. Jun. tom. i. p. 472 *a*). On the material, see note [d], p. 34, *supra*, and the extract in Johnstone's Antiqq. Celto-Scand. p. 15.

recessit: quam [6]etiam alii de fratribus pauci, et ipsi eminus astantes, viderant. [5]Diormitius ergo, ecclesiam ingrediens, flebili ingeminat voce, Ubi es, Pater? Et necdum allatis fratrum lucernis, per tenebras palpans, Sanctum ante [7]altarium recubantem invenit: quem paululum erigens, et juxta sedens, sanctum in suo gremio posuit caput. Et inter hæc cœtus monachorum cum luminaribus accurrens, patre viso moriente, cœpit plangere. Et, ut ab aliquibus qui præsentes [8]inerant didicimus[c], Sanctus, [9]necdum egrediente anima, apertis sursum oculis, ad utrumque latus cum [10]mira vultus hilaritate et lætitia circumspiciebat; sanctos scilicet obvios intuens angelos. [5]Diormitius tum sanctam [11]sublevat ad benedicendum [12]Sancti monachorum [13]chorum dexteram manum[d]. Sed et ipse venerabilis pater, in quantum poterat, simul suam movebat manum, ut videlicet quod voce [14]in egressu non valebat animæ, [15]etiam motu [16]manus fratres videretur benedicere. Et post sanctam benedictionem taliter significatam, continuo spiritum exhalavit. Quo tabernaculum corporis egresso, facies rubens, [17]et mirum in modum angelica visione exhilarata, in tantum remansit, ut non quasi mortui, sed dormientis videretur viventis. Tota interim personabat mæstis plangoribus ecclesia.

SED non prætereundum videtur quod eadem hora beatæ transitus animæ, cuidam [1]Hiberniensi Sancto revelatum est. In [2]illo namque monasterio [3]quod [4]Scotica nominatur lingua [5]Cloni-finchoil[a], quidam homo erat sanctus, [6]senex

[6] et C. D. [7] altare C. D. [8] aderant C. [9] non dum D. [10] viva C. [11] sublevaba t D. [12-13] monachos sancti C. D. [14] et *add.* D. [15] vel C. [16] manu D. [17] per D. [1] everniensi A. [2] quodam C. D. [3] scotorum C. D. F. S. [4-5] *om.* C. D. F. S. [6] et *add.* C. D. F. S.

[c] *Didicimus.*—This clause is added by Adamnan to Cummian's narrative. St. Columba died in 597; St. Adamnan was born in 624; so that this information could easily be had from eyewitnesses.

[d] *Dexteram manum.*—The distinction of hands in the episcopal and abbatial benedictions does not appear to have been yet introduced. The Irish had a legend that when St. Ulltan cursed the Danes he extended his left hand, but that had he employed his right, instead of the destruction of 150 ships, no foreigner would ever have settled in Ireland. (Obits of Christ Church, Introd. p. lxxv.)

[a] *Cloni-finchoil.*—Cluain finnchoill, 'Meadow of the White-hazel.' Colgan, caught by a likeness which an Irish scholar should not have yielded to, conjectured *Cluain-fiacul*, now Clonfeakle, in the county of Tyrone, and diocese of Armagh, to be the modern name (Act. SS. p. 453 *b*, n. 8). But, besides the difference of meaning, there was that also of form, for Clonfeakle is called Cluain-Fiachna in the Annals, and ancient diocesan records. In an ancient Irish tale called *Cathreim Dathi Mic Fiachrach*, mention is made of *Ros-na-Riogh*, now known as Rossnarea, a townland on the Boyne, in the parish of Knockcommon (Ord. Surv. Meath, s. 19), and it is added: Ror Fionnchuill a ceb ainm, ocur Eargar bhannain a h-ainm

umbæ monachorum [31]reliquias, et ipse sanctus monachus, in [32]Dorso [33]Tomme[m] sepultus, cum sanctis resurrectionem expectat[n], mihi Adamnano, illo juveni[o] [34]in tempore, cum grandi retulerat testificatione, dicens, Illa in nocte qua sanctus Columba de terra ad cœlos felici et beato fine transiit, ego et alii mecum viri laborantes in captura piscium in valle piscosi fluminis [35]Fendæ[p], subito

[31] *om.* D. [32-33] dorso tomæ B. dorso thomæ C. ꝺꞇuim cꞇuama D. [34] *om.* D. [35] fynne D.

a special notice of him at Jan. 1 (Act. SS. pp. 7–9). He cites the Book of Killmicnenain to show that St. Columba had an only brother called *Eogan* (p. 8 *b*, n. 3), the *Iogen* of the appendix in Cod. B.; but he signally fails in establishing the identity he desires. Indeed there is satisfactory evidence that Ernene was not nephew to St. Columba, because he was of the *Ui-Firroide*, a tribe totally distinct from the family of St. Columba. Colgan endeavours to overcome this objection by supposing the text corrupted from *Mac Ua-Fergossa*, but such a way of overcoming difficulties, more summary than rational, is unfortunately too common an expedient with that learned man. St. Columba had a maternal uncle of the name, but he was dead before this (i. 45, p. 87, *supra*). He had also a friend called Erneneus, but he was much junior to him (i. 3, p. 25, *supra*). That person is described by the old Irish Life as Ꝛnnan Cluana ꝺeocꞇach, 'Ernan of Cluaindeochra,' the saint who is commemorated under the same designation in the Calendar, at Jan. 11. There was also a St. Ernan of Toraigh, now Tory Island, commemorated at Aug. 17, but he was later than St. Columba, and was probably the *Ernianus* mentioned in the superscription in the paschal epistle in Bede, H. E. ii. 19. See Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vi. p. 541). The name Ernan occurs in Adamnan also at i. 2 (p. 22), i. 16 (p. 45), *supra*.

[l] *Moccufirroide.*—Probably compounded of mac ua ꝼiꞇ-Roiꝺe. See note [a], i. 47 (p. 89) *supra*.

[m] *Dorso Tomme.*—That is, ꝺꞇuim cꞇuama, as in Cod. D., now Drumhome, a parish in the barony of Tirhugh (note [e], i. 10, p. 38, *supra*), county of Donegal, between the towns of Donegal and Ballyshannon. The present parish church is at Ballintra, having been placed there in 1792; but the old church, of which the west gable and belfry remain, stood in the ancient cemetery in the townland of Mullinacross, which is still the chief burial-place of the parish (Ord. Surv. s. 103). *Druim-thuama* is noticed in the Four Masters at 919, 1197, and 1242; at the first of which dates is recorded the death of "Cinaedh, son of Domhnall, abbot of Doire-Chalgaigh (Derry), and of Druim-Thuama, head of the counsel of the Cinel-Conaill." It is mentioned in the Calendar of Donegal in connexion with St. Columba at June 9; and with St. Adamnan, at Sept. 23. The Donegal Inquisition, sped Sept. 12, 1609, finds that in the "parishe of Dromehoomagh are foure quarters church land, whereof the O'Dorrianuns were the auncient herenaghes; that the parsonage is impropriate to the abbey of Asheroe; that there are in the said parishe three quarters of Collumkillie's land, everie quarter conteyninge sixe balliboes, in the tenure of Lewe O'Cleerie." (Ulst. Inquis. App. No. v.) A small island on the northern confines of the parish is called *St. Ernan's Island* (Ord. Surv. s. 99), but the name is of modern application.

[n] *Resurrectionem expectat.*—See Colg. Act. SS. p. 395 *b*, c. 24; 592 *b*, c. 19.

[o] *Mihi Adamnano juveni.*—He was born in 624, so that, allowing him twenty years of age, Ernan would be *valde senex* circ. 644.

[p] *Fendæ.*—The river Finn rises at Lough

totum aerei illustratum cœli spatium vidimus. Cujus miraculi subitatione permoti, oculos ad orientem elevatos convertimus, et ecce, quasi quædam pergrandis ignea apparuit [36]columna, quæ in illa nocte media sursum ascendens ita nobis videbatur mundum illustrare totum, sicuti [37]æsteus et meridianus sol, et postquam illa [38]penetravit columna cœlum, quasi post occasum solis, tenebræ succedunt. Hujus itaque claritudinem luminosæ et prædicabilis columnæ, non tantum nos, qui simul in eodem loco ineramus, cum ingenti admiratione vidimus, sed et alii multi piscatores, qui sparsim per diversas [39]fluminales piscinas[q] ejusdem fluminis piscabantur, sicut nobis [40]post retulerant, simili apparitione visa, magno pavore sunt perculsi. Harum igitur trium miracula visionum eadem transitus hora venerandi apparentium patroni, æternos ei a [41]Domino collatos protestantur honores. [42]Ad propositum [43]revertamur.

INTEREA post sanctæ egressum animæ, hymnis matutinalibus[a] terminatis, sacrum corpus de ecclesia ad hospitium, unde paulo ante vivens venerat, cum canora fratrum reportatur psalmodia, honesteque ternis diebus et totidem noctibus honorabiles rite explentur exequiæ[b]. Quibus in Dei [1]sapidis laudibus terminatis, sancti et beati patroni venerabile corpus, mundis involutum sindonibus, et præparata positum in [2]ratabusta[c], [3]debita humatur cum veneratione, in luminosa et æternali resurrecturum claritudine.

De supra memoratis ergo tribus illis exequiarum diebus more peractis ecclesiastico, quod nobis ab expertis traditum est, hujus prope finem enarrab-

[36-38] A. B. C. D. F. S. *om.* Colg. Boll. *transcriptoris incuria.* [37] dies *add.* C. [39] fluviales D. [40] postea C. [41] deo B. C. D. F. S. [42-43] *rubrica* B. *post* interea D. [1] sapiendis C. sapientis D. [2] A. B. rata busta F. intra busta C. in rata tabeta D. catabusta *suo jure* Boll. [3] *om.* D.

Finn in the parish of Inishkeel, on the west side of Donegal, and, flowing eastwards past Stranorlar and Castlefinn, becomes the boundary between the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, till at Lifford it receives the Mourne, and turning northwards, empties itself into the Foyle. Gleann Finne, the *vallis Fende* of the text, is a picturesque glen in the parish of Kilteevoge. Frequent mention is made in the later Annals of the river Fionn; and in the legendary portion three rivers of this name are represented as bursting out in Ulster in the year 3529. (Four Mast.; Keating, vol. i. p. 320.)

[q] *Piscinas.*—Thus a pool in a river near St. Dega's monastery was called *Piscina Berachi* (Act. SS. Aug. tom. iii. p. 660 *b*).

[a] *Hymnis matutinalibus.*—This shows that the service, though conducted soon after midnight, was regarded as matins.

[b] *Exequiæ.*—St. Patrick's are said to have lasted for twelve days.—Vit. Trip. iii. 105 (Tr. Th. p. 168 *b*). St. Senan's for eight days. (Colg. Act. SS. p. 537 *a*, c. 43.) Seven days was the pagan number. (*Ib.* p. 730 *a*, c. 9.)

[c] *Ratabusta.*—This strange compound, of which we have no other example, seems to denote a coffin. The *rata* may have crept into the text from the preceding word præpa*rata*.

itur libri. Quidam namque aliquando unus de fratribus coram venerabili viro simpliciter loquens, Ad celebrandas, ait ad Sanctum, tuas, post tuum obitum exequias, totus harum provinciarum populus hanc [4]Iouam remigans [5]replebit insulam. Quod verbum audiens Sanctus consequenter ait, O mi [6]filiole, non ut loqueris sic res [7]probabit, nam promiscuum populi vulgus nullo modo ad meas poterit exequias venire; mei soli familiares monachi mea sepulcralia complebunt, et [8]exequialia honestabunt officia. Quod verbum [9]ejus propheticum, statim post transitum ipsius, omnipotentia Dei adimpleri fecit: nam per tres illas exequiales dies et [10]noctes, grandis sine pluvia facta est ventosa tempestas[d], qua fortiter prohibente, nullus hinc inde navicella vectus transfretare poterat. Et post consummatam beati sepultionem viri continuo tempestate sedata, et cessante vento, totum tranquillatum est æquor.

Perpendat itaque lector quanti et qualis apud Deum prædicabilis patronus [11]honoris[e] habeatur, cui aliquando in carne mortali conversanti Deo [12]dignante, [13]oranti, tempestates sedatæ sunt, et maria tranquillata; et rursus, quando necesse habuit, supra memorata occasione, [14]orta [15]flamina ventorum, et ventosa, cum voluit, [16]concita sunt æquora, quæ subsequenter, ut superius dictum est, expletis ejus sepulturæ ministeriis, in magnam conversa sunt tranquillitatem.

Hic itaque nostro prædicabili patrono vitæ terminus fuit, [1]ista meritorum exordia; qui, secundum sententias Scripturarum, [2]æternis comes triumphis, Patribus additus, Apostolis et Prophetis consertus, numero aggregatus albatorum millium Agnino in sanguine suas Sanctorum qui laverunt stolas, Agnum ductorem comitatur[a], virgo immaculatus, ab omni integer labe, ipso Domino nostro Jesu Christo dignante: cui est cum Patre honor, virtus, laus, [3]gloria, et imperium sempiternum in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per omnia sæcula [4]sæculorum.

[4] ionam B. [5] replevit D. [6] filioli B. [7] probabitur C. [8] exequiarum D. [9] *om.* B. [10] *om.* D. [11] *om.* D. [12] donante F. [13] orante D. [14-15] orto flamine C D. [16] concitata C. D. [1] ita C. [2] æternus D. [3] et *add.* B. [4] amen *add.* C. D. F. S. *hucusque vita* C. D. F. S. explicit vita sancti columbe abbatis D.

[d] *Sine pluvia tempestas.*—The wind blowing from the S. E. causes a very violent sea in the channel, and the more so when unaccompanied by rain. While it prevails, small boats dare not venture across. See i. 4 (p. 28) *supra.*

[e] *Quanti et qualis honoris.*—The form of expression occurs in Adamnan's tract *De Locis Sanctis*, where speaking of Jerusalem he says: "Hinc ergo non negligenter adnotandum est, quanti et qualis honoris hæc electa et prædicabilis civitas in conspectu æterni genitoris habeatur."—Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. iii. pt. ii. p. 457 (Venet. 1734).

[a] *Comitatur.*—Rev. xiv. 4.

POST horum trinalium lectionem libellorum, quisque diligens annotet lector quanti et qualis meriti sanctus sæpe supra memoratus præsul venerandus, [1]quantæ et qualis apud Deum honorificentiæ fuerit [2]æstimatus, quantæ et quales angelicæ ad ipsum, et luminosæ frequentationes, fuerint; quanta in eo prophetalis gratia, quanta dialium efficientia virtutum; quanta et quam frequens eum divini luminis claritudo in carne mortali adhuc commorantem circumfulserit; quæ, etiam post egressum animæ de tabernaculo corporis [3]almissimæ, sicuti quibusdam electis ostensum habetur compertum, locum in quo ipsius sancta pausant ossa[b] usque hodie eadem cœlestis claritas frequentare non cessat, et sanctorum frequens visitatio angelorum. Et hæc etiam eidem beatæ memoriæ viro a Deo non mediocris est collata gratia, qua nomen ejus non tantum per totam nostram Scotiam[c], et omnium totius orbis insularum maximam Britanniam, clare divulgari promeruit, in hac parva et extrema oceani Britannici commoratus[d] insula; sed etiam ad trigonam[e] usque Hispaniam, et Gallias, et ultra [4]Alpes [5]Peninas[f] Italiam sitam pervenire, ipsam quoque Romanam civitatem, quæ caput est omnium civitatum. Tantus et talis honor [6]noscibilis[g] eidem Sancto inter [7]ceteræ divinæ donationis munera condonatus scitur a Deo, qui se diligentes amat, et eos qui eum [8]sapidis magnificant laudibus magis ac magis glorificans, immensis sublimat honoribus, qui est benedictus in sæcula. Amen.

[1-2] *om. incuria transcriptoris* Colg. Boll. [3] sanctissimæ B. [4] alpas B. [5] pininas A. [6] uocibilis B. [7] cetera B. [8] *om.* B.

[b] *Sancta pausant ossa.*—This would prove, if proof were wanting, that these memoirs were earlier than the ninth century, for St. Columba's bones were enshrined before that time.

[c] *Nostram Scotiam.*—This must be Ireland, for Britain is mentioned immediately after as a distinct island. It is observable that Adamnan, though living in Hy, acknowledges Ireland to be his country.

[d] *Commoratus.*—A kind of nominative absolute, which the Bollandists change to *commoratur*, inserting *Non enim* before *in hac.*

[e] *Trigonam.*—Æthicus (so called) also applies this term to Spain, which more properly belongs to Sicily: "Hispania universa terrarum situ trigona."—Cosmogr. (Pompon. Melæ, p. 729, Ed. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1722.) Strabo more correctly describes Spain as *βύρσῃ βοείᾳ παραπλησία.*—Geogr. lib. ii. (vol. i. pp. 138, 189, 200, Amst. 1707.)

[f] *Alpes Peninas.*—Both these words are of Celtic origin. Ailp is an Irish word denoting a 'great mass;' and we have a mountain in the parish of Kilcommon, and county of Mayo, called *Slieve Ailp.* The Irish cenn sometimes assumes the form beann or binn, *pinna*, which appears in Welsh as *penn*, and gives to a portion of the Alps the name in the text. See O'Brien's Ir. Dict., Pref. p. 28 (ed. 1832). Hence also *Apenninus.*

[g] *Noscibilis.*—i. 2 (p. 18) *supra.* The foreign writers of early date who have noticed St. Columba are Bede, Alcuin, Walafridus Strabus, and Notker Balbulus, but they are all posterior to Adamnan.

Obsecro[h] eos quicunque voluerint hos describere libellos, immo potius adjuro per Christum, judicem sæculorum, ut postquam diligenter descripserint, conferant, et emendent cum omni diligentia, ad exemplar unde [9]caraxerunt, et hanc quoque adjurationem hoc in loco subscribant.

[10]*Quicunque*[i] *hos virtutum libellos Columbæ legerit, pro me Dorbbeneo*[k] *Dominum deprecetur, ut vitam post mortem æternam* [11]*possideam.*

[9] craxerunt A. traxerunt Colg. Boll. [10-11] *om.* B.

[h] *Obsecro.*—This adjuration seems to be copied from the σημείωσις to Irenæus's work Περὶ Ὀγδοάδος, which is preserved by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. v. 20): Ὁρκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραψόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, κατα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας ἀυτοῦ ἧς ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἵνα ἀντιβάλῃς ὃ μετεγράψω, καὶ κατορθώσῃς ἀυτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο, ὅθεν μετεγράψω ἐπιμελῶς· καὶ τόν ὅρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως μεταγράψῃς, καὶ θήσεις ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ. (Ed. Reading, Cantabr. 1720, p. 238.) Which Rufinus thus translates: "Adjuro te qui transcripseris librum hunc per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et adventum ejus in gloria cum veniet judicare vivos et mortuos, ut conferas hæc quæ scribis, et emendes diligenter ad exemplaria de quibus transcripseris ad fidem. Et ut sacramentum adjurationis hujus similiter transcribas, et inseras his quæ transcripsisti.—Euseb. Pamph. Rufino Aquil. Interpr." (Mantuæ, 1479.) St. Jerome gives the Greek passage with some verbal alterations, and regulates his Latin translation to suit it.—De Vir. Illustr. c. 35. (Opp. tom. ii. col. 860, Veron. 1735.) The inspired writer speaks more peremptorily, Rev. xxii. 18, 19; where see Wetstein's note (N. T. tom. ii. p. 850).

[i] *Quicunque.*—It was the custom of Irish scribes to append their name, with a short solicitation, at the end of their books. Thus in the Book of Mac Regol there is the colophon: *Quicunque legerit et intellegeret istam narrationem orat pro Mac Reguil scriptori.* (O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. Lit. Nuncupat. vol. i. p. 230.) Thus also in the Book of Armagh, the scribe, who died in 845, at the end of various portions of the manuscript appends *Pro Ferdomnacho ores.* (Fol. 67 *bb*, 89 *ab*, 214 *aa*, 220 *ab*.) But the most remarkable subscription in any Irish MS. is that of the Book of Durrow: *Rogo beatitudinem tuam sancte præsbiter Patrici ut quicumque hunc libellum manu tenuerit meminerit Columbae scriptoris qui hoc scripsi... met euangelium per xii dierum spatium.* Below which, in a more angular, but not later, hand, follows, *Ora pro me frater mi Dominus tecum sit.* (A. 4. 5, Trin. Coll. Dubl., fol. 12 *bb*, *recte* 237 *bb*, the leaf having been misplaced in binding.) For an account of this MS. see p. 327, *infra*. Adamnan's tract, *De Locis Sanctis*, ends thus: "Obsecro itaque eos quicumque breves legerint libellos, ut pro eodem sancto sacerdote Arculfo divinam precentur clementiam, qui hæc de sanctis experimenta locis eorum frequentator libentissime nobis dictavit. Quæ et ego quamlibet inter laboriosas et prope insustentabiles tota die undique conglobatas ecclesiasticas sollicitudines constitutus, vili quamvis sermone describens declaravi. Horum ergo lectorem admone experimentorum, ut pro me misello peccatore eorundem craxatore Christum judicem seculorum exorare non neglegat."—Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. Bened. sæc. iii. pt. ii. p. 472 (Venet. 1734).

[k] *Dorbbeneo.*—His obit is recorded by Tighernach at 713.—See *Chronicon Hiense* in *Appendix*. The present colophon renders it very likely that Cod. A. is a manuscript of the early part of the eighth century. See *Introduction*.

APPENDIX.

SUBJECTS OF THE ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

(*See* pp. 8, 196. *S. Columbæ Discipuli et Cognati*[a].)

HÆC sunt duodecim[b] virorum nomina[c] qui cum sancto Columba de Scotia, primo ejus transitu ad Brittanniam[d], transnavigaverunt: Duo filii Brenden[e], Baithene[f], qui et Conin[g], sancti successor Columbæ; et Cobthach[h], frater ejus; Ernaan[i], sancti avunculus Columbæ; Diormitius[k], ejus ministrator; Rus[l], et Fechno, duo filii Rodain; Scandal[m],

[a] *Discipuli et Cognati.*—This recital follows close upon Adamnan's narrative, and forms part of the text, in Cod. B. Although annexed by a later hand, it is evidently of great antiquity, and drawn from authentic sources, probably from records preserved at Hy, the school whence Cod. B. originated. There is no counterpart to be found among our Irish manuscripts, but some of the particulars appear in a tract ascribed to Ængus the Culdee, who flourished about a century after Adamnan; while others can be verified by independent authorities.

[b] *Duodecim.*—See iii. 4 (p. 196) *supra.*

[c] *Nomina.*—They appear, with sundry inaccuracies, in Fordun (Scotichr. iii. 26); and still more disguised in Hector Boethius. (Scot. Hist. lib. ix. fol. 166). Dempster perverts almost every name, and, as Ussher says, *solita fretus licentia*, makes every individual an author and a saint (Hist. Eccl. Scot.) Abp. Usaher, who consulted Cod. B., exhibits the list more faithfully (Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 15, Wks. vi. p. 237). Colgan borrows from him, and comments upon the names in detail (Tr. Th. pp. 468 *b*, 486 *b*); as also the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore (pp. 26, 27). Pinkerton has printed them correctly (Vit. Antiq. p. 186); from whom they are transferred, with a few alterations, into the Origines Paroch. Scotiæ (vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 285).

[d] *De Scotia ad Brittanniam.*—Fordun alters the expression to *Scotiam adnavigaverunt;* Boece to *venere cum eo in Albionem.* But the form in the text agrees with Adamnan, Præf. 2 (p. 9), i. 7 (p. 31), 36 (p. 67), ii. 39 (p. 156), iii. 17 (p. 219).

[e] *Brenden.*—He was brother of Fedhlimidh, St. Columba's father. See Genealogical Table opposite p. 342, *infra.*

[f] *Baithene.*—Adamnan *passim.* See Index.

[g] *Conin.*—Boece and Dempster omit *qui.*

[h] *Cobthach.*—Camerarius gives him a day (Aug. 7) in the Calendar, but without any authority (p. 166). An ancient poem (Ir. Nen. p. cvi.) says:

Nip ꝑáꝺ bṙenainn ṗeim ꝺo ṗaċ
Aċt maṫ baoiṫin ꝑṙiṫḋeaṙṫaċ.

'Brenann of happy career left none
Save Baoithin of goodly deeds.'

[i] *Ernaan.*—Superior of Hinba. See i. 45 (86).

[k] *Diormitius.*—Adamnan *passim.* See Index.

[l] *Rus.*—Possibly Ruisein of Inis Picht, now Spike Island, in Cork Harbour.—Cal. Doneg. Apr. 7. *Fechno* is the same as *Fiachna* of the Calendars.

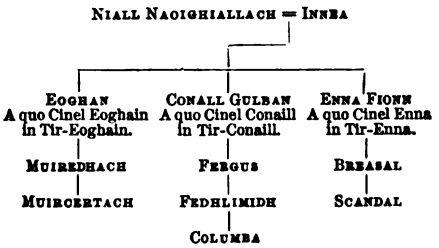
[m] *Scandal.*—Scanḋal cille Cobṙainne .i. Scanḋal mac bṙeaṙail mic Enna mic Neill ḃalṫa Colum cille, 'Scandal of Cill-Cobrann; i. e. Scandal, son of Breassal, son of Enna, son of Niall; pupil of Columcille.' Cal. Doneg. May 3. Enna Fionn, from whom Tir-Enna, a district in the

filius Bresail filii Endei filii Neil; Luguid Mocuthemne[n]; Echoid; Tochannu[o] Mocufir-cetea[p]; Cairnaan[q], filius Branduib filii Meilgi; Grillaan[r].

Sancti Columbæ parentes: Aedelmith[a], pater ejus, filius Ferguso; Eithne[b], mater ipsius, filia filii Navis.

Iogen[c] germanus frater Columbæ junior. Item, tres germanæ sorores[d] ejus: Cuimne[e], mater filiorum Meic Decuil[f], qui nominantur Mernooc[g], et Cascene[h], et Mel-

present barony of Raphoe, derived its name, was the third son of Niall of the Nine Hostages by his second wife. The relationship between his grandson and St. Columba may thus be shown:



The compiler of the Orig. Paroch. inverts the order of Enneus and Breasal. Ronnat, Adamnan's mother, was a descendant of Enna, son of Niall.

[n] *Mocuthemne.*—Ussher, and, after him, Colgan (Tr. Th. p. 492 *a*, n. 92), make this a distinct name instead of a surname. The latter conjectures that the person intended may be the biographer of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh, whom Ussher cites as Macuthennus (*Ib.*; and 218 *a*). But that writer is Muirchu *Macc-u-Machteni* (fol. 20 *b a*), who is the Murchu mac Ua Maichtene of the Calendars (June 8). The present surname is written maco-Ua-Ceimme in the An. Ult. at 663, for which Tighernach has macc-U-Chaenbe; and the Four Masters macc-U-Cheanne; but the Calendars (Feb. 27) mac Ua Ceimne, as in the An. Ult. Adamnan's surname was Ua Cinne.

[o] *Tochannu.*—A form of Dochonna. Colgan incorrectly reads *Torannan* (Tr. Th. p. 492 *b*, n. 109). Two Dochonna's are commemorated at Mar. 8: but this is Mochonna, otherwise *Mauricius* or *Macharius* of the Scotch Calendar, Nov. 12.

[p] *Mocufircetea.*—Mac-u-Finceteca, a surname. Fordun and others make it a separate name.

[q] *Cairnaan.*—Written Caornan in the Calendars at Jan. 31, April 28. *Brandubh* and *Melge* are names which occur in the Four Masters.

[r] *Grillaan.*—Gneallan of the Calendars.

[a] *Aedelmith.*—Recte *Fedelmith.* Præf. 2 (p. 8).

[b] *Eithne.*—Her pedigree stands thus in the Book of Lecan: Eichne, ingin Dimae meic Nae meic Fechin meic Cairpre Fili meic Ailill mair meic bracain meic Feic meic Dairi barraig meic Cathair moir, ic Ros cibraid. Deirbbind belad ainm aile di. 'Eithne, daughter of Dima, son of Nae, son of Fechin, son of Cairpre the Poet, son of Ailill Mor, son of Bracan, son of Fiac, son of Daire Barrach, son of Cathair Mor, [is commemorated] at Rostibraid. Deirbbind Belada [or Bel-fhada, *oris longi*] was another name for her.' See Præf. 2 (p. 8), ii. 40 (p. 163), *supra;* Obits of Christ Church, Introd. p. lxiii.

[c] *Iogen.*—"Unicum tantum juxta Codicem de Kill-mhicnenain, aliasque passim historias patriæ, habuit S. Columba Fethlemidii filius fratrem, quem mendosè Codex Cottonianus *Iogen*, recte Codex de Kill-mhicnenain et alii passim nostri historici vocant *Eogan* .i. Eugenium."—Colgan, Act. SS. p. 8 *b*, n. 3. The Book of Kill-micnenain is cited also in the Book of Fenagh. See Battle of Magh Rath, note [b], p. 164; Irish Nennius, p. cvi.

[d] *Sorores.*—See Obits C. C., Introd. p. lxiii.

[e] *Cuimne.*—Ængus notices her thus: Cuman siur Coluim cille matair da mac Degill .i. Moernoc ocus Caisene. 'Cuman, sister of Columcille, was mother of the two sons of Degill, i. e. Mernoc and Caisene.'—Tract. de Matr. SS. Hib. Colgan, Tr. Th. pp. 469 *a*, n. 85, 478 *a*, n. 3.

[f] *Meic Decuil.*—Colgan says, "Est locus quidam Tirconalliæ qui *Cella septem filiorum Degilli* nuncupatur." (Tr. Th. p. 478 *a*, n. 3.)

Mernooc.—That is, Mo-Ernan-og, 'my little

dal, et Bran[i] qui sepultus est in Dairu Calchaich[k], consobrini sancti Columbæ; Mincholeth[l], mater filiorum Enain[m], quorum unus Calmaan dicebatur; Sinech[n] mater virorum Mocucei[o] in Cuile-aque[p], quorum nomina sunt Aidanus[q] monachus, qui sepultus est hi[r] Cuil-uisci, et Chonrii Moccucein[s], qui sepultus est in Daurmaig[t]; avia[u] Tocummi[v] Mocucein, qui valde senio fessus, presbiter sanctus, in Iona insula præsentem finivit vitam.

B.

(*Præf.* ii. p. 9; *and* i. 7, p. 31. "*Culedrebinæ bellum.*")

THE belief was current among the Irish at a very early period, that the withdrawal of St. Columba to Britain was a sort of penance, which was, with his own consent, imposed upon him in consequence of his having fomented domestic feuds that resulted in sanguinary engagements. And the opinion derives considerable support, at least as re-

Ernan.' See i. 3 (p. 26) *supra.* Mernocc mac Decill bhrhráthair do Chairin mac Decill, et Cumán siur Colaim cille a máthair araon. 'Mernocc, son of Decill, brother of Chaisin, son of Decill; and Cuman, sister of Columcille, was mother of them both.'—Cal. Doneg. Dec. 23.

[h] *Cascene.*—Cairin, as in last note.

[i] *Bran.*—The Calendar has "Bran Beg of Claonadh [Clane] in Ui Faolain [in Kildare] in the plain of Leinster." May 18.

[k] *Dairu Calchaich.*—Derry. See ii. 39 (p. 160).

[l] *Mincholeth.*—Minchloch máthair mec Nenain [mater filiorum Nenani] *quorum unus Colman dicitur.*—Ængus, de Matr. SS. Hib. See Colgan, Tr. Th. pp. 469 *b*, n. 86, 479 *b*, n. 17.

[m] *Filiorum Enain.*—Colgan, in reference to the church of Kilmicnenain, says: "Non dubito quin ab incolatu prædictorum Sanctorum filiorum Enani, denominationem sumpserit celebris illa et amplorum prædiorum Ecclesia Tirconalliæ Divo Columbæ fundatori dicata, quæ *Kell-mac-nenain*, id est, Cella filiorum Enani, vulgo appellatur." (Tr. Th. p. 469 *b*, n. 86, 479 *b*, n. 17.) See note [e], p. 192, *supra.*

[n] *Sinech.*—Third sister. Sinech máthair Chein, 'Sinech, mother of Cian.'—Ængus, *ut supra.*

[o] *Virorum Mocucei.*—Possibly the same as *Mocufirceteu*, *supra*, or for *Mocucein*, *ut infra.*

[p] *Cuile-aque.*—A mixed name, the first word in the compound being cuil, *secessus*, and the second the Latin equivalent for uirce, as in the following line. Colgan identifies it with Uirce-ôaoin, now Eskaheen, in the parish of Muff, about six miles N. E. of Derry, the burial-place of Eoghan, son of Niall (Tigh. 465).

[q] *Aidanus.*—"S. Aidanus de Both-medhba [Bovevagh] filius Fintani filii Kennbarchæ filii Conalli filii Sobharnachi filii Finchoemii filii Fiegi filii Finnchadii filii Conlæ filii Tadgæi filii *Kieni* filii Ailildi Olom."—Sanctilog. Geneal., Tr. Th. p. 478 *b*, n. 5. See Reeves's Colton's Visitation, p. 85.

[r] *Hi.*—That is, *in.*—See p. 194, *supra.*

[s] *Moccucein.*—That is, Mac Ua Cein, *filius nepotis Ciani.* Cian, whose name appears in the pedigree cited in last note, was founder of Cianachta, a tribe which gave name to the territory now known as Keenaght, in the county of Londonderry (note [h], p. 110, *supra*). See Colton's Visit., p. 36.

[t] *Daurmaig.*—Durrow. See pp. 23, 58, *supra.*

[u] *Avia.*—That is, Sinech. Colgan tortures this *grandmother* into Ab Ia, 'abbot of Hy'! (Tr. Th. p. 469 *b*, n. 87.)

[v] *Tocummi.*—Probably for Doćumma.

gards the battle of Cul-dreimhne, from the mention of it by Adamnan, who in two instances makes it a kind of Hegira in the Saint's life. The following narrative from Keating's History affords the simplest statement of the prevalent belief:—

Ar aḋḃor umorro, umma ruġ Molaire do ḃreiṫ ar Ċolam Ċille dol a n-Albain, mar ṫainiġ ḋe tri caṫa do cor a n-Eirinn .i. Caṫ Cuile Dreimne, caṫ Raṫan, agus caṫ Cuile Feaḋa. Aḋḃor caṫa Cuile Dreimne, do reir an trein leaḃair da n-ġairḋiur leabor Uiḋre Ciaran. Feis Teamrach do rinne Diarmuid mac Fearġusa Ceirrḃeoil ri Eirionn, agus do marḃaḋ duine uasal ar an b-ḟeis rin le Curnan mac Aoḋa mic Eoċuiḋ Tiormċarna gor marḃ Diarmuid eirion na ḋioġail rin, tré marḃaḋ do ḋéanam ḋó a b-feis Teamrać, a n-aġuiḋ dliġiḋ ⁊ tearmoinn na feire, ⁊ rul do marḃaḋ Curnán do ċuaiḋ ar ċoimeirce Ċolaim Ċille, ⁊ tar coimeirġe Colaim do marḃaḋ le Diarmuid. Ġo t-tainiġ de rin gor Colam Cille Clanna Neill an Tuaisceirt tré na ċoimirce, ⁊ tré ċomairce Ċloinne Earca do ṡárugaḋ, gor cuiriuḋ caṫ Cuile Dreimne ar Diarmuid, ⁊ ar Connaċtaiḃ, gor bririuḋ orra tre ġuiḋe Coluim Cille.

Now this is the cause why Molaise sentenced Columcille to go into Alba, because it came of him to occasion three battles in Erin, viz., the battle of Cul Dreimhne, the battle of Rathan, and the battle of Cuil Feadha. The cause of the battle of Cul Feadha, according to the old book called the Leabar Uidhre of Ciaran, Diarmuid, son of Fergus Cerrbhoil, king of Ireland, made the Feast of Tara, and a noble man was killed at that feast by Curnan, son of Aodh, son of Eochuidh Tiorm-carna; wherefore Diarmuid killed him in revenge for that, because he committed murder at the feast of Tara, against law and the sanctuary of the feast; and before Curnan was put to death he fled to the protection of Columcille, and notwithstanding the protection of Columcille he was killed by Diarmuid. And from that it arose that Columcille mustered the Clanna Neill of the North, because his own protection and the protection of the sons of Earc was violated: whereupon the battle of Cuile Dreimhne was gained over Diarmaid and over the Connaghtmen, so that they were defeated through the prayer of Columcille.

Cuiriuḋ leabor duḃ Molaġa aḋḃor oile ríor fa t-tuġaḋ caṫ Cuile Dreimne .i. trear an ġ-claoin-ḃreiṫ ruġ Diarmuid a n-aġuiḋ Ċolaim Ċille, an tan ro rġriobh an roirġél ar leabar Fionntain gan ḟior. Raiḋir Fionntain gor leir fein an maic-leabor do rġriobh ar

The Black Book of Molaga assigns another cause why the battle of Cul Dreimhne was fought, viz., in consequence of the false judgment which Diarmuid gave against Columcille when he wrote the gospel out of the book of Finnian without his knowledge. Finnian said that it was to

a leabar. Gor ṫograd aṗaon Diarmuid na bṗeiṫiom eaṫṫorṗa. Aṗi bṗeaṫ ṗug Diarmuid, Gorab leir gaċ leabar a ṁaic-leabor, mar ar lé gaċ boinn a boinín. Gonad é ṗin an dara h-adbor ṗar cuiṗiod caṫ Cúile Dṗeimne.

himself belonged the son-book [copy] which was written from his book, and they both selected Diarmuid as judge between them. This is the decision that Diarmuid made: that to every book belongs its son-book [copy], as to every cow belongs her calf. So that this is one of the two causes why the battle of Cuile Dreimhne was fought.

Aṗé adbor ṗa t-tug Colum Cille ṗo dearṗa cath Cuile Raṫan do ċur ar Ḋal n-Araiḋe, agur ar Ulltaib .i. tṗér an imṗiorain tarla idir Ċolum agur Ċoṁgall mar do ṫairbeanador iadṗein leaṫṫromaċ an-aghuid Ċolaim ir in imṗiorain.

This was the cause which brought Columcille to be induced to fight the battle of Cuil Rathan against the Dal n-Araidhe, and against the Ultonians, viz., in consequence of the controversy that took place between Colum and Comgall, because they took part against Colum in that controversy.

Aṗé adbor ṗa t-tug ṗo dearṗa caṫ Cúile Ṗeaḋa do cur ar Ċolmán Mac Diarmada .i. a n-dioġail a ṗáṗuiġṫe um Ḃaodán mac Ninneada (ṗi Eiṗionn) do ṁarbad lé Cuimín mac Colmáin a Léim-an-eiċ tar ċoimeirġe Ċolaim.

This was the cause that occasioned the fighting of the battle of Cuil Feadha against Colman Mac Diarmada, viz., in revenge for his having been outraged in the case of Baodan, son of Ninneadh (king of Erin), who was killed by Cuimin, son of Colman, at Leim-an-eich, in violation of the sanctuary of Colum.

The book which St. Columba is supposed to have transcribed from St. Finnian's original is not a manuscript of the Gospels, as stated in the above extract, but the copy of the Psalms, which forms, with its silver case, the ancient reliquary called the Cathach, of which O'Donnell gives us this curious account:

An Caṫuc imuṗṗo ainm an leabaiṗ ṗin tṗiar a tugad an caṫ, acur a ṗe ir

Now *The Cathach*[a] is the name of the book on account of which the battle was fought,

[a] *Cathach.*—See the drawing of the cover in Betham's Antiquarian Researches, vol. i. p. 109; and a fac-simile of four lines of the enclosed manuscript, ib. p. 112. The codex is described as consisting of 58 membranes, originally about 9 inches long by 6 wide. All the membranes before the 31st Psalm are gone: the last membrane contains the first 13 verses of the 106th Psalm. The character and condition of this manuscript are indicative of extreme age, but it is questionable whether it is in the handwriting of the Saint himself.—See note [1], p. 233, *supra*. The case bears an inscription, which, though mutilated, satisfactorily indicates its age.—See note M, *infra*.

aiṙd mind do Coluim cille a cṙich cineoil Conaill Gulban, acaṙ a ta ṙe cumḋaigḋe d aiṙgeḋ ḟa oṙ, acaṙ ni dleġuṙ a ḟoṙcluḋ, acaṙ da cuiṙḋeṙ tṙi huaiṙe deiṙiul a timḋell ṙluaiġ cineoil Conaill e aġ dul do ḋum caḋa doib iṙ dual co tiṙḃaḋ ṙlan ḟa buaiḋ, acaṙ iṙ a nuḋt comḟoṙba no cléiṙiḋ can pecaḋ maṙbḋa aiṙ maṙ iṙ ḟeṙṙ iṙ eidiṙ leiṙ aṙ coiṙ an Caḋaḋ do beḋ aġ teḋt timḋell an tṙluaiġ ṙin.

and it is the chief relic of Colum-cille in the territory of Cinel Conaill Gulban; and it is covered with silver under gold; and it is not lawful to open it[b]; and if it be sent thrice, right-wise[c], around the army of the Cinell Conaill, when they are going to battle, they will return safe with victory: and it is on the breast of a cowarb or a cleric[d], who is to the best of his power free from mortal sin, that the Cathach should be, when brought round the army.

The record of the battle in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 555, is as follows:—"The seventeenth year of Diarmaid. The battle of Cul-Dreimhne was gained against Diarmaid, son of Cearbhall, by Fearghus and Domhnall, the two sons of Muircheartach, son of Earca; by Ainmire, son of Sedna; and by Nainnidh, son of Duach; and by Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna, king of Connaught. It was in revenge of the killing of Curnan, son of Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna, while under the protection of Colum-cille, that the Clanna Neill of the North and the Connaughtmen gave this battle of Cul-Dreimhne to King Diarmaid; and also on account of the false sentence which Diarmaid passed against Colum-cille about a book of Finnen, which Colum had transcribed without the knowledge of Finnen, when they left it to the award of Diarmaid, who pronounced the celebrated decision, *To every cow belongs its calf*," &c.

It is to be observed that the Annals both of Tighernach and Ulster attribute the success of the Northerns to St. Columba's intercession: *per orationem Coluim-cille dicentis*, &c., while the Four Masters, with their usual caution, merely state that Colam cille do raiḋ, 'Colum-cille said,' adding, from Tighernach, the verses which were supposed to have produced so marvellous a result.

Diarmait, who was now on the throne[e], was the head of the Southern branch of the Hy-Neill race; and the chiefs of the two main sections of the Northern branch, namely, the Cinel Eoghain and Cinel Conaill, had already distinguished themselves by military

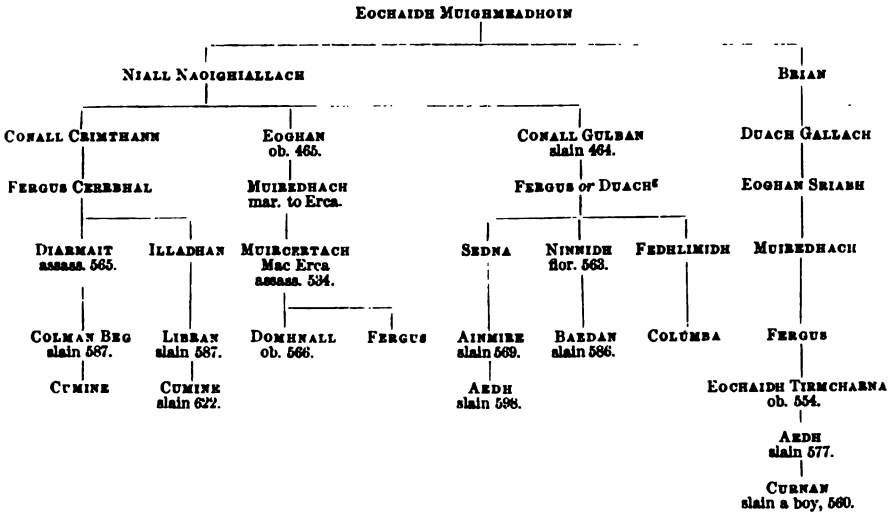
[b] *Open it.*—Sir Wm. Betham gives an amusing account of the opening, to which he was a party.—Antiq. Researches, i. p. 110.

[c] *Right-wise.*—See O'Donovan's Book of Rights, p. 2, note [c]; Toland's Druids (Miscell. Works, vol. i. p. 108, Lond. 1747).

[d] *Cleric.*—Colgan seems ashamed both of the *deisiol*, and the clerical interference in battle, and accordingly translates this curious passage with studied inaccuracy: "*Cathach*, id est, præliator, vulgo appellatur, fertque traditio quod si circa illius patriæ exercitum, antequam hostem adoriantur, tertio cum debita reverentia circumducatur, eveniat, ut victoriam reportet."—O'Don. ii. 3 (Tr. Th. 409 *b*).

[e] *Throne.*—See the notes on Adamnan, i. 14 (p. 42), 36 (p. 67), *supra*.

enterprise, for in 543, the very same individuals[f] won the battle of Sligo, and slew Eoghan Beul, king of Connaught; and again, in 549, the Cinel-Eoghain brothers slew Ailill Inbanna, the succeeding king of Connaught, at the battle of Cuil-Conaire in Carra, in the county of Mayo. They now espoused the cause of the Connacian chief, and it may be that some affront offered to their kinsman Columba, seconded by his instigation, produced the battle of Cul-Dreimhne, which, like that of Sligo, was fought on Connacian ground, but near the boundary between it and Ulster. The relation of the parties who engaged in this strife will be most readily understood from the following genealogical view :—



The promoter of this sanguinary contest became now, according to O'Donnell's authorities, the subject of ecclesiastical censure: "Post hæc in Synodo sanctorum Hiberniæ gravis querela contra Sanctum Columbam, tanquam authorem tam multi sanguinis effusi, instituta est. Unde communi decreto censuerunt ipsum debere tot animas, a gentilitate conversas, Christo lucrari, quot in isto prælio interierunt"[h]. This sentence was the result, it is stated, of a decision, "ut factum suum temeritatis speciem

[f] *Same individuals.*—The battle of Monadaire Lothair (the Ondemone of Adamnan, i. 7, p. 32, *supra*) was won, in the year 563, by Donnell, Fergus, Ainmire, and Ninnidh.

[g] *Fergus or Duach.*—Ninnidh is called the son of Duach in Tigh. 543, 561, 563, 586; and An. Ult. 560, 585: but in the last place, to *filii Duach* is added *vel* mic Fergusa Ceannfada. Thus also, in the Annals of Inisfallen, 553, Ninnidh is called *Ainnedid mac Fergusa.*

[h] *Interierunt.*—This extract is from Colgan's Acta SS. p. 645, where he gives a different version of the passage in O'Donnell from that in the regular narrative of St. Columba's Life.

præferens, solemni pœnitentia ad S. Molassii arbitrium expiaret"[i]. This arbitrator was St. Molash of Daimh-inis[k], whose sentence is thus given in his Life: "Sanctus vero Columba visitavit S. Lasrianum confessorem suum post bellum de Culdremne, petens ab eo salubre consilium; quo scilicet modo post necem multorum occisorum, benevolentiam Dei ac remissionem peccatorum obtinere mereretur. Beatus igitur Lasrianus divinarum scripturarum scrutator, imperavit ut tot animas a pœnis liberaret, quot animarum causa perditionis extiterat; et cum hoc ei præcepit, ut perpetuo moraretur extra Hiberniam in exilio"[l].—c. 28. The remorse of St. Columba for the expenditure of human life in the battle is thus expressed in the Life of St. Abban: "Alio quoque tempore S. Columba cum pluribus discipulis venit ad sanctum Patrem: qui cum devotione magna ab eo susciperetur, dixit ei; Ideo nunc ad te venimus, ut ores pro animabus illorum, qui occisi fuerunt in bello commisso, nuper nobis suadentibus causa Ecclesiæ. Scimus enim quod per tuam intercessionem Dei misericordiam consequentur. Rogamus etiam, quod ab Angelo, qui tecum quotidie loquitur, quæras super hoc Dei voluntatem. Cumque sanctus senior instantius ab eis pulsaretur, respondit; propitius sit eis Deus, et ego libenter pro eis orabo. Accessit igitur vir sanctus ad secretum locum, in quo consueverat Deum orare, et Angelum Dei videre, et audire. Ubi cum se toto conamine in oratione dedisset, S. Columba volens sanctum Patrem orantem videre, et audire quid Angelus ei loqueretur, post eum abiit, callide observando. Cum igitur S. Abbanus sic orasset, ecce Angelus Domini dicit ei; Sufficit Abbane quod fecisti, quia Deus tibi petitionem tuam donavit. Qui respondit; tantum nunc petivi a Domino requiem animabus illis, quarum curam habet S. Columba. Et Angelus ait; Requiem habebunt"[m]. But Columba himself, according to O'Donnell, declared his determination to become a voluntary exile, accusing himself for the disastrous consequences not only of Culdremhne, but also of two other battles which had been caused by his means. He is represented as saying to his kinsmen, "Mihi, juxta quod ab Angelo præmonitus sum, ex Hibernia migrandum est, et dum vixero exulandum, quod mei causa plurimi per vos extincti sint, tùm in hoc ultimo prælio; tùm etiam in prœliis de *Cuilfedha* et *Cuilrathain* olim initis: in quorum altero Colmanum Magnum filium Diermitii, cujus filius Cumineus Boetanum filium Ninnedii, Hiberniæ Regem, mea protectione innixum in loco qui Leim-aneich dicitur, interemerat; fudistis: in altero Fiaenium filium Boadani, suosque confœderatos nepotes Roderici"[n]. Of the other battles here spoken of, mention has been already made in the extract from Keating; but the fullest notice is that contained

[i] *Expiaret.*—O'Donnell, ii. 5, Colg. Trias Thaum. p. 410 *a*.

[k] *Daimh-inis.*—Now Devenish. His day in the Calendar is Sept. 12. Others say it was St. Molash of Inishmurry, Aug. 12. See *Ath-Imglaisi* under note G, *infra*.

[l] *Exilio.*—Cited in Trias Th. p. 461 *b*.

[m] *Habebunt.*—Colgan, Act. SS. p. 624, note 45, which cites from the Cod. Salmanticensis.

[n] *Roderici.*—O'Donnell, ii. 4, Tr. Th. p. 409 *b*, and note 4, p. 452 *a*, where the incorrect reading of the text is rectified.

in the argument of the hymn beginning *Altus Prosator*[o], which is attributed to St. Columba, and which is said to have been composed as a religious exercise after his transgression:

Causa quare voluit Deum laudare, .ı. do ċuinċiḋ ḋilġuḋa ḋona ṫri cathaib ḋo ṗoine ın Ėirinn .ı. cath Cuile Rathin ı nḊal Ąraiḋe eturṗu ocur Comġall ı cornan chille .ı. Rorr torraċair, ocur cath belaiġ ṡeḋa arraḋ Chluana hIraird, ocur cath Chuile Ḋremne ı Conḋaċta, ocur ba ḋo Ḋiarmait mac Cerbaill ḋo ṗatha a nḋur.

'Causa quare voluit Deum laudare,' i.e. to beseech forgiveness for the three battles which he had caused in Erin, viz., the battle of Cul-Rathain, between him and Comgall, contending for a church, viz., Ross-Torathair; and the battle of Bealach-fheda of the weir of Clonard; and the battle of Cul-Dremhne in Connacht: and it was against Diarmait mac Cerball he fought them both[p].

As the battle of Cul-Dremhne arose in part from a religious dispute with St. Finnian, so that of Cul-Rathain or Coleraine[q] is described as the result of a quarrel with St. Comgall of Bangor. The modern name of Ros-Torathair is not known, but the place was somewhere near Coleraine; and it is very possible that some collision did take place between the saints about jurisdiction, as St. Comgall's abbey church of Camus[r] was situate close to Coleraine, and St. Columba is recorded to have been occasionally in that neighbourhood[s]. Besides, the territory west of Coleraine was the debateable ground[t] between the Dal-Araidhe, St. Comgall's kinsmen, and the Hy-Neill of St. Columba's tribe. Fiachna, son of Baedan, with his men of the Clanna-Rudhraighe, are described as the belligerents on the Dalaradian side. Now this Fiachna was lord of Dalaradia, and is spoken of in the Life of Comgall[u] as residing at Rath-mor

[o] *Altus Prosator.*—This fine composition is preserved in the Liber Hymnorum and the Leabhar Breac. It has been printed by Colgan (Tr. Th. pp. 473-475), and will, it is hoped, appear ere long, in a more complete form, under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. Todd, in the second Fasciculus of the *Liber Hymnorum*.

[p] *Both.*—Leabhar Breac, fol. 109 *a*. The preface to the poem in Colgan merely states: "Causa motiva fuit, tum ut Deus in suis operibus laudetur, tum ad deprecandam veniam propter tria prælia inter Hiberniæ Principes conserta, quibus adoriundis S. Columba causam præbuit. Erant hæc, prælium de *Cuilrathen*, prælium de *Cuilfeadha*, et prælium de *Cuile-dreimne*." (Tr. Th. p. 473.)

[q] *Coleraine.*—For the history of this place see Reeves, Eccl. Antiqq. pp. 75, 247.

[r] *Camus.*—Called *Cambas* by Adamnan. See i. 49 (p. 96) *supra*.

[s] *Neighbourhood.*—See i. 50 (p. 97), and note [c], p. 92 *b*, *supra*.

[t] *Debateable ground.*—See note [c], p. 32, and note [l], p. 95, *supra*.

[u] *Life of Comgall.*—"Regina regis Fiachna, qui regnavit in castro, quod dicitur latinè *Atrium magnum*, Scoticè autem *Rath-mor*, in campo *Liniæ* positum, quique erat de gente Ultorum, scilicet de regione *Dailnaray*. Ipsa jam regina Cantigerna vocabatur, quæ erat fidelis et pudica fœmina."—c. 45 (Fleming, Collectan. p. 312 *a*).

in Moylinny[v], and a devoted friend of the saint. He was an enterprising chief, and in 573 won the battle of Tola in the King's County. In 589 he became king of Uladh; and in 594 won the battle of Edan-mor from the Ciannachta of Meath. In 597 he won the battle of Sliabh Cua in Waterford; and in 602 that of Cuil-caol in Down. In 623 he took Rath-Guala in Uladh; and fell at the battle of Leth-Midhin in 626. Now, supposing that he had taken part in the battle of Cul-rathain before St. Columba's departure, that is, the year 563, a period of 63 would have intervened between that and his last achievement, a suspicious interval in a warrior's life. That the battle of Cul-rathain, though not recorded in the Annals, was fought,—that he was a leader therein,—and that it took place in consequence of the jealousies of the Dalaradians and the Hy Neill, quickened into action by the influence of their respective arch-ecclesiastics, is extremely probable: only it was a military event which *followed*, not *preceded*, St. Columba's settlement in Hy.

The third battle, that of Cul-fedha or Bealach-fedha[w], was fought in 587, and is thus recorded by Tighernach :—

Cath bealaiġh Dathi *in quo cecidit* Colman becc mac Diarmada, *ut alii dicunt, cesis quinque millibus per prophetiam* Coluim Cilli. *Aedh mac Ainmireach victor erat. Unde dictum est:*

Mebaidh amail adbiadar,
Fop Colom in cath ceolach
Seniġ fec fnečaibh fopann
Re Conall ocup Eoġan.

Battle of Bealach Dathi, in quo cecidit Colman Beg, son of Diarmaid, ut alii dicunt, cæsis v. millibus per prophetiam of Colam cille. Aedh, son of Ainmire, was victor. Unde dictum est:

Broken was, as has been told,
For Colum's sake in the famous battle,
The bestower of jewels by liberal distribution,
By the Conallians and Eugenians.

This battle, as well as that of Cul-Dremhne, was between the Northern and Southern branches of the Hy Neill. It was fought by Aedh, son of Ainmire, to avenge the death of Baedan, son of Ninnidh, monarch of Ireland, who had been slain by Cumine, son of Colman Beg, and his second cousin Cumine, son of Libran, at Leim-in-eich, under the instigation of Colman Beg. How far St. Columba participated in this transaction is not recorded, but that he was deeply interested in it appears evident from the words of Tighernach, a sentiment which the Four Masters studiously suppress. The relation which existed between the leaders in this battle, and between them and St. Columba, will be seen at a glance in the genealogical table above.

[v] *Moylinny.*—See the description of Rathmor in Reeves's, Eccles. Antiqq. pp. 278–281.

[w] *Bealach-fedha.*—The An. Ult. call it *Druimethe*, from the contracted form of which *Doaethe*, the Four Masters have derived the erroneous reading, "the battle of *Doete*, which is also called Bealach-feadha." (An. 572). O'Donovan identifies it with Ballaghanea in Cavan, but Macgeoghegan is much

Thus we find St. Columba directly or indirectly concerned in three battles, the earliest of which occurred the year but one before his retirement to Britain, and the others at later periods, one of them after he had been twenty-four years in the abbacy of Hy. The first his biographers and panegyrists acknowledge to have been the grand error of his life, for which he paid the penalty of pilgrimage; but to save his character after he became the apostle of the Northern Picts, and the religious exemplar of the Albanian Scots, the device is resorted to of antedating the other occurrences in which the failing of his nature betrayed itself; and whereas his participation in these evils could not be denied, it was thrust back into the irresponsible part of his life, rather than allow it to be numbered among the acts of his maturity. That Columba, closely allied to the principals in these deeds of strife, and within one step himself of the object they were contending for, should look on with indifference, is not to be expected,—especially in an age of revolution, and among a people whose constitution and national construction rendered civil faction almost inseparable from their existence. It was not until 804, that the monastic communities of Ireland were formally exempted from military service; and the endeavours of Fothadh[x] the Canonist, in procuring this enactment from Aedh Oirdnidhe, the monarch of Ireland, form the subject of panegyric and special mention in the Annals. That, even among themselves, the members of powerful communities were not insensible to the spirit of faction, appears from numerous entries in the ancient Annals[y]. Of these, two—of which one relates to a Columbian house—may here be adduced as examples: A.D. 763, "A battle was fought at Argamoyn between the fraternities of Clonmacnois and Durrow, where Dermod Duff, son of Donnell, was killed, and Diglac, son of Dubliss, with 200 men of the fraternity of Durrow. Bresal, son of Murchadh, with the fraternity of Clonmacnois, was victor." A.D. 816, "A battle was fought by Cathal, son of Dunlang, and the fraternity of Tigh-Munna [Taghmon] against the fraternity of Ferns, in which 400 were slain. Maelduin, son of Cennfaeladh, abbot of Raphoe, of the fraternity of Colum-cille, was slain. The fraternity of Colum-cille went to Tara to curse [king] Aedh." The same principle which caused St. Columba's panegyrists to represent his battles as delinquencies of his *youth*, operated with the Four Masters, when compiling their comprehensive Annals from earlier authorities, in dealing with these oft-recurring monastic encounters, and as there was no opening for a transfer of the blame, they *suppressed*[z] the mention of them.

nearer to the true situation when he conjectures Belanaha, near Mullingar. The preface to the *Altus* fixes the place near Clonard.—See p. 253 *supr.*

[x] *Fothadh.*—An. Ult. 803; Four Mast. 799. A poem of 240 verses, in which the adjudication cited by the Four Masters occurs, is preserved in manuscript. (O'Reilly, Irish Writers, p. 55.)

[y] *Ancient Annals.*—See the catalogue extracted from them, in Reeves' Colton's Visitation, pp. 93–97.

[z] *Suppressed.*—Thus at 1078 they adopt the entries of the Annals of Ulster, omitting one which is really no libel, for it only illustrates what St. Bernard states of the Armagh succession: "Duibheasa, daughter of Amhalgaidh, coarb of St. Patrick."

C.

(*See* i. 1, p. 16. "*Adamnano.*")

FEW names, in passing from their real to their phonetic forms, have undergone such transformations as that of our author. Who would suppose that *Adamnan* and *Eunan* were intended for the same person, or that *Adampnanus* and *Thewnan* were resolvable into a common original? Adamnan is an Irish diminutive of Adam, as Cormac interprets the word in his Glossary: ADOMNAN .i. homunculus, ꝺıꝓbecaꝺ anma Aꝺaṁ, 'ADOMNAN, i. e. *homunculus*, a diminutive of the name Adam.' Under the effect of aspiration, Aꝺaṁ loses the force of its consonants, and assumes the various sounds of *Au*, *Eu*, *O*, and *Ou;* hence, when the diminutive termination is added, it produces the respective words *Aunan*[a], *Eunan*[b], *Onan*[c], *Ounan*: these are the forms of pronunciation which the name *Adamnan* has assumed in Ireland.

In the north-east of Scotland, as in Aberdeen and Banff, there is a tendency to prefix certain consonants to saints' names, either as an equivalent for *St.*, or to facilitate the pronunciation. Thus St. Rule becomes *Trowel*, and St. Antony *Tantan*[d]; and hence Eunan becomes *Theunan*, as in the parish of Aboyne[e], where a fresh change takes place, and St. Adamnan's Well and Tree become *Skeulan Wall*, and *Skeulan Tree*. Again, at Forvey, in the parish of Slains[f], Adamnan becomes *Fidamnan;* and in Forglen[g], Adamnan's church is *Teunan Kirk*. But, at Dull[h] in Atholl, the form *Eonan* is preserved, as at Kilcherran in Cantyre, where we find the compound *Killewnane* or *Killowcnane*[i].

The consequence of this diversity in the written and spoken forms of the name has been that even the best writers have created one or more additional saints, and have put the acts of Adamnan in commission. Thus, in Ireland, Sir James Ware represents Raphoe as founded by Columba, repaired by Adamnan, and changed from an abbey to a cathedral by St. Eunan, "who is looked upon to be the first Bishop of the see"[k].

[a] *Aunan.* — Thus the name is pronounced at Skreen, in Sligo, where we have *Tober-awnaun* and *Drehid-aunan.*

[b] *Eunan.*—The Raphoe pronunciation.

[c] *Onan.*—Thus in the county of Londonderry, in the parish of Errigal, where we have *St. Onan's Rock* (Ord. Surv. s. 18); and in the spoken language through all that district of Glenuller. In Westmeath also we find *Syonan* (Ord. Surv. s. 31), which is formed from ꝑuıꝺe Aꝺaṁnaın, *sessio Adamnani.*—See Reeves's Colton, p. 81.

[d] *Tantan.*—Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club), p. 509.

[e] *Aboyne*—In the south of Aberdeenshire. See Collections of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 633.

[f] *Slains.*—On the east coast of Aberdeenshire, at Ythan Mouth. Forvey is called *Furni* in the reprint of the Breviary of Aberdeen, where it is also coupled with St. Adampnanus's name.—See Collections of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 388.

[g] *Forglen.* — In the north of Banff, separated from Aberdeenshire by the Doveran River. See Collect. of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 508.

[h] *Dull.*—In the north of Perthshire.

[i] *Killownane.*—See Orig. Par. Scot., vol. ii. p. 15.

[k] *See.*—Harris's Ware, vol. i p. 270.

And this misapprehension appears, even at a recent date, in the Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ, where the learned compiler observes of the first bishop of Raphoe, "St. Eunan is commonly reported to have erected the abbey church of Raphoe into a cathedral, and to have been its first bishop; but nothing certain appears to be known of him, nor of the time at which he lived"[l]. What is more remarkable, St. Eunan's day has been observed on the 7th of September, while St. Adamnan's was kept on the 23rd. Battersby's Catholic Directory for 1855 represents St. Eunan, the patron saint of Raphoe, as a *Bishop*[m], but of the famous individual called by Ven. Bede *Adamnan presbyter*[n], ὀνδεὶς λόγος. Such an error should not have been committed in the century, one of the ornaments of which had said: "I strongly suspect that St. Eunan, who is usually called the first bishop of Raphoe, was no other than Adamnan"[o].

Scottish writers are less in error. The Breviary of Aberdeen correctly places S. Adampnanus, Abbas, at Sept. 23[p]; Adam King and Dempster commemorate St. Thewnan[q], who is represented as preceptor of King Eugenius VI., at Sept. 23; and Keith, in like manner, only that he represents the saint by the name of Thennan[r]. The Scotch Prayer Book of 1638, in its Calendar, borrows the Irish error of making him a bishop, and places his day at Sept. 25. But T. Innes was aware of these inaccuracies, and spoke of Adamnan as "called by the vulgar S. Deunan or Theunan"[s].

Among English writers, Alban Butler[t] repeats Sir James Ware's mistakes; while Sir Harris Nicholas, gathering up the blunders of Ireland and Scotland, makes a tripartite division of Adamnan's sanctity, and sets out in his Calendar[u]—

Eunan, Bishop of Raphoe, ...	at Sept. 7;
Adamnan, Abbot, ...	at Sept. 23; and
Thennan, Abbot and Confessor, ...	at Sept. 23.

The variety of the name in early records consists only in the difference of Adamnan and Adomnan. Cod. A., in the four places where the word occurs, reads *Adomnanus*[v]; Cod. B. reads *Adamnanus* once[w], and *Adomnanus* twice[x]; Codd. C. F. S. vary in like manner; Cod. D. always reads *Adamnanus*. The title of the tract De Locis Sanctis[y]

[l] *Lived.*—Fasti Eccles. Hib. vol. iii. p. 347.

[m] *Bishop.*—Battersby's Catholic Directory, 1855, pp. 28, 91.

[n] *Presbyter.*—Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 15.

[o] *Adamnan.*—Lanigan, Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. p. 99.

[p] *Twenty-third.*—Calendar, ix. kl. Octobr.; Propr. SS., Part. Estiv., fol. 114 *b a*.

[q] *Thewnan.*—Adam King's Calendar, Sept. 23; Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scotor. tom. ii. p. 613.

[r] *Thennan.*—Scottish Bishops, p. 378 (Edinb. 1824).

[s] *Theunan.*—Civil and Eccles. History, p. 300.

[t] *Butler.*—Lives of the Saints, Sept. 23.

[u] *Calendar.*—Chronology of History, pp. 132, 147, 173.

[v] *Adomnanus.*—See *Var. Lect.* i. 1 (p. 16), 49 (p. 95), iii. 19 (p. 225), 23 (p. 238).

[w] *Once.*—Lib. i. c. 49, fol. 21 *a*. The text of i. 1, is wanting in B.

[x] *Twice.*—Lib. iii. 19, 23, fol. 61 *b*, 67 *b*.

[y] *Sanctis.*—Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iii. pt. 2, p. 456.

has *Adamnanus*. Among ancient writers, Ven. Bede reads *Adamnan* or *Adamnanus* six times[z]; while Alcuin[a] has *Adomnanus*. The Lives of SS. Fechin and Geraldus[b], Fordun[c], and the Breviary of Aberdeen, write the name with *a*. Among the Annalists, Tighernach[d] has *Adamnanus* three times, and *Adomnan* six; An. Ult.[e] read *Adomnan* always; An. Inisf.[f] *Adamnan* always; the Four Masters[g] Adamnan twelve times, and Adomnan once; the Annals of Boyle[h] *Adamnan;* and the Annals of Cambria[i] *Adomnanus*. The Vision of Adamnan[k] has Adamnan four times, and Adomnan once. The prose description of Tara in the Dinnseanchus[l] has Adomnan, the metrical Adamnan. Among the Calendars[m], the Felire, Marian Gorman, and O'Clery's read am; the Martyrol. Tamhlacht. om. Thus it is seen there is no fixed practice: however, as the etymology of the word favours the use of *a*, and as the substitution of *o* is probably to exhibit the phonetic value of the original vowel, it has been deemed advisable in the present work to adopt the form which has been printed in the text.

D.

(*See* i. 2, p. 20. "*Iouam insulam.*")

Ioua

ADAMNAN'S practice, with regard to the names of islands, is to put them in the adjective form agreeing with *insula*[n]: and thus he deals with Hy on the sixty occasions where he makes mention of it. In all these instances the unmistakeable reading in Cod. A. is *Ioua insula;* and the same prevails in Codd. C. F. S. The more modern manuscripts B. and D., which are less precise in orthography, and very loose in the

[z] *Six times.*—Hist. Eccl. iv. 25, v. 15, 21.

[a] *Alcuin.*—Epigram. cxlv. Opp. Tom. ii. vol. i. p. 219 *a* (Ed. Andr. Quercetani, 1777).

[b] *Fechin and Geraldus.*—Colgan, Act. SS. pp. 139 *a*, c. 47; 602 *a*, c. 15, 16.

[c] *Fordun.*—Scotichr. i. 6, iii. 27, 29, 38, 42, 49. In ii. 10, we find Sanda spoken of as "*Insula Awyn*, ubi cella Sancti Adamnani."

[d] *Tighernach.*—Adamnanus, An. 704, 727, 730; *Adomnan*, 624, 687, 689, 692, 695, 697.

[e] *Annals of Ulster.*—An. 623, 686, 691, 696, 703, 726, 729, 730, 835, 953, 1105.

[f] *Inisfallen.*—An. 617, 685, 693.

[g] *Masters.*—An. 684, 703, 725, 742, 830, 925, 927, 988, 1010, 1040, 1057, 1105. *Adomnan*, 936.

[h] *Boyle.*—Annales Buelliani, An. 657.

[i] *Cambria.*—An. 704, Monument. p. 833.

[k] *Vision of Adamnan.*—The title is Fir Adomnain incipit, but elsewhere in the tract there is the other reading. Leabhar Breac, fol. 127 *a*.

[l] *Dinnseanchus.*—See Petrie's Tara, pp. 112, 115.

[m] *Calendars.*—At St. Adamnan's day, Sept. 23.

[n] *Insula.*—Thus *Egea*, iii. 18 (p. 223); *Elena*, ii. 18 (127); *Ethica*, i. 19 (p. 48); *Hinbina*, i. 21 (p. 50); *Ilea*, ii. 23 (p. 134); *Malea*, i. 21 (p. 51), 41 (77); *Rechrea*, ii. 41 (164); *Sainea*, ii. 45 (179); *Scia*, i. 33 (p. 62), ii. 26 (p. 138), are all adjectives formed from the Irish names Eaz, Eilenn, Ee, hIombaet, Il, Mael, Rechra, Saina, and Sci.

distinction of *n* and *u*, always read *Iona;* but the probability is, that their writers either mistook[b] the name in the original, or desired to conform to a prevailing style.

That the word as it stands in Adamnan is an adjective, was suggested by Colgan—although, from a faulty transcript of Cod. A., he was led into the error of supposing *Iona* to be the correct form of it. He observes:—"A Tigernaco in Annalibus, Quatuor Mag. et aliis passim domesticis nostris Scriptoribus communiter *Ia*, et aliquando *Io*, et utrobique per unam syllabam, seu dipthongum, vocatur: et a dictione illa *Io*, derivatum reor adjectivum *Iona;* quod licet apud S. Cumineum, S. Adamnanum et alios priscos non legatur nisi per modum adjectivi, cum apud eos non legatur dictio *Iona* absque adjuncta voce *insula;* hinc usu postea evenit, ut pro substantivo proprioque illius nomine usurpetur. Nobis passim præfixa H, vocatur *Hia:* et parum refert sive *Hya;* sive *Iona* vocetur"[c].

Tighernach, the second native authority in whom a liberal use of the name is found, employs the form *Ia* twice[d]; on one of the occasions annexing the qualifying *Colaim-cille; Iae*, the genitive, governed by *abbas*, five times[e]; and *Ie*, in the same construction, four times[f]; *Iea* (if O'Conor's text can be relied on), after *abbas*, thirteen times[g]; *hIe*, once; *hI*, once[h]; and *Eo*, once[i].

The Annals of Ulster have the genitive *Iae*[k], governed by *insulam*, or *abbas*, thirty-six times; *Ia*[l], five times; *hI Coluim-cille*[m], twice; *I Choluim-cille*[n], once; *I*, once; and *Eoa*, agreeing with *civitate*, once[o].

[b] *Mistook.*—In court-hand and later manuscripts, the combining of minims is generally left *ad lib.* of the reader, who must be guided by the sense; but in proper names he is specially liable to mistake. It was owing to such defect that the old illumination of the *duæ auiculæ inter ramos* represented *two old hags in a tree.* St. Adamnan's church of Furvi is *Furni* in the reprint of the Breviary of Aberdeen, Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 114 *b a.* But these are clerical errors, and do not affect the unity of place, like the Hagioclept, who created islands to stow away his Irish captives: "Ludibrium enim omnibus Thomas Dempsterus debet, qui ex Hydestinati, Hu vel Hy, et Ionæ nominibus tres nobis effingit insulas." (Ussher, Wks. vol. vi. p. 240.) In the passage of Bede, "Monachus ipse episcopus Ædan, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hii destinatus," the old editions had *Hydestinatus*, and hence the island. Bede uses the word *destinatus* not only of Ædan, but his successor: "Successit vero ei in episcopatum Finan, et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus." (H. E. iii. 17.) And, of Bishop Colman: "Venit ad insulam Hii, unde erat ad prædicandum verbum Anglorum genti destinatus." (*Id.* iv. 4.)

[c] *Vocetur.*—Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga, p. 495 *b.*

[d] *Ia twice.*—Tighernach, An. 563, 574.

[e] *Five times.*—Tigh. An. 598, 623, 652, 707, 713.

[f] *Ie four times.*—Tigh. An. 634, 717 *bis*, 726.

[g] *Thirteen times.*—An. 605, 657, 669, 673, 679, 692, 710, 712, 715, 718, 722, 749, 754.

[h] *Once.*—*Hie*, An. 624; *Hi*, An. 980.

[i] *Eo once.*—An. 716. It is remarkable that Tigh. and the An. Ult. agree in employing at this place a form not used by them elsewhere.

[k] *Iae.*—An. 562, 597, 622, 623, 640, 651, 656, 668, 672, 678, 690, 703, 706, 709, 711, 712, 716 *bis*, 721, 723 *bis*, 748, 751, 753, 765, 766, 771, 781, 800, 805, 813, 814, 828, 848, 879, 890.

[l] *Ia.*—An. 863, 977, 1004, 1025, 1070.

[m] *Hi Coluim-cille.*—An. 801, 824.

[n] *I Choluim-cille.*—An. 985.

[o] *Once.*—*I*, An. 986; *Eoa civitate*, 715.

The Annals of Inisfallen have *Iae*[p], in the genitive, seven times; *Iae Coluim-cille*[q], three times; and *hIi*, once[r].

The Annals of Boyle also have *Ia*[s].

All these Annals contain mixed texts; that is, in which Latin and Irish are interwoven, and Irish names are occasionally subjected to Latin inflexion.

The Four Masters purport to exhibit a purely Irish text, but sometimes borrow the Latinized names from the earlier records. Thus, they have Iae after abb seventeen times[t]; Iae Coluim-cille after abb, twelve times[u]; Ia after abb, three times[v]; Ia Coluim-cille, once[w]; hI, five times[x]; hI Coluim-cille, three times[y]; hIae, once; and I Coluim-cille, once[z].

In the Calendars[a] of Marian Gorman, Tamlacht, and Donegal, we find the form Ia.

In many Irish narratives[b], however, and some of them preserved in very ancient manuscripts[c], we meet with hI and hIi; and these are the prevailing forms of the name among Irish writers.

Again, in Latin compositions, we observe considerable variety. Cummian addresses his Paschal Epistle, A. D. 634, "ad Segienum *Huensem* abbatem"[d], probably regarding *Hu* or *Hua* as his substantive. Cummine Ailbe, circ. 660, employs in his Life of St. Columba *Ioua insula*[e], the expression adopted by Adamnan. Ven. Bede, on the other hand, uses *Hii*[f]; from which he forms the adjective *Hiiensis*[g]. In like manner, *Ii* and *Hii* are found in the Saxon Chronicle[h]. Walafridus Strabo, circ. 831, using a form which, as has been observed, occurs once in Tighernach, designates the island as "Fluctivago suspensa salo, cognominis *Eo*"[i]. Hermannus Contractus[k] has *Hu*[l]. The Chronicle of Man[m], which is a much later production, has *Hy* and *Iona*.

[p] *Iae* —An. 616, 642, 693, 754, 781, 840, 968.

[q] *Iae Coluim-cille.*—An. 866, 877, 911.

[r] *Once.*—*Hii Coluim-cille*, An. 1009.

[s] *Ia.*—Annal. Buell. 541.

[t] *Times.*—An. 622, 654, 674, 714, 720, 747, 754, 762, 796, 797, 863, 877, 887, 935, 978, 1004, 1070.

[u] *Twelve times.*—An. 595, 601, 630, 668, 671, 677, 703, 716, 767, 810, 816, 1025.

[v] *Three times.*—An. 725, 945, 964.

[w] *Ia Coluimcille once.*—An. 976.

[x] *Five times.*—An. 572, 592, 979, 986, 1047.

[y] *Three times.*—An. 801, 823, 985.

[z] *I Coluim-cille once.*—An. 978.

[a] *Calendars.*—Jan. 11, Feb. 24, Mar. 2, 10, 11, 22, May 25, June 9 (hI also), 22, July 3, Aug. 12, Sept. 16, 23, Oct. 27, 28, Dec. 17.

[b] *Irish narratives.*—As the old Irish Life of St. Columba, preserved in four manuscripts; the original Irish of O'Donnell's Life; and Keating's History.

[c] *Ancient manuscripts.*—Such as the *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 21, 26. This MS., which is preserved in Trin. Coll. Dubl., is a thousand years old. *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 108 *b*, 109 *a*; *Leabhar Lecain*, fol. 183 *a*; Cod. H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl., pp. 391, 680; *Gloss to Feilire*, Oct. 27.

[d] *Abbatem.*—Ussher, Syll. Ep. xi. (Wks. iv. p. 432).

[e] *Ioua insula.*—Mabillon, Act. SS. Bened. Ord. tom. i. p. 343. Pinkerton gratifies his taste by changing the word to *Hyona* throughout.

[f] *Hii.*—H. E. iii. 3, 17, 21, iv. 4, v. 9, 15, 21, 22, 24 (an. 565).

[g] *Hiiensis.*—Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 15, 22.

[h] *Saxon Chronicle.*—An. 565, 716.

[i] *Eo.*—Canisius, Antiq. Lect. tom. vi. p. 572 Messingham, Florileg. Hib. p. 401.

[k] *Contractus.*—Obiit, an. 1054, ætat. 41.

In the biographies of various Irish saints, the dates of which are uncertain, but probably range from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, we find occasional mention of the island. In the Lives of SS. Aidus[n], Ciaran[o], Fintan[p], and Forannan[q], the usual name is *Hya;* in that of St. Columb of Tirdaglas[r], *Hi;* in St. Brendan's of Birr[s], *I;* in that of St. Cadroe[t], *Euea insula;* while the Lives of SS. Ruadhan[u] and Geraldus[v] employ the debased form of *Iona* and *Ionensis abbatia.* Colgan, being impressed with the notion, "mendose *Ioua* pro *Iona*"[w], has printed *Iona* in all the shorter Lives of his collection, as also in his abridgment of O'Donnell, although the reading was probably different in the originals.

Of Scottish authorities, the earliest is the Life of St. Kentigern[x], which has *insula Yi.* Monastic registers[y] have *Hii-coluimchille* and *Hy.* The first record where we find the name *Iona,* or *Yona,* is in an old catalogue of Scottish kings printed by T. Innes[z]. Fordun supposes it to be an adaptation of St. Columba's Hebrew name: "Insula I. vel Iona Hebraicè, quod Latinè columba dicitur, sive I Columkill"[a]. Elsewhere he calls it *Hy*[b], *Hii*[c], *I*[d], *I Columkyl*[e]; but *Iona*[f] is his favourite form.

In the monumental records of the island, we find *Y* to be the prevailing name. Thus: *Crux Lachlanni Mac Fingone et ejus filii Iohannis Abbatis de Hy*[g], *facta A. D.* 1489; *Fingonius Prior de Y*[h], *A. D.* 1492; *Hic jacent quatuor priores de Y*[i], *A. D.* 1500; *Prior de Y*[k]; *Hic jacet Ioannes Mac Fingone Abbas de Y*[l], *qui obiit A. D.* 1500; *Soror Anna Abbatissa de Y*[m]. There is but one exception, and that of a more recent date: *Hic jacet Domina Anna Donaldi Terleti filia, quondam Priorissa de Iona*[n], *quæ obiit anno* 1543. The Breviary of Aberdeen[o], printed in 1509–10, and adjusted a short

[l] *Hu.*—Chron. An. 565. *Huensis,* Orderic. Vitalis.

[m] *Man.*—*Hy,* 1187; *Iona,* 1228 (pp. 22, 31, ed. Johnstone).

[n] *Aidus.*—Vit. c. 39, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 422 *a.*

[o] *Ciaran.*—Cod. Marsh. fol. 148 *a a*; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 458 *a.*

[p] *Fintan.*—Vit. c. 22, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 353 *a*; Tr. Th. 460 *a.*

[q] *Forannan.*—Vit. c 4, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 336 *b.*

[r] *Tirdaglas.*—Vit. c. 29, Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 457 *b.*

[s] *Brendan of Birr.*—Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 462 *a*; Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Antiqq. c. 15 (Wks. vi. p. 240).

[t] *Cadroe.*—Vit. c. 5, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 495 *a.*

[u] *Ruadhan.*—Vit. c. 31, Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 461 *b.*

[v] *Geraldus.*—Vit. c. 16, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 602 *a.*

[w] *Iona.*—Trias Thaumaturga, p. 495 *b.*

[x] *Kentigern.*—Cap. 39, Pinkert. Vit. Ant. p. 281.

[y] *Registers.*—See Orig. Par. Scot. vol. ii. p. 284.

[z] *Innes.*—Critical Essay, Appendix, pp. 801–803.

[a] *I Columbkill.*—Scotichronicon, ii. 10; also i. 6.

[b] *Hy.*—Scotichronicon, iii. 24, 28.

[c] *Hii.*—Scotichronicon, iii. 30.

[d] *I.*—Scotichron. i. 6, iii. 26, 49, 56. *Insula Iensis, id.* iii. 44. *Monasterium Yense, id.* iii. 26.

[e] *I Columkyl.*—Scotichronicon, i. 6, iii. 51.

[f] *Iona.*—Scotichron. iii. 29, iv. 15, 41, 49.

[g] *Hy.*—Graham's Iona, p. 8, and Plate 8.

[h] *Prior de Y.*—Tombstone in Kirkapoll churchyard, island of Tiree. See Ulst. Jour. of Archæol. vol. ii. p. 241.

[i] *Y.*—Graham's Iona, p. 13, and Plate 18.

[k] *De Y.*—Graham's Iona, p. 17, and Plate 26.

[l] *Y.*—Graham's Iona, p. 20, and Plate 35.

[m] *Abbatissa de Y.*—Inscribed on the shaft of a beautiful monumental cross at Soroby churchyard in Tiree. Ulst. Journ. of Archæol. vol. ii. p. 239.

[n] *Iona.*—Graham's Iona, p. 25, and Plate 45.

[o] *Breviary of Aberdeen.*—Propr. SS. Part. Estiv.

time before, adopts the book-name *Yona*, or *Iona*. Still, however, the old forms *Icolmkill*, *Ycolmkill*, and *Ecolmkill*, were almost universally employed in legal documents[p]; while in vernacular use *Ee-choluim-chille* has, from time immemorial, been the only recognised name of the island among the Gaelic population.

A parish in Lewis, in the modern union of Stornoway[q], is called *Ey* or *Y*.

The conclusion, therefore, to be come to regarding *Iona* is, that it is a word which was suggested by an error in writing, and was confirmed by a supposed connexion with one of St. Columba's names; while the genuine form *Ioua* is to be regarded as an adjective with a feminine termination,—the root of which is *Iou*[r], like *Eo* of Tighernach and Walafridus, which was sounded in one syllable something like the English *yeo*. Thus Conall Macgeoghegan, in his old English version of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, writes the name *Hugh* (569, 590, &c.).

E.

(*See* i. 5, p. 29. "*Charybdis Brecani.*")

To the vivid description of the Coire-Brecain, which is given in Cormac's Glossary[a], may be added the following translation from the comment on the name in the ancient topographical work, the Dinnseanchus[b]:—

"*Coire Brecain, why so called.*—A great boiling cauldron which is situate between Erin and Alba, on the north: it is the confluence of many seas, from the west, from the east, from the south, and from the north; each pouring itself into the place of the other, until they are swallowed down to the bottom, and until it is like an open cauldron[c], sucking in and disgorging its draughts; so that its roaring is like to distant thunder. And it was into this that Brecan, the son of Partholan[d], was drawn, and was drowned, with his fifty boats, when he fled out of Erin from his father."

"It was there, too, that Brecan, son of Maine[e], son of Niall [of the Nine Hostages],

fols. 125 *a b*, 131 *b b*, 154 *b b*. But *yensis monasterii*, fol. 114 *b a*; *insula yensis*, fol. 115 *a a*. *Iona*, Propr. SS. Part. Hyemal. fol. 104 *a a*.

[p] *Legal documents.*—See the references in the Orig. Paroch. Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 284; Collectan. de Reb. Alban. pp. 1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 15–19.

[q] *Stornoway.*—Orig. Paroch. Scot. vol. ii. p. 381.

[r] *Iou.*—The *u* coincides in sound with the *o*, and both are to be pronounced short. Thus Adamnan latinizes the name *Fergna* by *Fergnouus* (iii. 19, p. 225), and elsewhere writes it *Fergno* (titul. p. 223), showing the equivalence of *a*, *o*, and *ou* in such terminations.

[a] *Glossary.*—See Reeves, Eccles. Antiqq. p. 289.

[b] *Dinnseanchus.*—Book of Lecan, fol. 253 *a*.

[c] *Cauldron.*—The metaphor only wants the ἐτάραξε τὸν πόντον, ὥσπερ τορύνην ἐμβαλὼν τὴν τρίαιναν, of Lucian.

[d] *Partholan.*—See Keating, History, vol. i. p. 164 (ed. Haliday).

[e] *Maine.*—Fourth son of Niall, ancestor of the chiefs of Teffia, ob. 440.

with fifty curachs, was engulphed, while on a trading expedition: where they were all drowned, and nothing of them survived but the tale of their destruction."

"A long time after, Columcille was passing through it, when the sea rose up in front, and discovered to him the bones of Brecan, son of Maine, son of Niall. Upon which Columcille said, 'That is friendly of thee, O aged Brecan,' &c."

The legend of St. Columba's adventure in this gulph is thus given in O'Donnell's narrative of the saint's return from Druim-ceatt:—

"Rebus itaque omnibus, propter quas advenerat, in Hibernia fœliciter peractis, Sanctissimus Pater navigationem versus Britanniam resumit. Et cum secundis spirantibus ventis ostia Euripi, *Loch-feabhuil*[f] vulgo dicti, esset prætergressus; navis incidit in vorticosam quandam charybdem, nautis et navigantibus formidabilem, quæ vulgo *Core Brecain*, id est, charybdis Brecani, appellatur; quia ibi ante annos multos Brecanus ex Manio filio Nielli Magni, Hiberniæ Regis, nepos, submersus interiit: cujus ossa super tumentes fluctus vir Sanctus conspicit elevari. Eaque Deo revelante agnoscens, ad socios ait: Illa sunt ossa Brecani cognati[g] nostri, quæ voluit Christus ita nobis ostendi, ut pro defuncti refrigerio, ac pro nostra a præsenti periculo liberatione simul apud Dominum intercedamus. Ac mox post brevem et ferventem precum instantiam obtinuit vir Beatus non solum se ac suos ab imminenti vitæ discrimine, sed et Brecani animam a purgatoriis pœnis liberari[h], quam et ad cœlestia gaudia vidit avolantem"[i].

The Life of St. Kieran, probably referring to the visit to Clonmacnois recorded at p. 23, *supra*, states that at its conclusion, "Accipiens S. Columba humum de sepulchro Sancti Kierani perrexit ad suam insulam Hyam. Cumque S. Columba in mari navigasset, orta est tempestas in mari, et navis trusa est ad Charibdem, qui locus *Corebreacayn* dicitur; in quo est vorago periculosissima marina, in qua, si qua navis intrat, non evadit. Et incipiens vorago navem ad se trahere; S. Columba partem de humo S. Kierani projecit in mare. Mirum valde dictu! illico tempestas aëris, motio fluctuum, vorago circuire, simul omnes cessaverunt, donec navis inde longè exivit"[k].

[f] *Loch-feabhuil.*—Lough Foyle, which runs up to Derry, and near the shore of which was Drum-ceatt.

[g] *Cognati.*—Conall Gulban, St. Columba's progenitor, was half-brother of Maine; and Brecan was first-cousin of St. Columba's grandfather. Concerning Aedh, great-grandson of Maine, see p. 23, *supra*.

[h] *Liberari.*—See Horace, Od. I. 28.

[i] *Avolantem.*—Vit. iii. 21, Trias Th. p. 434 *b*.

[k] *Exivit.*—Trias Th. p. 458 *a*; Cod. Marsh. fol. 148 *a a*.

F.

(*See* i. 6, p. 30; ii. 42, p. 166; iii. 17, p. 222. "*Cormacus Nepos Lethani.*")

Imacallaim Choluim cille acaſ Coſbmaic ınɔſo ınɔ hĺ ıaſ ɔeſnaṁ ɔon Choıſe ɔ́ſecaın, acaſ ıaſ ſıſıuɔ́ ınɔ aıccıúın anſoıſcnſɔaıǵh co ſuachɔ ınɔ uaſɔa.

Colam cɔcamaſ ſecıɔ.

Ɔıa ɔo ɔ́ſɔ́a a Coſbmaıc caın
Ɔaſſın ſaıſſǵı ſoſɔalaıǵh;
Cſɔ ımſulaıɔ́, caıſm ıɔaı
On ɔan bamaſ ſoſ oen chaoı.
Ɔa bliaɔaın mí ǵuſ a noɔ́ɔ
Uaıſ aɔ́ſa poſɔ a poſɔ
O ɔ́uınn ɔo ɔ́uınn, ɔſén an ɔſeoıſ,
Ic aɔ́ aſcnaṁ ınɔ aıccſoın.
Huaıſ poɔlaſa ınɔaſǵce ılle
Roɔ bıa caıſɔe ıſ comaıſle
Mınbaɔ Cſıſɔ conıcc bıɔ́ ban
Ɔleſɔa aıſ ıſ aɔcomſan.

Coſbmac.—Na ɔſnɔaſ aɔhcomſan ann
A hui Neill uaıſ ıɔ ſaeſclanɔ
Imɔeıɔ ın ǵſıan ɔ́ıaſ ıſ ɔoıſ
Ɔleǵaıſ ſıaɔ ſe ſıſ aeıɔıɔ́.

[1] *Cormac.*—The two poems which are here printed may not be genuine, but they are compositions of considerable antiquity, and indicate the early notions which existed in Ireland about Cormac's adventures, and his relation to St. Columba. Their titles are given in Colgan's list of St. Columba's reputed writings (Tr. Th. p. 472 *a*, *num.* 15, 16), and the copies of them which he used are preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, in a volume of manuscript collections made by Michael O'Clery. At the end of the former poem is a note stating that it was copied, Dec. 22, 1630, at Drobhais [the river Drowes, which separates Donegal from Leitrim] from the *New Book*, written by Maurice, son of Paidin O'Maolconaire. It was probably from the original employed by O'Mulconry, that O'Donnell borrowed the matter which he subjoins, in his Life of St. Columba, to the narrative of Cormac's voyages, ii. 64

Cormac Ua Liathain.

THE DIALOGUE OF COLUMCILLE AND CORMAC[a] IN HY, AFTER ESCAPING FROM THE COIRE BRECAIN[b], AND AFTER SEARCHING THE BOUNDLESS OCEAN, UNTIL HE REACHED THE COLD REGION, HERE FOLLOWS.

Colam first spoke.

Thou art welcome[c], O comely Cormac,
From over the all-teeming sea;
What sent thee forth; where hast thou been,
Since the time we were on the same path?
Two years and a month to this night
Is the time thou hast been wandering from port to port.
From wave to wave: resolute the energy,
To traverse the wide ocean!
Since the sea hath sent thee hither,
Thou shalt have friendship and counsel:
Were it not for Christ's sake, Lord of the fair world,
Thou hast merited satire and reproach.

Cormac.—Let there be no reproach now,
O descendant of Niall[d], for we are a noble race:
The sun shines in the west as in the east:
A righteous guest is entitled to reception.

(Tr. Th. p. 421 *a*). Both these poems are found also in a MS. of the Bodleian Library, Laud. 615 (pp. 34, 107), which contains a large collection of Irish poems, 136 in number, for the most part ascribed to St. Columba. They are nearly all of a later age, varying in their date, but abounding with very curious matter. The present text is printed from the beautiful copy made for the Rev. Dr. Todd, from the Brussels MS., by Mr. Eugene Curry, to whom the Editor is indebted for the interpretation of these ancient compositions.

[b] *Coire Brecain.*—See note on *Charybis Brecani*, i. 5 (p. 29), and p. 262, *supra*.

[c] *Thou art welcome.*—Literally 'God [be] your life.' Thus Dia do beaca a Mhuire is used by some for *Hail Mary*. Colgan renders this line "Bene venisti Cormace dilecte."

[d] *Niall.*—That is, Niall of the Nine Hostages.

Colam cille.—Foilci duic uair dotrala
Do connaib in ṁor mara:
Condigir flan ceill doc coig
A hui Liaṫain lainderglain.

Corbmac.—A Coluim cille a hui Cuind
heriu rar tartar mo druim
Noṫar tadel ṫiar na ṫoir
Uaṁain ifrinn ilriartaig.

Colum cille.—Cia fire an domhan huile
Thair ṫiar ṫír trái tuile
A deigmeic Dima din ngle
bid in Dirmaig thereṙge.

Corbmac.—Truag mo raeṫarra a mic Dé.
A athair na trocaire
A ndenim tar rale flán
Mar ind Eirind mo tiug dál.

Colum cille.—Ir fí mo cubhur gan col
'Snoca conagar meilliugad
Ferr ecc ind Eirind cín ail
Ina rir bítha ind Alpuin.

Corbmac.—Mar fírr bith ind Erind ain
Oldar ind Albain imlain
biatra ind Albuin ceṫ ra trell
Acar eirgriu itir nErenn.

Colum cille.—Noṫa coir in ni atbere
A Corbmaic co caemgloine
Impa deiriul eirce doc taig
Co Lairren mac Fíraḋoig.

Corbmac.—Meiri ir Lairren liṫ cin ail
Irat olca ar comaitig
Ele ir Delbna daltait raṫ
Hui Failge ir cenel Fiachaṫ.

[e] *Liathan.*—Hence the surname Ua Liathain. See i. 6 (p. 30), ii. 42 (p. 166), iii. 17 (p. 222).

[f] *Conn.*—Conn of the 100 Battles.—Flor. circ. 180.

[g] *Dima.*—See Cormac's pedigree, p. 166, *supra.*

[h] *Right*—See Petrie's Tara, p. 198; p. 250, *supr.* A place near the church of Derry was called *Iomopodh-desiol.*—O'Don. i. 50 (Tr. Th. p. 397 *b*).

[i] *Feradhach.*—See i. 12 (p. 40), 29 (p. 57).

Columcille.—Thou art welcome, since thou hast come,
From the waves of the mighty sea:
Hast thou for ever abandoned thy home,
Thou descendant of the illustrious Liathan[e]?

Cormac.—O Columcille, descendant of Conn[f],
Erin, on which I have turned my back,
I shall not touch in the west or east,
Any more than the monster-full pit of hell.

Columcille.—Though thou travel the world over,
East, west, south, ebb, flood,
Thou noble son of high-born Dima[g],
It is in Durrow thy resurrection shall be.

Cormac.—Alas! for my labour, O Son of God,
Thou Father of all mercies,
And all my work beyond the full brine,
If my last end shall be in Erin!

Columcille. I pledge thee my unerring word,
Which it is not possible to impugn,
Death is better in reproachless Erin,
Than perpetual life in Alba.

Cormac.—If it is better to be in noble Erin
Than in inviolate Alba,
I shall be in Alba by turns,
And go thou into Erin.

Columcille.—That which thou sayest is not meet,
O Cormac of spotless purity:
Turn on thy right[h], go to thy home,
Unto Laisren, son of Feradhach[i].

Cormac.—I and Laisren of untarnished lustre,
Bad are our joint neighbours;
Eile[k] and Delbhna[l] will yield us gifts,
Ui Failghe[m], and Cenel Fiachach[n].

[k] *Eile.*—A territory which comprehended the present baronies of Eliogarty and Ikerrin in Tipperary, with an adjacent part of King's County.

[l] *Delbhna.*—There were various tribes in Ireland called by this name. The present was probably that which gave name to Delvin in Westmeath.

[m] *Ui Failghe.*—A race deriving their name from Ros Failghe. Their territory, anglicized *Offaley*,

Colum cille.—Bratair damra riut a tuaid
Clanna Colmain cloidfim ruaid
Nocam tiecfet ar nad cor
'Sni lecfit mo rapucchod.

Corbmac.—Mad tura rfin no beid ann
Ni taraigfit nach nedtrann
Na ri na ridamna rel
Na raer na daer na dichell.

Colum cille.—Tura a Corbmaic comal ngle
Mairce duine not raraigfe
Olc luag dom bia dara chenn
Gairdi raegail ir ifrenn
Sceptar fri hCrind aird ain
Ni faicfit cli na congbail.

Corbmac.—A Cholaim cille cit grfrr
Uair it fath it firecceir
At rui it rcriburig ruairc rlan
It cruimter crfdail comlan
It mac righ no ruamnaid gail
It ogh ir it ailidir
Tarrfam tiar dia rir aler
Ifraid Crirt cain a cogler.

Colum cille.—A Corrmaic ir caem do chell
Idir liubrae acar legend
Cadair crfdlach co cit crorr
Cin elned cin imarbarr.
Rort noebda nfrtfait mo rainn
Raithche Aeda mic brenainn
Dairmag Ruir Grenda gairm ngle
Ind aidchi diamad ailidre
Lin a rruide rlid ro ria
Ni fittir adt an taen Dia.

included portions of Kildare, Queen's County, and King's County.

[n] *Cinel Fiachach.*—See note [b], p. 153, *supra.*

[o] *Clann Colman.*—The descendants of Colman Mor, second son of Diarmait Mac Cerbhail.

[p] *King-making.*—Rig-bainna, *regia materies*, one eligible to royalty. See O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 58; O'Brien, Ir. Dict. voc. Dainna.

[q] *Habitation.*—From congbail, which is compounded of con, 'together,' and baile, 'a house,'

Columcille.—My cousins are by thee on the north,
The Clann Colman[o] of reddened swords;
They will not abandon me on any account,
Nor will they permit outrage on me.

Cormac.—Wert thou there thyself,
No stranger should insult thee;
No king, nor apparent king-making[p],
Nor bond, nor free, nor secret.

Columcille.—O Cormac, of powerful strength,
Woe to him who shall do violence to thee;
Evil shall be the reward he shall receive,
Shortness of life, and hell;
From high exalted Erin shall he be cut off;
Nor shall he be left roof or habitation[q].

Cormac.—O Columcille of a hundred graces,
For, thou art a prophet, thou art a true poet,
Thou art learned, a scribe, happy, perfect,
And a devout accomplished priest;
Thou art a king's son[r] of reddened valour,
Thou art a virgin, thou art a pilgrim:
We shall abide in the west if thou desire it:
Christ will unfold his mysterious intentions.

Columcille.—O Cormac, beautiful is thy church,
With its books, and learning;
A devout city with a hundred crosses,
Without blemish, without transgression;
A holy dwelling confirmed by my verse,
The green[s] of Aedh, son of Brenann[t],
The Oak-plain of far-famed Ros-grencha[u]:
The night[v] upon which her pilgrims collect,
The number of her wise,—a fact wide spread,—
Is unknown to any but the only God.

comes *Conwall*, the name of a parish in Donegal.

[r] *King's son.*—The old Irish Life says: Toich do rige n-Erenn iar cenel acar cairur co minar leced fen uada ar Dia, 'He had an option of the sovereignty of Erin, in right of ancestry, and would have taken it if he himself had not put it from him, for the sake of God.'

[s] *Green.*—See note [r], p. 98, *supra.*

[t] *Brenann.*—See note [b], p. 23, *supra.*

[u] *Ros-Grencha.*—An ancient name of Durrow.

Colamcille cecinit dia tudcaid Corbmac cuicce ar a tír.

Corbmac hua Liatain lí glan
Gerait nimhe acar talmhan
Taimicc ar a tír thír the
Fri hoigi fri hailitre.

Da nag nallaid ard a nórsch
Tuccrat in cleirech craibdech
Andír o Lui letain luind
Co croir Corbmaic hi cCaindruim.

Druimcain ainm na telcha ar tuir
Forrata Dairmaig dia nimtur
Dairmach a ainm anora
Crich Conaill i Fergora.

An trat ruacht an fír blait bind
Co croir Corbmaic icon cill
Ann ro benad in clocc cain
Sunn im catraig Catamail.

Celebrair an rui ruairc rain
Corbmac mac Dima delb glain
Co tanccamar ara chend
Ar rínad craibdech coimtend.

Mo cín duit rund ruairc do drsch
A Corbmaic uair it craibdech
Do tictain co luat alle
Cian o ro bai in tairngire.

Tairir rund uair it roi rian
A Corbmaic co clu comlan
Gurab tu coimetaig coir
Ber im catraig crídal moir.

[a] *Night.*—The eve of the Patron day, June 21.

[a] *Bright.*—See Colgan (Tr. Th. p. 472 *a*). The scene of this dialogue seems to be laid at Durrow.

[b] *Wild oxen.*—Irish saints are frequently represented as drawn by *boves indomiti*. See *Boves* in the Index Moralis of Colgan's Acta Sanctorum; Trias Thaum. p. 168 *a*; Reeves' Eccl. Ant. p. 378.

[c] *Lui.*—The river Lee in Munster, which flows

COLAMCILLE CECINIT, WHEN CORMAC CAME TO HIM FROM HIS OWN COUNTRY.

Cormac, offspring of Liathan, of aspect bright[a],
The champion of heaven and of earth,
Came out of his southern, warm country,
Upon a visit, upon a pilgrimage.

Two wild oxen[b] of noble appearance
Conveyed the devout cleric
From the south, from the broad rapid Lui[c],
To Cormac's cross at Caindruim.

Druim-cain[d] was the first name of the height
Where Dairmagh stands, according to history:
Dairmagh[e] is its name now;
The country of Conall offspring of Fergus.

When the blooming sweet man had arrived
At Cormac's cross at the church,
Then rang the soft toned bell
Here at Catamael's[f] city.

That pleasant divine then celebrated service,
Cormac, son of the noble-faced Dima;
And to meet him came together
Our devout, stedfast congregation.

Thou art welcome here, thy face is pleasant,
O Cormac, since thou art devout:
Thy coming hither with speed
Was a long time since foretold.

Abide here, for thou art a perfect divine,
O Cormac, of character unbroken,
That thou mayest be the proper guardian,
That shall be in my devout city.

past Cork, is called Luoi in Keating (i. 168), and the Four Mast. (1600). Another name was *Sabhrann.*

[d] *Druim-cain.*—That is, *Dorsum amænum.* Caendruim was the old name of Ushnagh Hill in Westmeath; and Druim-caoin, of Tara.

[e] *Dairmagh.*—See note [b], p. 23, *supra.*

[f] *Catamael.*—The only Cathmael who appears in books of reference is S. Cadoc, who bore this name.

Corbmac.—Cionnar bíṫra runḋ ar re
A ṁic alainn Ḟelemée
Ḃeir tuata in tuairceirt truim
Irin coicchrichri a Choluim.

Colum cille.—Coirccriu ceċ miḋlaċ ceċ mír
Ceċ noic tiġírn bur ecen
Ir coirccḟeṫra in riġraiḋ reil
Inḋ occur inḋ eiṫircein.

Ḋenam iarraṁ ar naentaiḋ
Mar ro chinḋ Crirt co coecraib
Cen a tairbrud co braċ mban
Ḋun a Corbmaic hui Liaṫain.

Nairc ḟor orḋain mo laṁa
A Corbmaic co mert ngraḋa
Corraib ar noenta uallaċ
Cein bír Ḋairmaċ ḋaṫbuaḋach.

Ir ḟuaċtnach ro ḟerair ḟrim
Minib ḋeoin ḋo riġ na rind
Talluir ḋim m'orḋain uile
A ḋíġnaoiḃ a ḋíġ ḋuine.

Ġer ro ba ḟrim a Muimniġ
A Corbmaic co ceill cuimniġ
Irtait coin allta ḋo corp
Irin eċt cin aṫċoṁarc.

Corbmac.—Cert imḋa aġo mo ċuirp
Ar Corbmac eirt Cairil Cuirc
Biaiḃ cell im ceċ naġu ḋiḃ
Biat líṫra a Coluim cloċ min.

Colum cille.—Ir eol ḋaṁra ni biar ḋe
Ḋom tírccaḋ ḋom timḋibe
M'orḋan la m'orḋain in chill
Cenmarar eirriu imrind.

[1] *Fedhlim.*—See Præf. 2 (p. 8) *supra.*

[2] *Thumbs.*—Whatever be the allusion here, the next two verses represent the mutual maiming of their hands. *Ath-na-hordoige*, that is, 'Vadum Pollicis,' near Aghanloo, in the county of Londonderry, derived its name from St. Columba's thumb. —O'Donnell, i. 100 (Tr. Th. p. 405 *b*).

[3] *Momonian.*—The tribe Ua Liathain, from which

Cormac.—How can I be here, said he,
Thou noble son of Fedhlim[g],
Among the powerful northern tribes,
In this border territory, O Colum?

Columcille.—Restrain all subordinates, all rash ones,
All chieftains, who require it;
And I will restrain all actual kings,
All those present and at a distance.

Let us therefore form our union,
As Christ has ordained, in the flesh;
Not to be dissolved till the judgment-day,
By us, O Cormac, offspring of Liathan.

Bind upon the thumbs[h] of my hands,
O Cormac of many dignities,
The coils of our noble union,
As long as beautiful-coloured Dairmagh shall last.

Perversely hast thou attacked me,
If it be not willed by the King of heaven;
Thou hast taken off from me all my thumb,
O good saint, O good man.

Sharply hast thou attacked me, O Momonian[i],
O Cormac, of memorable sense;
Wolves shall eat thy body,
For this deed, without any mercy.

Cormac.—Though many be the joints of my body,
Said Cormac the just, from Corc's Cashel[k],
There shall be a church for every one of them,
And they shall all be yours, O fair-famed Colum.

Columcille.—I well know what will be the result
Of cutting me, of mutilating me:
Mine honour shall rest with my thumb in my church,
As long as pointed Erin shall exist.

Cormac came, inhabited a tract in the modern county of Cork. See p. 166, *supra*.

[k] *Corc's Cashel.*—Corc, son of Lughaidh, was sixth in descent from Oilill Olum, whose cairiol, or stone fortress, obtained, and has since borne, *par excellence*, the name of Cashel. See O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 382; Keating, Hist. i. p. 136 (ed. Haliday); O'Donovan's Book of Rights, p. 28.

Cuinnig dambra cain oc cloind
A hui Oilella Aulaim
Ar na tardarra digail
For huib Liathain lan brigaig.

Corbmac.—Rot bia rerepall ced cathraig.

Colum cille cecinit.

Doba mellach a mic mo Dhe
Turgnam tar tuind tibri ndilenn
Tar Mag neolairg, rech beind eigniig
Mar no cluinfemir ceól cubaidh
Sluag na failend porrat failtach
Dia roirit port na frrg failtech
Rom lin maith indeccmair Erenn
A tir naineoil conam tarla
Truag an tupur do radad oram
Ni ma ndschur bud deini
Fa mangenar do mag Dima
Airm a cluinfidsi a nDurmaigh
Fuaim na goiti rir in leman
Longaire luin duibh conati
Ertecht co moch i Ror grenchai
Coiccsttal na ccuach don fiodbaid
Treide ar dili lim ro faccbur
Durmag, Daire, tir nard naingleth
Do gradaigsi iatha si Erenn
Mo chairt co Comgall feirr re Caindech

aidble remend
co hiath nErenn.
tar Loch Febail
'cur na helaibh.
re reinm runtach
in Derg Druccach.
dia rum coimrech
taidhiuir toirrech.
a ri ruine
do cach Cuili.
don chill crsolaig
mian le menmain.
ardor reti
ar mben a eti.
ririn damraid
ar bruach ramraid.
ar bith buidnech
ir tir Luigdech.
act a hellach
do bad meallach.

[l] *Oilill Olum.*—King of Munster, ob. 234.

[m] *City.*—The original seems defective.

[a] *Delightful.*—This poem is added from the same collection, as having reference to Cormac.

[b] *Magh-n Eolary.*—Probably a poetical name for the part of Lough Foyle, near Derry. The Book of Armagh speaks of *Ard-Eolorgg* in this neighbourhood (*f.* 15 *a b*); the An. Ult., *Ard-Eolairgg* (562); and the Four Mast., *Carn Eolairg* (557). O'Donnell describes *Carraig-Eolairg* as "prominentem mari rupem," near Derry (i. 56, Tr. Th. p. 398 *b*); to which Colgan adds, "ad marginem Eurypi Feuolii" (Tr. Th. p. 450 *a*, n. 49).

[c] *Ben-Eigny.*—Probably beann Foidne, now *Benyevenagh*, a conspicuous mountain brow over Lough Foyle, in the parish of Tamlaght-Ard, which

Procure for me tribute from thy race,
O thou descendant of Oilill Olum[1],
That I may not visit vengeance
On the virtuous posterity of Liathan.

Cormac.—Thou shalt receive a screball from every city[m].

COLUMCILLE CECINIT.

It were delightful[a], O Son of my God, with a moving train,
To glide o'er the waves of the deluge fountain, to the land of Erin;
O'er Moy-nEolarg[b], past Ben-Eigny[c], o'er Loch Feval,
Where we should hear pleasing music from the swans[d].
The hosts of gulls would make joyful, with eager singing,
Should it reach the port of stern rejoicers, the Dewy Red[e].
I am filled with wealth, without Erin, did I think it sufficient,
In the unknown land of my sojourn, of sadness and distress.
Alas, the voyage that was enjoined me, O King of secrets,
For having gone myself to the battle of Cuil[f].
How happy the son of Dima[g], of the devout church,
When he hears in Durrow, the desire of his mind,
The sound of the wind against the elms, when 'tis played,
The blackbird's joyous note, when he claps his wings:
To listen at early dawn in Ros-Grencha[h], to the cattle;
The cooing of the cuckoo from the tree, on the brink of summer.
Three objects I have left, the dearest to me, on this peopled world,
Durrow, Derry, the noble angelic land, and Tir Luighdech[i].
I have loved Erin's land of cascades, all but its government.
My visit to Comgall, and feast with Cainnech, was indeed delightful.

is noticed in the Dinnsenchus, as called after Foibhne, son of Tairchealtan, who was slain here in the reign of Eochaidh Ailtleathan, A. M. 4788 (Lib. Lecan. f. 453 *b b*); and in the Acts of the Synod of Rathbresail (Cambrens. Evers. vol. ii. p. 785, Reprint).

[d] *Swans.*—"B. Comgallus cum discipulis suis juxta littus stagni *Feabhail* viderunt cygnos natantes et dulciter cantantes super aquas."—Vit. S. Comgalli, c. 35 (Flem. Collect. p. 310 *a*).

[e] *Dewy Red.*—This seems to be the name of his curach. That in which he first crossed to Scotland was called *Liath Bhailidh.*

[f] *Cuil.*—Cul-Dreimhne. See p. 247, *supra.*

[g] *Dima.*—That is, Cormac. See p. 266, *supra.*

[h] *Ros-Grencha.*—Durrow. See p. 270, *supra.*

[i] *Tir Luighdech.*—See note [c], p. 192, *supra.*

G.

(*See* ii. 39, p. 162. "*In uno meorum monasteriorum.*")

In Præf. 2, St. Columba is styled "monasteriorum pater et fundator," in reference to the numerous churches which were founded, either by his disciples, or by himself directly. Again, in ii. 46 (p. 184), mention is made of his "monasteria intra utrorumque populorum [sc. Pictorum et Scotorum Britanniæ] terminos fundata." In the old Irish Life the number of his churches is stated as very great, Tri ceo do poraind cen mannaip, 'three hundred he marked out, without defect;' an amount which, even after the most liberal allowances for poetry, round numbers, and panegyric, will leave a very considerable residuum.

The following is a catalogue of Irish churches, either which were founded by him, or in which his memory was specially venerated; but it by no means pretends to be a complete enumeration:—

1. Durrow.—Anciently Ror gpencha. It is called in Adamnan by its Irish name *Dair-mag*, but more frequently by a Latin equivalent, *Roboreti Campus*, *Roboris Campus*, *Roboreus Campus*[a]. For the history of its foundation, see p. 23, *supra*. It was among the earliest and most important, but not the most enduring, of St. Columba's foundations in Ireland. The old Irish Life calls it pecleр, 'abbey church,' and mentions the name of Colman Mor, the second son of King Diarmait, in connexion with it. A sculptured cross, called *St. Columkille's Cross*, stands in the churchyard; and near it is *St. Columkille's Well*[b]. The most interesting relique of the abbey is the beautiful Evangeliarium, known as the Book of Durrow, a manuscript approaching, if not reaching, to the Columbian age, and now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. See note M, *infra*. An ancient Irish poem remains[c], professing to have been composed by St. Columba on the occasion of his departure from Dearmagh for the last time. In reference to the early administration of which, we find in it the following verses:—

Inmain an moipreipep maiṫ
Doppaeġa Cpipc na apdṫlaiṫ
Dia naiṫnim im gloine a mbep
Sip coiṁſc punn im peġlep.

Beloved the excellent seven,
Whom Christ has chosen to his kingdom;
To whom I leave, for their purity,
The constant care of this my church.

Aca cpiap dib̃ punn ipup
Corbmac mac Dima ip Oenġup
Acap Collan cpide glain
Do deaḃaiḋ ina naentaidh.

Three of whom are here at this side,
Cormac son of Dima[d], and Ængus,
And Collan[e] of pure heart,
Who has joined himself to them.

[a] *Campus.*—See Index, voc. *Dair-mag.*

[b] *Well.*—Ord. Survey, King's County, sheet 9.

[c] *Remains.*—Brussels MS.; and Cod. Laud. 615 (Bodleian Library), p. 105.

Libren, Senan, Conraich cain
Mac hui Chen, is a brathair
Is he in cethar ar mocha
Do roiret an nineora.

Libren[f], Senan, comely Conrach[g],
The son of Ua Chein[h], and his brother[i],
Are the four, besides the others,
Who shall arrive at this place.

Is he rin na recht tuirid
Is is he na recht ruirigh
Dia ro erb dia cen mebail
Airirem ind aen telaidh.

They are the seven pillars,
And they are the seven chiefs,
Whom God has surely commanded
To dwell in the same abode.

2. Derry.—Formerly *Daire-Calgaich*[k], as in Adamnan, who also gives the Latin interpretation *Roboretum Calgachi*[l]. For an account of the foundation, see p. 150, *supra*. The original church was called the *Dubh-regles*, 'Black-church,' to which there is reference in the ancient lines cited by Tighernach :—

Teora bliadna bai cen lerr
Colum in a Duib regleirr
Luid co h-ainglu ar a cacht
Iar recht m-bliadna rechtmogad.

Three years, without light, was
Colum in his Black Church:
He passed to angels from his body,
After seven years [and] seventy.

This church, like the *Sabhall* at Saul and Armagh, is recorded to have stood north and south; and the remains of it, which existed in 1520, were referred to by O'Donnell in proof of the fact[m]. In the fourteenth century it was called the *Cella Nigra de Deria*[n]. Its Round Tower was standing in the seventeenth century, but the only local record of its existence now remaining is the name of the lane which leads to its site, *the Long Steeple*. It is deserving of notice that Fiachadh, son of Ciaran, son of Ainmire, son of Sedna, whose death is recorded by Tighernach at 620, is described by the annalist as *alius fundatorum Daire Calgaich*. He was nephew of Aedh, son of Ainmire, the reputed founder. This entry, and the authorities cited at p. 160, *supra*, are sufficient to vindicate O'Donnell's statements, concerning the donation of Derry, from the objections urged in the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore[o]. This admirable work, how-

[d] *Cormac, son of Dima.*—That is, Cormac Ua Liathain. See p. 166, *supra*.

[e] *Collan.*—Probably *Calmaan* of p. 247, *supra*.

[f] *Libren.*—The Calendars, at Mar. 11, commemorate "Libren, abbot of Ia Coluimcille and Tamlacht-Librein." See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 584.

[g] *Conrach.*—This is the "Conrius Moccucein qui sepultus est in Daurmaig" of p. 247, *supra*. The concurrence of these two testimonies is remarkable in the case of a person whose name is not found in the Calendars, Annals, or other authority now accessible. An undesigned coincidence such as this invests both with great historical credit.

[h] *Son of Ua Chein.*—The same as *Mocc-u-Cein*, in p. 247, *supra*.

[i] *Brother.*—Probably Aidanus, of p. 247, *supra*.

[k] *Daire-Calgaich.*—See ii. 39 (p. 160) *supra*.

[l] *Roboretum Calgachi.*—See i. 2 (p. 19), 20 (p. 50) *supra*.

[m] *Fact.*—Vit. S. Col. i. 17 (Tr. Th. p. 398 *b*).

[n] *Deria.*—See Reeves' Colton, pp. 20, 56.

[o] *Templemore.*—See p. 18 (Dublin, 1837).

ever, will always, and deservedly, be cited as the highest authority on the history of Derry, and will couple with the name of that ancient city, and the Ordnance Survey, as the quickening cause, the revival in Ireland of genuine antiquarian research.

3. Kells.—The Irish name is Cenannuſ, which signifies 'Head-abode,' and gives the title of *Headfort* in the Irish, and *Kenlis* in the British Peerage, to the family of Taylor, whose seat is beside the town of Kells. *Kenlis* is the transition form of the name. The site of the monastery was anciently known as *Dun-chuile-sibrinne*[p], and the surrounding territory was called *Magh-Seirigh*[q]. It is situate in the north-west of the county of Meath, and gives name to a parish. The old Irish Life, followed by O'Donnell, states that in St. Columba's time it was the royal *dun* or seat of Diarmait Mac Cerbhaill, and adds: "Colum-cille then marked out the city in extent as it now is, and blessed it all, and said that it would become the most illustrious possession he should have in the land, although it would not be there his resurrection should be." O'Donnell[r] observes that Diarmait granted it to the saint in amends for injuries which he had done to him, and that his son Aedh Slane was a consenting party. If a church was founded here by St. Columba, it must have been an inconsiderable one, for there is no mention of the place in the Annals as a religious seat until 804, when, on account of the dangers and sufferings to which the community of Hy were exposed, measures were taken for the provision of an asylum in Ireland; and, as the Annals of Ulster state, Tabaiṙt Ceanannṙa cen chaṫ do Cholum chille ceolach hoc anno, 'Kells was given, without battle, to Columkille the harmonious, in this year.' In furtherance of which there was commenced, in 807, the *Constructio nove civitatis Columbe cille* hi [in] *Ceninnus;* and in 814, *Ceallach abbas Iae, finita constructione templi Ceninsa, reliquit principatum, et Diarmicius alumpnus Daigri pro eo ordinatus est.* From this time forward it became the chief seat of the Columbian monks. There are several indications of the ancient importance of the place still remaining, such as the fine Round Tower[s], about ninety feet high, which stands in the churchyard; the curious oratory called 'St. Columkille's House;' the ancient cross in the churchyard, having on the plinth the inscription, CRUX PATRICII ET COLUMBE; a second cross, now standing near the market-place; and a third, once the finest, now lying in a mutilated condition in the churchyard. The shafts of all these crosses were covered with historical representations from Scripture. Trinity College, Dublin, possesses its great literary monument commonly known as the 'Book of Kells.' It is an Evangeliarium somewhat resembling the Book of Durrow, but far surpassing it in the brilliancy and elaborateness of its execution. See note M, *infra*. In the tenth and following centuries

p *Dun-chuile-sibrinne.*—Four Masters, An. Mund. 3991. There was a place called *Cuil-Sibrilli* near Cul-Dremhne.—MS. H. 2, 16 (Trin. Coll. Dubl.), p. 810.

q *Magh Seirigh.*—Four Masters, A. D. 738.

r *O'Donnell.*—Vit. S. Col. i. 60, 64; iii. 75. Tr. Th. p. 399 *b*, 400 *a*, 445 *b*.

the families of *Ua h Uchtain* and *Ua Clucain* furnished, successively, a large proportion of the chief officers of this church, the occupation of its lands having probably become hereditary in their clans.

4. Tory.—Formerly Torach, that is, 'Towery,' from the *torrs* or pinnacles of rock by which the island is characterized. Sometimes it is called Tor-inis, the name by which, strange to say, the Irish designate St. Martin's church of Tours. It is situate off the north coast of Donegal, in the barony of Kilmacrenan, and diocese of Raphoe, opposite the maritime tract known as the Tuatha, or 'territories,' of Mac Swyne. There are many traces of antiquity[t] here, but the most remarkable is the Round Tower, fifty-one feet high, which was the nucleus of an old monastic establishment. In 617, according to Tighernach, "Torach was laid waste [*occisio Torchae*, An. Ult.], when its primitive church was probably destroyed, for in 621 the same annalist records, *Hoc tempore constructa est ecclesia Toraidhe*, which the Four Masters (An. 616) interpret, 'The church of Torach was covered in, having been destroyed some time before.' St. Ernan, son of Colman, fifth in descent from Eoghan, son of Niall, was its first abbot. His day is Aug. 17. A St. Damongoch, of the same race, is also mentioned in the Naemhseanchus as a pilgrim of Torach. The herenachs of this church were, in after times, of the family of O'Robhartaich, or O'Roarty.

5. Drumcliff.—Formerly Druim cliabh, situated a little to the north of Sligo, in the barony of Carbury, and diocese of Elphin. A portion of its Round Tower remains in proof of its ancient consequence. The old Irish Life, followed by O'Donnell, mentions St. Mothoria as its first abbot under the founder[u]. This name occurs in the Calendar at the 9th of June. The herenachy of the church became limited in the eleventh century to the family of O'Beollain, commonly called O'Boland.

6. Swords.—Known by the natives as Sord, or, with the founder's name, Sord-Choluim-chille. It is situated in the diocese and county of Dublin, about seven miles north of the metropolis, in the territory of which mention has been made by Adamnan as *Ard-Ceannachta*. St. Finan Lobhar, of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian, who gave name to the territory, is said to have been placed over the church by St. Columba[v]. He is commemorated at Mar. 16. The foundation of this church is ascribed by the old Irish Life, and O'Donnell its copyist[w], to our saint, whose memory is vividly preserved in the parish[x]. The Round Tower, surmounted by a cross, marks the site of the

[t] *Round Tower.*—Called cloicteach Cheannanra, 'belfry of Kenannus,' An. Ult. 1076.

[t] *Antiquity.*—See the very interesting series of papers on this Island by Edmund Getty, Esq., of Belfast, which appeared in the Ulst. Journ. of Archæol. vol. i. pp. 27–37, 106–116, 142–158.

[u] *Founder.*—O'Donnell, i. 60, Tr. Th. p. 399 *b*.

[v] *Columba.*—See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 627.

[w] *Copyist.*—O'Donnell, i. 67, Tr. Th. p. 400 *b*.

[x] *Parish.*—See the account of the Prebend of Swords in Mason's History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, p. 48.

ancient church. A square tower, which belonged to the old parish church, stands close to the Round Tower, between it and the modern church, with which it is unconnected.

7. Raphoe.—In Irish Rath-both. St. Adamnan or Eunan is the reputed patron, but the foundation of the church is ascribed to St. Columba by an ancient poem, and the old Irish Life, with O'Donnell, and others. It is situate in the county of Donegal, and gives name to the barony and diocese. It had, in the early part of the seventeenth century, a Round Tower, which Sir James Ware represents as "built on a hill, in which the bishops of Raphoe formerly kept their studies," but it had been demolished before his time[y]. It is deserving of mention that, in 1635, King Charles I. wrote to John Lesley, Bishop of Raphoe, in reference to his predecessor, Andrew Knox, stating that "Andro late bischop of Rapho did without just caus or any warrant from our late royall father or ws, carie with him two of the principal bells that wer in Icolmkill and place them in some of the churches of Rapho;" and requiring him to deliver unto the present bischop of the Yles these two bells for the use of said Cathedral Church[z].

8. Kilmore.—The *Cella Magna Deathrib* of Adamnan, and the Cill-mor dithrib of the Irish. See note, p. 99, *supra*. The Calendars commemorate Fedhlimidh, in connexion with this church, at Aug. 9; and at the same day the "Four sons of Dioman of Cill-mor-dithrubh." Fedhlimidh, according to Ængus, was son of Deidiu, daughter of Trena, son of Dubthaigh Ui Lugair; and brother of Dega Mac Cairill of Iniskeen.

9. Lambay.—Anciently Rechra, and called *Rechrea insula* by Adamnan. See p. 164, *supra*. It has belonged to Christ Church, Dublin, from a very remote period[a]. In the earliest grant, circ. 1038, it is called *Rechen;* and Portrane, the parish to which it is attached, is called *Portrahern*, a corruption of Port-Rechrainn. In 1204 the same places appear under the names *Lambay* and *Portrachelyn*. There is a poem on Rechra ascribed to St. Columba, in the Laud MS.[b]; and in another composition of the same collection the saint is described as visiting his churches from Sliabh Fuaid to Leinster, and from Ath-Feine [in Westmeath] to Rachra.

10. Moone.—Formerly Maein, and Maein Choluim-chille. It is situate in the county and diocese of Kildare, in the barony of Kilkea and Moone. The foundation of the church is ascribed in the old Irish Life to St. Columba, and his memory has always been held in great veneration in the parish. An ancient sculptured cross stands in the churchyard, called *St. Columkille's Cross*[c]. The name occurs in the Four Masters at 1014 and 1040 only.

11. Clonmore.—Cluain-mor Fer Arda, 'Cluain-mor of Fer-arda' is the old name. The old Irish Life, followed by O'Donnell, states that St. Columba, having

[y] *Time.*—Harris's Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 270.

[z] *Church.*—Collectan. de Reb. Alban. p. 187; Origines Paroch. vol. ii. p. 834.

[a] *Period.*—Registry of Christ Church, cited in Archdall, Monasticon Hib. pp. 148, 152–154.

[b] *Laud MS.*—Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laud. 615, pp. 103, 104.

[c] *Cross.*—Ord. Survey, Kildare, sheet 36.

founded the church, committed it to Oissein, son of Ceallach, whose day in the Calendar is Jan. 1. Clonmore is a parish in the diocese of Armagh, situate in the county of Louth, and barony of Ferrard. The church is styled "Ecclesia S. Columbæ de Clonmore" in the diocesan registries[b] of the fifteenth century. There are the remains of an old church; and a patron in honour of St. Columkille was held on the 9th of June.

12. Kilmacrenan.—Cill-mic-Nenain of records. See p. 192, *supra*. In the Laud MS. of Columkille's poems is one in which the saint is represented as expressing his love for Kilmicnenain and Gartan[c]. In three other poems of the same collection it is called by its original name *Doire-Eithne*[d]; and one of them (p. 62) mentions a tribute which was payable by the abbot of Hy to Doire Eithne in Ireland[e]. The O'Firghils, or O'Freels, who were the herenachs of this church, were descended from Firghil, great-grandson of Aedh, who was son of Eoghan, St. Columkill's brother[f].

13. Gartan.—The parish in which St. Columba was born. The family of O'Nahan were the hereditary herenachs and corbes, who had also the privilege of carrying "Collumkillies read stoane"[g]. This was the *Cloch Ruadh* mentioned by O'Donnell[h]. Gartan is a wild parish in the county of Donegal, and diocese of Raphoe, having the ruins of a small church, inside which is the old tomb of an O'Donnell, and in the adjoining churchyard the traces of an earlier structure.

14. Glencolumkill.—Formerly *Seangleann*, or *Gleann Gairge*, and called by these names in the poems attributed to St. Columba. It is a wild, desolate parish in the barony of Banagh, at the south-west of the county of Donegal. See p. 206, *supra*. The herenachy was in the family of Mac Eneilis.

15. Templedouglas.—Formerly Tulach dubh-glaire, 'Hill of the dark stream.' See p. 192, *supra*. There are the remains of an old church; and the cemetery is in two portions, in one of which was an ancient enclosure of stones like a roofless chapel, which was commonly called *Ced-mitheachd Columkille*, that is, 'Primum Columbæ deambulacrum,' from the tradition that it was the first ground which St. Columba paced after he had learned to walk[i].

16. Assylyn.—Ear Ua Floinn, a spot on the river Boyle, about a mile west of the town. It was anciently called Ear mic nEirc, from Dachonna, or Mochonna, son of Earc, who is said to have been placed over it by St. Columba. His day[k] is March 8. The old Irish Life[l], as well as the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick[m], ascribes the foundation

[b] *Registries.*—Reg. Fleming, fol. 3 *b*, 10 *a*, 37 *b*.
[c] *Gartan.*—Bodleian Libr., Laud. 615, p. 38.
[d] *Doire-Eithne.*—*Ibid.* pp. 60, 66.
[e] *Ireland.*—*Ibid.* p. 62.
[f] *Brother.*—Mac Firbis, Geneal. MS. p. 152.
[g] *Read stoane.*—Ulster Inquis. Append. v.
[h] *O'Donnell.*—Vit. S. Col. i. 23, Tr. Th. p. 393 *a*.
[i] *Walk.*—O'Donnell, i. 26, Tr. Th. p. 393 *a*.
[k] *Day.*—See Colgan, Act. SS. p. 565.
[l] *Life.*—See O'Donnell, i. 104, Tr. Th. p. 406 *b*.
[m] *Patrick.*—"Deo ita disponente in gratiam magni sui servi Columbæ Kille, qui cœnobium apud Eas-mac-neirc extructurus erat."—Lib. ii. c. 101, Trias Th. p. 143 *a*.

to St. Columba. Adamnan twice alludes to St. Columba's stay in this neighbourhood. See pp. 79, 129, *supra*.

17. SKREEN.—Scrin Cholaim-chille, so called from its being the repository of a shrine with some of St. Columba's relics. The old church stands on a hill, in the county of Meath, which was formerly called, according to the Dinnseanchus, *Achaill*[n], and gives name to a rural deanry in the diocese of Meath. It is mentioned by Tighernach at 976, and by the Four Masters at 1027, 1037, 1058, 1127, 1152. The Ordnance Survey marks *St. Columkille's Well* on the N.W. of the church[o].

18. BALLYNASCREEN.—Called Scrin Colaim cille by the Four Masters at 1203. The old church, situate in a picturesque valley on the Moyola Water, occupies the site of an earlier building. The parish is called Baile na Scrine, 'Town of the Shrine,' and forms the western portion of the barony of Loughinsholin in the modern county of Londonderry; but until the seventeenth century it was considered as situate in Gleann-Concadhan in Tirone. See the Rev. Robert King's "Old Church of Ballynascreen," p. 103; Reeves' Colton's Visitation, p. 82.

19. SCREEN.—Scrin i nArda, *Scrinium de Ardo*. An ancient chapel in the townland of Craig, parish of Tamlaghtard or Magilligan, in the diocese and county of Derry. —Reeves' Colton's Visitation, p. 78. For an account of the ancient shrine preserved here, see O'Donnell[p].

20. DRUMCOLUMB.—Druim Choluim cille, *Dorsum Columbæ-cille*, anciently Druim-namac. O'Donnell preserves the tradition that a church was founded here by St. Columba, who left his disciple Finbarr in charge of it, having given him a bell called *Glassan*, and a cross[q]. It is now a parish church of the diocese of Elphin, in the barony of Tirerrill, county of Sligo.

21. COLUMBKILLE.—This is the name of a parish in the barony of Granard, on the N. E. of the county of Longford. Here, in Lough Gowna, is an island of fourteen and a half acres, called *Inchmore*, formerly known as Inis-mor Locha Gamna. On this island is an ecclesiastical ruin called *Teampull Choluim-cille*, which was formerly the parish church[r]. Eman mac Findbairr was prior of it in 1415.

22. EMLAGHFAD.—Imleach fada, 'the long marsh.' Here, according to O'Donnell, St. Columba founded a church on the west side of a hill called *Tulach-segra* [now *Tully* in Toomour] in the district of Corann, appointing Enna, son of Nuadhan, its first minister[s]. It is now a parish church in the diocese of Achonry.

[n] *Achaill*—See O'Donovan on Four Mast., A. C. 76 (i. p. 98); Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 96, 98.

[o] *Church.*—Ord. Survey, Meath, s. 32.

[p] *O'Donnell.*—Vit. S. Columbæ, i. 99, 100, Trias Th. p. 405.

[q] *Cross.*—O'Donnell, i. 104, Tr. Th. p. 406 *b*; Archdall, Monast. p. 632.

[r] *Church.*—See Four Mast. 1415, 1500; O'Donnell, i. 104, Tr. Th. p. 406 *b*.

[s] *Minister.*—O'Donnell, i. 104, Tr. Th. p. 406 *b*; Calendar of Donegal, Sept. 18; Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 633.

23. Glencolumbkille.—Gleann Cholum cille, *Vallis Columbæ cille.* The two townlands of this name, North and South, are situate on the east side of the parish of Carran, in the diocese of Kilfenora, and in the barony of Burren, on the N. E. side of the county of Clare[t]. The Ordnance Map marks the *Graveyard,* and *St. Columbkill's Church in ruins*[u].

24. Kilcolumb.—A parish in the S. E. of the county of Kilkenny, barony of Ida, on the river Barrow. The Ordnance Map marks *Kilcolumb Church in ruins,* and a well, *Tobernagolumb*[v].

25. Knock.—Formerly called *Knockcollumkill,* and marked *Collumkill* on Speed's map of Ulster. Father Mac Cana, in the early part of the seventeenth century, thus described it: "Inter Commor [Cumber] et æstuarium Loch-Laodh [see p. 214, *supra*] quod Karrick-fergusium et Belfastium oppida alluit, est ecclesia D. Columbæ sacra, quam egregiis agris ac multis privilegiis auxit Niallus O'Niellus [circ. 1512] Tren-Congalliæ [Dalaradiæ] Princeps."—Ulster Journ. of Archæol. vol. ii. p. 56. The parish is now united to Breda, and forms the union of Knock-Breda in the diocese of Down. The ruins of the church, situate near a fine earthen fort, occupy a commanding position on the Castlereagh Hills, about three miles S. E. of Belfast. See Reeves' Eccles. Antiq. p. 12.

26. Termon-Maguirk.—Formerly Tearmonn Cuimniġ, and known in the thirteenth and following centuries as *Termon-conyn,* or *Termon-conny.* It may derive its name from Cuimne, sister of St. Columba[w]. About half a mile from the old church is a nearly disused burying-ground, called Rellig-na-man [Reileġ na mbeann], or "the Women's cemetery," and the local tradition is, that St. Columkill directed a woman of bad character to be buried at a spot where the sound of a bell, rung in front of the funeral, would cease to be heard at his church; and that he left an injunction that the cemetery should never be entered by a living woman or a dead man. Devout women in old times used to request burial here, under the idea that none interred here would be damned; but this impression has nearly disappeared. Outside the old parish cemetery of Termon there are two others, called *Relig-na-paisde,* 'Children's cemetery,' and *Relig-na-fir-gunta,* 'Cemetery of the slain.' Colgan's version of O'Donnell incorrectly calls the church *Tearmonn Cetmainich*[x]. The parish derives its present name from the family of Mac Guirk, who were formerly herenachs, under the Primate, of the ecclesiastical lands in the parish. See Reeves' Colton, p. 3. It is situate in the barony of Omagh East, county of Tyrone, and diocese of Armagh.

27. Cloghmore.—A townland in the parish of Killannin, diocese of Tuam, situate

[t] *Clare.*—Trias Thaum. p. 495 *a*, n. 59; Four Mast., An. 1599; Archdall, Monast. p. 46.

[u] *Ruins.*—Ordnance Survey, Clare, s. 10.

[v] *Tobernagolumb.*—Ord. Surv., Kilkenny, s. 44.

[w] *Columba.*—Vide p. 246 *supra.*

[x] *Cetmainich.*—O'Donnell, i. 86, Tr. Th. p. 403 *a.*

in the county of Galway, and barony of Moycullen. In Roderick O'Flaherty's time there was an altar[y] of St. Columbkill near a brook in this townland, and there is still an old churchyard bearing his name[z].

28. COLUMBKILLE.—Called *Capella de Colmekyll* in the ancient Taxation of Ossory[a]. The Ordnance Survey marks *St. Columbkille's Church in ruins*, and *St. Columbkille's Well*[b]. It is a parish of the diocese of Ossory, situated in the barony of Gowran, near the centre of the county of Kilkenny.

29. ARDCOLUM.—A parish of the diocese of Ferns, situate in the barony of Shelmalier, on the east side of the county of Wexford. The Ordnance Survey[c] marks *St. Columb's Church in ruins*, *Graveyard*, and *St. Columb's Well.*

30. ARMAGH.—Recleꝛ Cholaim cille, 'Church of Columcille,' in Armagh, is mentioned by the Annals of Ulster, An. 1010, and the Four Mast. An. 1152. Concerning the site of this church, see Stuart's Armagh, p. 96.

31. MORNINGTON.—Formerly *Villa Maris*, or *Marinerstown*, and a distinct parish. It now forms a portion of the union of Colpe, in the county and diocese of Meath.—"Ecclesia S. Columbæ"[d].

32. DESERTEGNY.—A parish of Derry, situate in Inishowen, county of Donegal. Colgan states that St. Columba was patron. See Reeves' Colton, p. 67.

33. CLONMANY.—A parish of the diocese of Derry, in the barony of Inishowen, county of Donegal. St. Columba was patron, according to Colgan. See Reeves' Colton, p. 67.

34. DESERTOGHILL.—A parish in the diocese of Derry, and barony of Coleraine, in the county of Londonderry. St. Columba was patron. See Reeves' Colton, p. 80.

35. BALLYMAGROARTY.—This, which is a townland in the parish of Drumhome, of the diocese of Raphoe, situate in the county of Donegal, barony of Tirhugh, is divided into two portions, called Irish and Scotch. In the former are the remains of an old chapel, which formerly bore the name of St. Columba. The name of the townland is derived from the family of Mac Robhartaigh, pronounced Mac Roarty, and written baile-mec-Raḃaꝛtaiꝛch, by Colgan, who adds, "ubi illud celebre reliquiarium S. Columbæ quod *Cathach* appellatur"[e]. This chapel is situate near Rath-Cunga (p. 38, *supra*), the right of which was in controversy between the Columbian monks and those of Ardstraw, so early as the eighth century, as appears from the following passage of Tirechan[f] concerning St. Assicus: "Et sunt ossa ejus in campo Sered hi

[y] *Altar.*—O'Flaherty's Iar-Connacht (Irish Archæological Society), p. 63.

[z] *Name.*—Ord. Survey, Galway, s. 91.

[a] *Ossory.*—Red Book of Ossory, fol. 18.

[b] *Well.*—Ord. Survey, Kilkenny, s. 28.

[c] *Survey.*—Wexford, sheet 38.

[d] *Columbæ.*—Bp. Dopping's Visitation, Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin.

[e] *Appellatur.*—Trias Thaum. p. 495 *a*, n. 61. See p. 249, *supra*, and note M, *infra*.

[f] *Tirechan.*—Book of Armagh, penes the Editor, fol. 11 *b b*.

Raith-Chungi, monachus Patricii, sed contenderunt eum familia Columbæ-cille et familia Airdd-sratha."

36. Ballymagroty.—A townland in the parish of Templemore, or Derry. Colgan says of it: "Olim monasterium (cujus ruinæ vix nunc extant) diœcesis Dorensis in prædicta regione de Inis-Eoguin"[g].

37. Eskaheen.—In the parish of Muff, to the N. N. E. of the city of Derry. See note[p], p. 247, *supra*. The ruins of the old church stand near the Roman Catholic chapel.

The following poem, which is attributed to St. Columba, contains many interesting allusions to his native and adopted countries; and although there is internal evidence to prove that it was composed in an after age, yet its language is very old, and it serves as an early metrical record of his principal Irish churches:—

Oibinn beit ar Beinn Éadair
Re nóul tar fairrge find fonn
Tuirrecc tuinne na hacchaid
Luime a calad fa himilb.

Delightful to be on Benn-Edar[h],
Before going o'er the white sea:
The dashing of the wave against its face,
The bareness of its shore and its border.

Oibinn beit ar Beinn Étair
Re teicet tar fairrgi fonngil
Beit occ iomram a curcán
Uchan fa trachet tonnmir.

Delightful to be on Benn-Edar,
After coming o'er the white-bosomed sea,
To row one's little coracle,
Ochone! on the swift-waved shore.

Ar anba luar mo curaig
Agar a druim fe Doire
Saeth lim mo toirc tar ardmuir
Ag triall go h-Albain mbroinig.

How rapid the speed of my coracle;
And its stern turned upon Derry;
I grieve at my errand[i] o'er the noble sea,
Travelling to Alba of the ravens.

Mo chor im churchan ceolach
Mo chridhe truag taigeorach
Fann duine mar nach treorach
Dall uile ceth aineolach.

My foot in my sweet little coracle,
My sad heart still bleeding:
Weak is the man that cannot lead;
Totally blind are all the ignorant.

Fuil fuil nglair,
Dechur Erinn tar a hair
Nocan faicfi fi fe a la
Firu Erinn nar a mna.

There is a grey eye
That looks back upon Erin;
It shall not see, during life[k],
The men of Erin, nor their wives.

[g] *Inis-Eoguin.*—That is, Inishowen. Trias Th. p. 495 *a*, n. 51.

[h] *Benn-Edar.*—The peninsula of Howth, near Dublin, was known by the name *Edar*, and the highest part by the name above, signifying 'the Peak of Edar.'

[i] *Errand.*—The allusion is to his supposed exile.

[k] *During life.*—The antiquity of the poem may

Mo ꝓaḋaꝛc tap ꝓal ꝓinim
Ḋo clap na nḋapach nḋiogainn
Moꝛ ḋeꝛ mo ꝓuiꝛcc glaiꝛ gle moill
Maꝛ ꝓegaim tap m'aiꝛ Ehinḋ.

My vision o'er the brine I stretch,
From the ample oaken planks[l];
Large is the tear of my soft grey eye,
When I look back upon Erin.

Aꝛ Ehinḋ ata ṁaiꝛe,
Aꝛ loch Lebinḋ aꝛ Line
Aꝛa tiꝛ atad Ulaiḋ
Aꝛ Muṁain min ꝓaꝛ Miḋe.

Upon Erin my attention is fixed;
Upon Loch Levin[m]; upon Linè[n];
Upon the lands the Ultonians own;
Upon smooth Munster; upon Meath.

Iꝛ imḋa toiꝛ laech leaḋaꝛ
Imḋa ꝓaeṫ ann iꝛ galaꝛ
Imḋa ꝓil aꝛ ḋ'fcc nedaiġ
Imḋo chiḋe chuaidhetaiḋ.

Numerous in the East[o] are tall champions,
Many the diseases and distempers there,
Many they with scanty clothes,
Many the hard and jealous hearts.

Imḋa tiaꝛ toꝛaḋ abla
Imḋa ꝓigh iꝛ ꝓiġ ḋaṁna
Imḋa aiꝛne cfn cfꝛa
Imḋa ḋaiꝛḃꝛe aꝛḋṁfꝛa.

Plentiful in the West[p] the apple fruit;
Many the kings and princes;
Plentiful its luxuriant sloes,
Plentiful its noble, acorn-bearing oaks.

Binḋ a cleꝛiġ, binḋ a heoin
Min a hoicc gaeṫ a ꝓenoiꝛ
Uaiꝛ a ꝓiꝛ ꝓe blaḋ namaiꝛc
Uaiꝛ a mna ꝓe a nḋfġṫabaiꝛt.

Melodious her clerics, melodious her birds,
Gentle her youths, wise her seniors,
Illustrious her men, noble to behold,
Illustrious her women for fond espousal.

be proved from the fact that this verse occurs in the venerable manuscript called the *Leabhar na h Uidhre*, in the preface to the Amhra Choluim-chille (fol. 8), where it is as follows:—

Ꝓil ꝓuil n-glaiꝛ
Ꝓegbuꝛ Ehinn ḋaꝛ a h-aiꝛ
Nocon aceba iaṁmocha
Ꝓiꝛu Ehenḋ naḋ a mna.

It occurs also in the manuscript H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl., which gives the third line thus: Iꝛ ni ꝓaicꝛe aṁmoṫa, 'and, except now, it shall never see' (fol. 681). From the solemn promise supposed to be pledged in this verse, the ancient legend was framed, that on the one occasion when St. Columba visited Ireland afterwards, namely, to attend to Convention of Drumceatt, he used artificial means to enable himself to fulfil his promise. As the former authority just referred to states, "And it was said that St. Columkill did not see Erin on this occasion, for there was a veil over his eyes; and the reason of that was, because he had previously promised, when departing, that he would not behold Erin henceforth." Or, as the latter, with increased minuteness of legendary growth: "And the way that Columcille came was, with a cere-cloth on his eyes, and his tunic over that, and his cowl over that, so that he should not see the men of Erin nor its women, for he had before promised that, when first going to Alba."

[l] *Oaken planks.*—This proves that the *curach* was not necessarily of frail materials.

[m] *Loch Levin.*—Now Lough Lene, near Fore, in the north-east of the county of Westmeath. On an island in this lake dwelt Aedh Slane, when king of Meath (p. 42, *supra*), as stated in St. Aidus's Life (c. 27, Colg. Act. SS. p. 421 *a*); and Diarmait Ruanach, his son and successor, as stated in St. Fechin's Life (c. 23, *Ib.* p. 135 *b*).

Ar tiar ata Brenainn bind
Acar Colam mac Crimthainn
Acar tiar biar Baithin ban
Acar tiar biar Adamnan.

It is in the West sweet Brendan[q] is,
And Colum, son of Crimthann[r],
And in the West fair Baithin[s] shall be,
And in the West shall Adamnan[t] be.

Beir imchomarc na Beagharid
Co Comgall na bfthaid bi
Beir imthomarc na Beagaid
Don rig Feta o Eind Emain.

Carry my inquiries after that,
Unto Comgall[u], of eternal life;
Carry my inquiries after that
To the bold king of fair Emania[v].

Beirri lit a gille glain
Mo biait ir mo bfnnachtain
A leth ar Erinn fa fecht
'Sa leth ar Albain ainfecht.

Carry with thee, thou noble youth,
My blessing and my benediction,
One half upon Erin, seven fold;
And half on Alba at the same time.

Beir mo bfnnachtain tar lir
Co huairlib indri Gaidheal
Na gabat briathra Molairri
Na hacchad do buanaraigh.

Carry my benediction over the sea,
To the nobles of Island of the Gaedhil[w];
Let them not credit Molaisi's[x] words,
Nor his threatened prosecution.

Muna beit briathra Molairi
Con croir ag Ath Imlairi
Nochan fuicfinnri nam lind
Saeth na galar ind Erind.

Were it not for Molaisi's words,
At the cross of Ath-Imlaisi[y],
I should not now permit
Disease or distemper in Ireland.

[n] *Linè.*—Commonly called *Magh-Line*, now known as Moylinny, near the town of Antrim. See Reeves' Eccl. Ant. pp. 62, 366.

[o] *East.*—That is, Scotland.

[p] *West.*—That is, Ireland. See *Vestmenn* in Johnstone's Antiqq. Celto-Scandic. p. 14.

[q] *Brendan.*—See pp. 55, 221, *supra.*

[r] *Colum, son of Crimthann.*—Founder of Tirdaglass.—See note, p. 153, *supra.*

[s] *Baithin.*—This introduction of his name savours of a later date than St. Columba's; when the church of Teach-Baithin, or Taughboyne, was better known to the Irish than that of Hy.

[t] *Adamnan.*—None but those who believe that St Columba was a prophet of names as well as events, will receive this verse as his composition. The *Prophecies of S. Columba*, recently published (Dubl. 1856) claim further for the saint the power of writing *modern Irish*, and *corrupt nomenclature.*

[u] *Comgall.*—See pp. 93, 96, 220, *supra.*

[v] *Emania.*—The ancient seat of royalty in Ulster. The remains of its earthen embankment exist under the name of *the Navan* [an Eman], about two miles west of Armagh.

[w] *Gaeil.*—On the Irish tradition concerning the origin of this name, see Keating's Hist. vol. i. p. 236 (ed. Haliday).

[x] *Molaisi's words.*—Probably in allusion to the penalty of exile said to have been enjoined by St. Molaish. This was St. Molaisse, or Laisren, son of Declan, founder of Inis Muiredhaigh, an island in the Atlantic, off the north coast of Sligo, now called *Inishmurry*, on which are the remains of a primitive monastery in most interesting preservation. This Molaise's day is Aug. 12, and he is to be distinguished from St. Molaise of Daimhinis, or Devenish, son of Nadfraoic, whose day is Sept. 12.

[y] *Ath-Imlaisi.*—Colman mac Finain of Ath-iom-

Beir mo bennacht lat riar
Ar brirte mo chride im chliab
Da ttecemad ecc dala dam
Ir ar mid gradha Gaoidhel.

Take my blessing with thee to the West;
Broken is my heart in my breast:
Should sudden death overtake me,
It is for my great love of the Gaedhil.

Gaidil Gaidil inmain ainm
Ire menchomarc a gairm
Ionmain Cuimin ar cain barr
Inmain Cainnech ir Comgall.

Gaedhil, Gaedhil, beloved name!
My only desire is to invoke it:
Beloved is Cuimin[a] of fair hair;
Beloved are Cainnech[a] and Comghall.

Damad lim Alba uile
O ta a broine co a bile
Rop ferr limra ait toigde
Accam ar lar caem Doire.

Were the tribute of all Alba mine,
From its centre to its border,
I would prefer the site of one house
In the middle of fair Derry[b].

Ir aire carraim Doire
Ara feide ara gloine
Sar iomatt a aingel find
On chind co roich aroile.

The reason I love Derry is,
For its quietness, for its purity,
And for its crowds of white angels,
From the one end to the other.

Ar aire charaim Doire
Ara feide ara gloine,
Fa lomlan d'aingliid uile
Ceé duille im dairbrid Doire.

The reason why I love Derry is,
For its quietness, for its purity,
Crowded full of heaven's angels
Is every leaf of the oaks of Derry.

Mo Doire mo daireccan
Mh'arar acar m'araglan
A De bi fil tuar ar nim
Ar mairec do ni a rarucchad.

My Derry, my little oak-grove[c],
My dwelling, and my little cell;
O eternal God, in heaven above,
Woe be to him who violates it!

Inmain Durmagh ir Daire
Inmain Rath both co nglaine
Inmain Druim tuama ar min mir,
Inmain Surd ir Cenandar.

Beloved are Durrow, and Derry;
Beloved is Raphoe in purity;
Beloved Drumhome[d] of rich fruits;
Beloved are Swords, and Kells.

glaisi, is mentioned in the Calendar at Nov. 1. This place is now called *Ahamlish*, and is the most northern parish in the county of Sligo. The island of Inishmurry belongs to it, and hence the propriety of coupling St. Molaise's name with it.

[a] *Cuimin.*—Cuimin Finn. See p. 199, *supra.*

[a] *Cainnech.*—See pp. 27, 121, 123, 220, *supra.*

[b] *Derry.*—From the tenor of these verses it seems likely that this poem was composed by a member of the community of Derry, and at a time when, on the declension of Hy, Derry was beginning to rise to importance.

[c] *Oak-grove.*—See O'Donnell's account of St. Columba's affection for the oak-grove of Derry, Vit. i. 57 (Tr. Th. p. 398 *b*). The Four Masters, at 1146, record the prostration by a storm of sixty trees there; and again, at 1178, of 120 oak trees by the same means.

Inmain for ṫiar lem criḋe
Ḋruimcliaḃ ag traiġ Cuilcinḋe
Feċain loċa Feḃail find
Cruṫ a ċalaḃ ir aoiḃind.

Ir aoiḃind rin far aoiḃind
Fairrġe fuaḋ a ngairiṫṫ faolind
Ag teċt ḃarḟ o Ḋoire a cein
Ar feiḋ é acar ir aoibhind
Oibind.

Beloved to my heart also in the West,
Drumcliff, at Culcinne's[e] strand:
To behold the fair Loch Feval[f],
The form of its shores, is delightful.

Delightful is that, and delightful
The salt main on which the sea-gulls cry,
On my coming from Derry afar;
It is quiet, and it is delightful.
Delightful.

H.

(*See* ii. 46, p. 184. "*Cujus monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos.*")

THE expression *cujus monasteria*, as applied to St. Columba, is not limited to the churches which were founded by him in person, but includes all those which, down to the writer's time, were established by Columbian monks, or professed subjection to the mother church of Hy. Hence it is likely that many monasteries, which in the seventh and eighth centuries might be classed under the above title, ceased in after times to bear any trace of their original relation, and became distinguished only by the names of the immediate founders, under whose patronage they were built. St. Dochonna's church, for instance, was probably at first subject to Hy, though afterwards independent, when known as St. Machar's of Aberdeen. The following catalogue of Columbian foundations in Scotland admits of considerable enlargement, but it is sufficient to show how widely the veneration of St. Columba was extended in his adopted country:—

INTER SCOTOS.

1. SORBY.—In the island of Tiree. The modern name is of Scandinavian origin, but there can be little doubt that it represents the *Campus Lunge* so frequently mentioned by Adamnan. See p. 59, *supra*. It has been shown at pp. 48, 207, *supra*, that the names of several Irish saints are associated with places in the island, although the chief founder has no longer any local commemoration therein.

2. ELACHNAVE.—One of the Garveloch group of islands. See p. 127, *supra*. A modern writer says: "The Garvelloch, or Holy Islands, are remarkable for having been

[d] *Drumhome.*—See note [m], p. 238.
[e] *Culcinne.*—The old name of Drumcliff Bay.
[f] *Loch Feval.*—Now pronounced Lough Foyle. So called from Febhal, son of Lodan, one of the Tuatha-de-Danaans. See Keating, History, i. p. 322 (ed. Haliday).

once the residence of the monks of Iona"[a]. And a visitor of more recent date observes: "A water-spring at the head of a narrow creek in the adjacent shore is called St. Columba's Well;" adding, what seems an imported tradition, that a little pile on the summit of a neighbouring height was said to be "the tomb of Æthnea, mother of the illustrious saint"[b]. The adjacent island is called *Culbrandon*, i. e. Secessus Brendani.

3. Loch Columkille.—On the north-west of the parish of Kilmuir, in the island of Skye. See the description of its monastic remains at p. 138, *supra*. The particulars of its draining are to be found in the New Statistical Account, vol. xiv. pt. 1, pp. 246, 267, 279. It may be a question whether the island of Skye belonged to the Picts or to the Scots in St. Columba's time: the anecdote told in i. 33 (p. 62) *supra*, seems in favour of the former. Tighernach, at 668 (An. Ult. 667), records the *Navigatio filiorum Gartnaith ad Hiberniam cum plebe Scith;* and at 670 (An. Ult. 669), *Venit Gens Gartnait de Hibernia;* where *Scith* probably denotes Skye. In this case the *filii Gartnait* may have been the family of Gartnait, the youngest son of King Ædan, who had occupied the island: but this is not likely, as the Cinel Gabhrain, to which they belonged, were the most southern settlers of the Scotic colony. The *filii Gartnait* were rather the sons of Gartnait mac Uuid, the Pictish king in 636, or of his successor Gartnait mac Domhnall, who died in 663. In this case the change of settlement, in 668, may have been caused by Scotic occupation. However, when Adamnan wrote, the mountain of the *Dorsum Britanniæ* being considered the boundary line, the islands on the west would necessarily fall to the Scots. Hence the legend of St. Comgan in the Aberdeen Breviary states that the adjacent parish on the mainland of Lochelch [now Lochalsh] was in *Erchadia boriali*[c], or North Argyle.

4. Fladda-chuain.—Of this island, which lies N. W. of the extreme north point of Skye, Martin writes: "*Fladda Chuan* (i. e.) *Fladda* of the *Ocean*, lies about two Leagues distant from the *West-side* of *Hunish-point*, it is two Miles in Compass, the Ground is boggy, and but indifferent for Corn or Grass. There is a Chappel in the Isle dedicated to St. *Columbus*, it has an Altar in the *East-end*, and there is a blue Stone of a round Form on it, which is always moist; It is an ordinary Custom, when any of the Fishermen are detained in the Isle, by contrary Winds, to wash the blue Stone with water all round, expecting thereby to procure a favourable Wind, which the Credulous Tenant living in the Isle says never fails, especially if a Stranger wash the Stone; The Stone is likewise applied to the sides of People troubled with Stitches, and they say it is effectual for that purpose. And so great is the regard they have for this Stone, that they swear decisive Oaths on it. The Monk *O Gorgon* is buried near to this Chappel, and there is Stone five foot high at each end of his Grave"[d]. This

[a] *Iona.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 534.

[b] *Saint.*—[Muir's] Notes on Eccles. Architect. p. 59 (Edinb. 1855).

[c] *Boriali.*—Propr. SS. Part. Estiv. fol. 126 *b a* (Reprint).

[d] *Grave.*—Western Islands, p. 166.

story of the *blue stone* is not worse than that of the *white stone* at ii. 33 (p. 147) *supra*. Modern description represents this small island as having three burial-places, one of which is called *Cladh Mhanaich*, 'Monks tomb'[e].

5. TRODDA.—Off Aird Point, south-east of the preceding. Martin says: "The Isle *Troda*, lies within half a League of the Northermost point of *Skie*, called *Hunish*, it is two Miles in Circumference, fruitful in Corn, and Grass, and had a Chappel dedicated to St. *Columbus*"[f].

6. SNIZORT.—In SKYE. Formerly *Kilcolmkill*, or *St. Colme's Kirk in Snesford*. See p. 139, *supra*. The New Statistical Account describes the remains of the old church as "the ruins of a large cathedral"[g].

7. EILEAN COLUIMCILLE.—An island in the southern recess of Portree Bay, on the east of Skye. See p. 139, *supra*. Portree Bay was anciently *Loch Coluimcille*; and the old name of the parish was *Cill-tarraglan*[h].

8. GARIEN.—In the parish of Stornoway, formerly Ness, on the north shore of Broad Bay, at the N. E. side of Lewis, there was a chapel called *St. Colm's Church*[i].

9. EY.—The peninsula of Ui, on the N. E. side of Lewis, gave name to a parish. The church, called *St. Collums in Ui*, stood on the isthmus[k], a little east of Stornoway. The cemetery, containing the ruins which are described as "strong walls now standing," is still to be seen. It was the original burial-place of the clan Mac Leod[l].

10. ST. COLM'S ISLE.—Situate in Loch Erisort, in the parish of Lochs, on the east side of Lewis. Here stood *St. Columba's Church*, the cemetery of which is still the parish burying-ground[m]. North of this was the bay called *Loch Colmkille*[n].

11. BERNERA.—An island belonging to the parish of Harris, but lying close to the North Uist. It had two ancient chapels, one of which was named after St. Columba[o].

12. KILCHOLMKILL.—In the old parish of Sand, on the north side of North Uist, at a place called Clachan, stood this ancient church[p]. The New Stat. Account mentions that there are several burial-grounds in the parish, but it does not specify this[q].

13. KILCHOLAMBKILLE.—In Benbecula, formerly known as the *Church of St. Columba in Beandmoyll*[r]. It stood on the north coast of the island. At Ballvannich, or Ballinamanniche, near the N.W. coast, is a small island in a lake, containing ecclesi-

[e] *Tomb.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xiv. p. 1, p. 266.

[f] *Columbus.*—Western Islands, p. 166.

[g] *Cathedral.*—Vol. xiv. pt. 1, p. 290.

[h] *Tarraglan.*—New Stat. Account, vol. xiv. pt. 1, pp. 218, 258.

[i] *Church.*—West. Is. p. 27; Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 388.

[k] *Isthmus.*—Western Islands, p. 27; Old Stat. Acct. vol. xix. p. 255; Collectan. de Reb. Alban. p. 4; Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 381.

[l] *Mac Leod.*—New Stat. Ac. vol. xiv. pt. 2, p. 125.

[m] *Ground.*—Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 385.

[n] *Loch Colmkille.*—Western Islands, p. 4.

[o] *Columba.*—Western Islands, p. 47; Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 377.

[p] *Church.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 376.

[q] *This.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xiv. pt. 1, p. 169.

[r] *Beandnoyle.*—Also called *Buchagla*, *Benvalgha*. Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 370.

astical remains. The lands here are supposed to have belonged to the abbot of Hy. Indeed the whole island, which abounds with vestiges of old ecclesiastical establishments, appears to have had of old a very intimate connexion with Hy[s].

14. Howmore.—In South Uist. Martin states that there was a church here bearing our saint's name, and adds: "A Stone set up near a Mile to the S. of *Columbus*'s Church, about eight foot high, and two foot broad, it is called by the Natives the *Bowing-Stone;* for when the Inhabitants had the first sight of the Church, they set up this Stone, and there bowed and said the Lord's Prayer." He observes that "the Natives speak the Irish Tongue more perfectly here, than in most of the other Islands;" also that "Fergus Beaton hath the following Ancient *Irish* Manuscripts in the *Irish* Character; to wit, *A. Vicenna, A. Verroes, Joannes de Vigo, Bernardus Gordonus,* and several Volumes of *Hypocrates*"[t].

15. St. Kilda.—Formerly, and still among the natives, *Hirt*[u]. One of its three ancient chapels was *St. Columba's;* another *St. Brendan's*[v].

16. Canna.—The church, as Martin states, was "dedicated to St. Columbus"[w]. It stood near the middle of the island, in ruins in 1772, having beside it a small cross[x].

17. Island Columbkill.—Situate at the head of Loch Arkeg, in the parish of Kilmalie, in Inverness. It derived its name from a chapel of St. Columba[y].

18. Killchallumkill.—A chapel at Duror in Appin, opposite Lismore[z].

19. Kilcolmkill.—Now Kiel in Ardchattan. "This chappell town called in Inglish St. Colme's Chappell"[a].

20. Kilcolmkill.—This church, sometimes called *St. Columba's in Kinelvadon*, or *St. Columba's in Morwarne*, gave name to an old parish[b], which was afterwards united with Killintag to form the modern parish of Morvern in Argyle. This territory, called from the descendants of Baedan, of the house of Loarn Mor, *Kinelbathyn*, or *Kinelbadon*[c], afterwards contracted to *Cenalbin*[d], formed the chief portion of the ancient seignory of Garmoran[e]. The cemetery, with a small portion of the ruins of Kilcolm-

[s] *Hy.*—Collect. de Reb. Alban. p. 2; Orig. Par. ii. pp. 370, 372.

[t] *Hypocrates.*—Western Islands, pp. 88, 89.

[u] *Hirt.*—Fordun, Scotichr. ii. 10; Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda, p. 14.

[v] *Brendan's.*—Voyage to St. Kilda, p. 88. St. Columba's day is one of the festivals which is observed in the island.—p. 85.

[w] *Columbus.*—Western Islands, p. 275.

[x] *Cross.*—Pennant, Tour, vol. i. p. 317.

[y] *Columba.*—Origines Paroch. vol. ii. p. 181.

[z] *Lismore.*—New Stat. Account, vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 242 Orig. Par. vol. ii, p. 164.

[a] *Chappell.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 149.

[b] *Parish.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 188.

[c] *Kinelbadon.*—See p. 180, *supra;* Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. pp. 189, 190. It is uncertain whether the founder of the clan was Baodan, fifth son of Fergus Salach, son of Loarn Mor, or Baodan, son of Eochaidh, son of Muiredhach, son of Loarn Mor.

[d] *Cenalbin.*—The writer in New Stat. Account supposes this name to be derived from *Ceann Albain*, 'promontory,' or 'extremity of Albin.'—vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 163.

[e] *Garmoran.*—New Stat. Account, vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 164, where the writer derives the name from

kill, is situate at Kiel, on Loch-aline, on the S. W. of the present parish. It was of old esteemed a sanctuary[f].

21. KILCOLLUMKILL.—An old parish of Mull, now united to Kilninian. The church stood at the head of a loch in the district of Quinish, on the north coast of Mull[g].

22. COLUMKILLE.—In the parish of Torosay, on the east coast of Mull. "Near the small village of Salen are the ruins of a cell which belonged to the monastery of Iona. The village is called *Salen-dubh-Challum-chille*"[h]. See p. 88, *supra*.

23. ORANSAY.—Separated from Colonsay at flood-tide only. Here tradition places the first landing of St. Columba on his leaving Ireland. It is the vulgar opinion that the two names denote respectively Oran's and Colum's isle[i]. But this is incorrect: Colonsay is called *Coloso* by Adamnan[k], and there are four islands of the name in Argyleshire; while there is an Oronsay off North Uist, and another off South Uist, none of which possess any traces of early ecclesiastical distinction. Fordun notices the present island as "Hornesay ubi est monasterium nigrorum canonicorum, quod fundavit Sanctus Columba"[l]. Martin says: "It is adorn'd with a Church, Chappel, and Monastry; they were Built by the famous St. *Columbus*, to whom the Church is dedicated"[m]. There may have been an earlier church on the island, but the ruins to which Martin alludes are the remains of a priory which was founded by a Lord of the Isles, and affiliated to Holyrood. After the dissolution of religious houses, the priory of Oransay was annexed to the bishopric of the Isles; hence we find Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe, in 1630, who still held the Isles with his Irish preferment, as prior of Oransay, granting to Colin Campbell, rector of Craigness, the isles of Elachniuc and Kilbrandan, with the parsonage and vicarage teinds of the same, both which appertained to the priory. In 1635 this grant was confirmed by his successor in the bishopric of the Isles[n]. There is a hill in Colonsay called *Carn cul-ri-Erin*[o], 'Carn of-the-back-to-Ireland;' and in the north of the island a small chapel called *Tempull-na-gluine*, where St. Columba is said to have embarked for Hy. The writer in the New Stat. Account suggests, with some reason, that "previously to the occupation of the Western Islands

Garbh Mor Earrain, 'Rugged mainland,' and states that Morvern is called *Mhor Earrain* by the native inhabitants, *ib.* p. 163. The writer in the Old Stat. Account also states that the Highlanders call the district *A Mhor-earran*, vol. x. p. 263. In Fordun we find mention, at 1427, of "Alexander Makreury de Garmoran."—Scotichr. xvi. 15. See also Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 201.

[f] *Sanctuary.*—Old Stat. Acct., vol. x. p. 275; New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 181; Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 189.

[g] *Mull.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 323, 324.

[h] *Chille.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 287.

[i] *Isle.*—Old Stat. Acct. vol. xii. p. 327; New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 544.

[k] *Adamnan.*—i. 41 (p. 77), ii. 22 (p. 133) *supra*.

[l] *Columba.*—Scotichronicon, i. 6.

[m] *Dedicated.*—Western Islands, p. 246.

[n] *Isles.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 282.

[o] *Erin.*—There is a place of the same name in the south of Iona. In an old map of Mull the hill Cruachan Garv is marked with a cross on the top, on the north side of which is written *Karn Cul ri Albayn*, and on the south *Karn Cul ri Erin*.

by the Scandinavians, the larger island (if not both), seems to have been called Hymba"[p]. The old church of Colonsay (not of Oransay) was called Killoran[q].

24. KILCHOLMKILL.—A chapel in the parish of Kildalton, on the east coast of Islay[r].

25. KILCHOLMKILL.—A chapel of St. Columba in Kilarrow, a parish of Islay, situate between Loch Finlagan and the sea. "There is a Cross standing near St. *Columbas*'s or *Portescock* side, which is ten foot high"[s].

26. COVE.—In the parish of North Knapdale, formerly Killmochormac [so called probably from St. Cormac Ua Liathain of note F, *supra*], on the west side of Loch Killisport, near its head, was a chapel of St. Columba; and, in a neighbouring cave, an altar, piscina, and cross cut in the rock[t].

27. KILCOLUMKILL.—This old church, which was situate at the southern extremity of Cantyre, between Carskay and Dunaverty, gave name to a parish which is now united to Kilblane to form the modern parish of Southend. Kilcolmkill forms the south-west portion, and contains the Mull of Cantyre. The grant of St. Collomkill's church in Kyntire, which had been made by Patrick Makschillingis, and Finlach his wife, to the canons of Whithern, was confirmed by King Robert Bruce in 1326. The ruins of the chapel are in the unusual proportion of 72 to 15 feet[u].

28. ST. COLOMB'S.—An ancient chapel of the parish of Rothesay, in Bute[v].

29. KILMACOLM.—Now incorrectly written Kilmalcolm[w]. A large parish in Renfrew, formerly including Port Glasgow, and now situate next it on the south and east.

30. LARGS.—In Ayrshire. "The church, surrounded by its ancient village, stood on the level ground on the right bank of the Gogo, where it falls into the Firth. It was dedicated to St. Columba, whose festival was on the 9th day of June, and a yearly fair, vulgarly called Colm's day, once famous in the West Highlands, is still held there on the second Tuesday of June, old style"[x].

31. KIRKCOLM.—A parish in Wigton[y], on the west side of Loch Ryan, opposite Glenarm, in the county of Antrim.

32. ST. COLUMBO.—In the parish of Caerlaverock in Dumfries, on the east side of the Mouth of the Nith, "a little below Glencaple Key, close by the shore, was a cell or chapel dedicated to St. Columba; near this is a well, of which no person was permitted to drink without leaving a portion of victuals, or a piece of money, as an alms to the inhabitant of the cell"[z].

[p] *Hymba.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 544.

[q] *Killoran.*—Western Islands, p. 249.

[r] *Islay.*—West. Isls. p. 243; Or. Par. ii. p. 269.

[s] *High.*—Western Islands, p. 243.

[t] *Rock.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 40.

[u] *Feet.*—Old Stat. Acct. vol. iii. p. 367; New Stat. Acct. vii. pt. 2, p. 413; Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 8.

[v] *Bute.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 224.

[w] *Kilmalcolm.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. i. p. 85.

[x] *Style.*—Or. Par. vol. i. p. 89; Old. Stat. Account, vol. ii. p. 365; New Stat. Account, vol. v. pt. 1, p. 809.

[y] *Wigton.*—The writer of the memoir in the New Stat. Acct. says of St. Columba, "It is uncertain

The four parishes last mentioned were originally occupied by *Australes Picti*, but in Ven. Bede's time the Angli had come in on them, and they were then considered in the *provincia Berniciorum.*

INTER PICTOS.

1. BURNESS.—A parish in the north-west of Sanday, one of the Orkney islands, formerly known as *St. Colm's*[a].

2. HOY.—One of the Orkneys, on the S. W. It had a chapel of St. Columkill[b].

3. ST. COMBS.—In the parish of Olrick in Caithness. "On the boundary of the parish in the east, towards Dunnet, the spot is still called St. Coomb's Kirk, supposed to have been overwhelmed in the sand at night[c].

4. DIRLET.—In the parish of Halkirk in Caithness. There was a chapel of St. Columba at this place[d].

5. ISLAND COMB.—In the parish of Tongue, off the north coast of Sutherland. It is sometimes called *Eilean-na-naoimh*, 'Island of Saints.' It had formerly a chapel and cemetery, the traces of which are still to be seen[e].

6. KILLCOLMKILL.—In Strabruraich, or 'Srath of Brora,' on the east side of Loch Brora, in the parish of Clyne, and county of Sutherland, stood this chapel. "In digging some ground at that place, a cemetery was found that contained large human bones, upon which a stop was put to the digging there. At some little distance from it, a year or two ago (1794), a gentleman making out part of the high road, found a stone cross, which was immediately erected in the place where it was found"[f].

7. AULDEARN.—A parish in Nairn. St. Columba was patron of the church[g], and his fair, called *St. Colm's Market*, is held here annually on the first Wednesday after the 19th [query N. S., or 9th ?] of June[h].

8. PETTIE.—With Bracholy, a parish in Invernesshire. Formerly Petyn. In the Register of Moray we find mention of "Walterus vicarius S. Columbæ de Petyn"[i].

9. KINGUSSIE.—A parish in Badenoch, on the east of Invernesshire. St. Columba was patron[k], and the chief fair is held in June, probably on his day[l].

10. ST. COLM'S.—A chapel at Aird, in the parish of Fordyce, Banff[m].

whether this celebrated person was born in Ireland or Scotland," vol. iv. pt. 3, p. 102.

[a] *Cell.*—Old Stat. Acct. vol. vi. p. 31.

[a] *St. Colms.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xv. pt. 3, p. 85.

[b] *Colmkill.*—Retours, Orkney, 3.

[c] *Night.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xv. pt. 2, p. 62.

[d] *Place.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xv. pt. 2, p. 74; Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 758.

[e] *Seen.*—O. Stat. Acc. vol. iii. p. 521; N. Stat. Ac. vol. xv. pt. 1, p. 157; Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 707.

[f] *Found.*—Old Stat. Account, vol. x. p. 304; New Stat. Account, vol. xv. p. 155; Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 722.

[g] *Church.*—Forsyth's Survey of Moray, p. 185.

[h] *June.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xiii. pt. 3, p. 18.

[i] *Petyn.*—Regist. Morav. p. 72; New Stat. Acct. vol. xiv. pt. 1, p. 375; Shaw's Moray, p. 356.

[k] *Patron.*—Shaw's History of Moray, p. 334.

[l] *Day.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xiv. pt. 1, p. 78.

[m] *Banff.*—Collect. of Aberdeen, p. 644.

11. ALVAH.—A parish on the north-east of Banff. St. Columba seems to have been the patron saint, for at the foot of the Hill of Alvah is *St. Colm's Well;* and, not far from it on the south, the church[n].

12. LONMAY.—A parish at the north-east angle of Aberdeenshire, near Cairnbulg. "Previous to 1608, the parish church was by the sea-side, hard by where the village of St. Combs now stands"[o]. An earlier writer[p] says, "This parish at different times has been named St. Colm, from the name of the saint to whom the old church was dedicated, and Lonmay, from the name of the estate on which the church now stands."

13. DAVIOT.—A parish nearly in the middle of Aberdeenshire. St. Columba was the patron, and his effigy in stone was formerly placed in a niche within the church"[q]. *St. Colm's Fair* was formerly held at Kirktown, in this parish, on every 9th of June[r].

14. BELHELVIE.—This parish, adjoining Aberdeen on the north, "hath for its tutelar Saint Colm"[s]. *St. Colm's Fair* used to be held here, at Drumhead, June 9th[t].

15. MONYCABO.—Or, New Machar, a parish formerly a chapelry of Old Machar or Aberdeen. It bore the name of *St. Colm's*[v].

16. CORTACHY.—A parish in the N. W. of Forfarshire. *St. Colm's Fair* used to be held here annually, at Muirs-keith, near the kirk[w].

17. TANNADICE.—In the middle of Forfarshire, S. E. of the last. "A chapel is said to have been here [at Shielhill] in old time; and a fountain, at a little distance, is known by the name of St. Colm, to whom the chapel may have been inscribed"[x].

18. DUNKELD.—In Perthshire. It has been stated at p. 6, *supra*, on respectable authority, that Columba, circ. 640, was first bishop of this church. But, on maturer consideration, the writer has come to the conclusion that the founder of Hy was the only Columba whose name was ever prominently associated with Dunkeld, and that the misapprehension has arisen from erroneous statements in the Irish Life of St. Cuthbert. The version of it printed in the Nova Legenda of Capgrave relates the departure of St. Cuthbert's mother from Ireland to Britain, and tells how "venit Mater cum puero ad Episcopum Columbam qui primus sedem Dunkelde rexit in Scotia"[y]. To the same effect the Durham narrative, borrowed from a similar source[z]: "Cum ad fines

[n] *Church.*—Old Stat. Acct. vol. iv. p. 399; Antiqq. of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. p. 311.

[o] *Stands.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. xii. pt. 1, p. 232.

[p] *Writer.*—Old Stat. Acct. vol. xvi. p. 631.

[q] *Church.*—Collect. of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 580.

[r] *June.*—Paterson's Geographical Description of Scotland, p. 18.

[s] *Colm.*—Collect. of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 285. Though *Colman* and *Colum* are convertible (p. 29, *supra*), the Breviary of Aberdeen distinguishes them in the present instance: "Colmanus habetur patronus apud balheluy" (Oct. 15).—Propr. SS. pt. Estiv. fol. 128 *a b* (Reprint).

[t] *Ninth.*—Paterson's Geogr. Descript. p. 18.

[v] *St. Colm's.*—Collect. of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 235.

[w] *Kirk.*—Paterson's Geogr. Descript. p. 18.

[x] *Inscribed.*—Jervise's Lands of the Lindsays, p. 274 (Edinb. 1853).

[y] *Scotia.*—Colgan, Act. SS. p. 699 *a*.

[z] *Source.*—Its title is *Libellus de Nativitate S. Cuthberti de historiis Hibernensium excerptus et translatus.* The peculiarity of the Irish story of

Scotiæ pervenisset, Sanctus Columba primus episcopus in Dunkel puerum suscepit, unaque cum puellula quadam, nomine Brigida ex Hybernia oriunda, retinuit et aliquandiu educavit"[a]. And in the following chapter: "Postmodum vero cum matre puer ad insulam quæ Hy dicitur, profectus est, ubi aliquandiu cum religiosis viris loci illius conversatus est." Now the word *Scotia* in these authorities savours very much of circ. 1100, or later. A writer of that period would find Dunkeld a bishop's see, and the name Columba intimately associated with it. Hence, by a process similar to that which made St. Eunan *bishop* of Raphoe in Ireland, he would argue that the founder of St. Columba's diocesan church of Dunkeld was a Columba[b] and a bishop. But the fact was otherwise. The Danish descents on Hy in the early part of the ninth century, and the rise of Kells in Ireland, had caused a diversion in the administration of the Columbian brotherhood; and when, soon after, the Pictish nation yielded to Scotic rule, and Kenneth Mac Alpin transferred the seat of government to the eastern side of the kingdom, a collateral movement took place in the ecclesiastical economy of his dominions: and accordingly, circ. 849, he founded a church at the seat of government, which was to be an inland Hy, and the representative of the Columbian institution for the United Kingdom. In furtherance of this project, St. Columkille was named the patron saint, and a portion of his relics, real or alleged, were deposited in the site, as a material guarantee of the dedication[c]. Hence the 9th of June became the proper festival of Dunkeld, and St. Columba's memory associated with its future history[d]. As the new foundation was essentially Columbian, the intercourse which previously existed between the mother church and Ireland was extended to the east of Scotland: and for this reason the few names of the early abbots of Dunkeld which are preserved are strictly Irish, and found in Irish Annals only. Hy continued to decline, and Dunkeld to rise in importance; tradition stamped the former with sanctity, but royalty invested the latter with power: and, as a consequence, when the jurisdiction of bishops began to be defined by diocesan limits, Argyle, including Hy[e], was comprised within the diocese of Dunkeld, subject, no doubt, to occasional interference from the Irish coarbs of

St. Cuthbert's life is that it supplies the information, omitted by Bede, of St. Cuthbert's Irish extraction. That the saint was a native of Ireland seems to have been the received opinion in Scotland, for Fordun, writing circ. 1400, says: "Hic Sanctus Cuthbertus, filius regis, in Hibernia natus, et ad tempus cum Sancto Columba apud Dunkelden educatus."—Scotichr. iii. 51.

[a] *Educarit.*—Cap. 21, Miscellan. Biogr. (Surtees Soc. Lond. 1838.)

[b] *Columba.*—He would not assign it to our St. Columba, because he was a professed presbyter, and died in 597, whereas St. Cuthbert died in 687.

[c] *Dedication.*—The Chron. Reg. Scot. says of Kinadius filius Alpin, "Septimo anno regni reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit." The Chronicle in the Register of St. Andrew's says of the Pictish king, Constantine, son of Fergus (ob. 820), "Hic ædificavit Dunkelden."

[d] *History.*—See Muniment. S. Crucis de Edwinesbourg, pp. 52, 53; Chalmers, Caledon. i. p. 435; Innes, Civ. Eccl. Hist. p. 330; Old. Stat. Account, vol. xx. p. 433; New Stat. Acct. vol. x. p. 970.

[e] *Hy.*—The earliest authentic account of anything

St. Columba, who regarded themselves as the conventual superintendents of the society[f]; and to a temporary usurpation of authority by the Norwegians[g]: but the relation was presently renewed; and long after 1200, when Argyle became a distinct see[h], with Lismore as the centre of jurisdiction, the island of Hy, which was farther west, continued to own episcopal subjection to its kindred church of Dunkeld[i]. We find the following notices of Dunkeld in the Annals of Ulster:—A.C. 864, Tuathal mac Artgusso prim epscop Fortrenn acar *abbas* Duin caillenn *dormirit*, 'Tuathal, son of Artgus, chief Bishop of Pictland, and Abbot of Duncaillenn, fell asleep.' A.C. 872, Flaithbertach mac Muircertaigh *princeps* Duindaillden *obiit*, 'Flaithbertach, son of Muircertach, Superior of Duncaillden, died.' A.C. 964, Cath etir firu Alban in Moneitir *ubi multi occisi sunt* im Donnchad .i. abbaid Duinecaillenn, 'Battle between the men of Alba at Moneitir [again 1004] where many were slain, together with Donnchadh, i. e. the Abbot of Dun-caillenn.' A.C. 1027, Duncaillenn, i nAlbain do uile lorcad, 'Duncaillenn in Alba was entirely burned.' A.C. 1045, Cath eter Albancu etarru fein i torcair Cronan abb Duine caillend, 'Battle among the Albanach between themselves, in which was slain Cronan Abbot of Duncaillenn.'

19. Inchcolm.—An island in the Forth, belonging to Aberdour in the county of Fife. In 1123, King Alexander, being overtaken in a violent storm in the Forth, vowed to erect on an island therein, should he reach it, a religious house to serve as an asylum and comfort to the shipwrecked. He succeeded in landing on this island, which was called Æmonia, "ubi tunc degebat quidam eremita insulanus, qui servitio Sancti Columbæ deditus, ad quandam inibi capellulam tenui victu, utpote lacte unius vaccæ et conchis ac pisciculis marinis collectis, contentatus, sedulè se dedit"[k].

20. Kincardine.—In the detached portion of Perthshire, on the Forth. Here was a "croft of land of St. Colme"[l].

21. Drymen.—A parish in Lennox, in the west of Stirlingshire. The church was under the title of St. Columba, and his yearly market, called *St. Colm's Fair*, was formerly held here on the 9th of June[m].

like diocesan episcopacy in Scotland is the entry in the Four Masters at 961, "Fothadh, son of Bran, Scribe, and Bishop of Innsi-Alban," that is, of the Isles of Scotland.

[f] *Society.*—See *Chronicon Hyense*, note O, *infr.*

[g] *Norwegians.*—It is said that the see of the Isles was united, in 1098, to that of Man, and the bishop of the united diocese made suffragan to the archbishop of Trondhjem (Orig. Paroch. ii. p. 291).

[h] *See.*—Fordun, Scotichr. vi. 40; Keith, Scottish Bishops, pp. 77, 284 (Edinb. 1824); Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 160.

[i] *Dunkeld.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 291.

[k] *Dedit.*—Fordun, Scotichron, v. 37. See also i. 6. That the patron of this island was our Columba, and not *Colmoc* or *Colman*, of June 6, in the Calendar, appears from the anecdotes in Fordun, xiii. 34, 37, in the former of which the writer adverts to the narrative in Adamnan, ii. 34 (p. 148, *supr.*)

[l] *Colme.*—Act. Parl. Scot. vol. viii. p. 509.

[m] *June.*—Paterson's Geogr. Descript. p. 18; Orig. Paroch. vol. i. p. 503.

I.

(*See* iii. 4, p. 196. "*Duodecim commilitonibus discipulis.*")

THE desire which prevailed, in the early ages of Christianity, to imitate even the accidental features of the apostolic system, naturally suggested the adoption of the number Twelve in the adjustment of religious societies; and its use was afterwards extended to other relations, both social and moral. We find in Adamnan the mention of King Oswald and his twelve companions (p. 15, *supra*); of twelve years as a term of monastic service (pp. 52, 237, *supra*); of a convoy of twelve curachs (p. 177, *supra*); and of St. Columba and his twelve disciples. The names of these twelve followers have been given in note A (p. 245, *supra*); and the following recital will serve as a commentary on that list, in showing the prevalence of the duodecimal economy among the Irish as well as the other inhabitants of the British Isles:—

I.—MISSIONARY.

1. *S. Palladius*, with twelve companions, sent to the Scots[a].
2. *S. Mochta*, a Briton, circ. 500, came to Ireland with twelve disciples[b].
3. *S. Columba*, An. 562, with twelve followers, retired to Hy.
4. *S. Mochonna*, called also *Macharius* and *Mauricius*[c], was sent by St. Columba with twelve companions to the Picts[d].
5. *S. Columbanus*, circ. 612, with twelve brethren, whose names are on record, departed from Ireland to the Continent[e].
6. *S. Kilian*, circ. 680, was chief of a company of twelve who went from Ireland to Franconia, and founded the church of Wurtzburg[f].
7. *S. Eloquius*, disciple of S. Fursa, circ. 680, with twelve companions, whose names are preserved, propagated the Gospel in Belgium[g].
8. *S. Rudbert*, or *Rupert*, circ. 700, chose twelve companions, whose names are on record, to assist him in preaching the Gospel in Bavaria[h].
9. *S. Willibrord*, who had studied for twelve years in Ireland, was chief of a society of twelve who, in 692, were sent by Ecgbert to evangelize Friesland[i]. Their names are given in Surius.

[a] *Scots.*—Vita Tripart. i. 38; Trias Thaum. p. 123 *a*.

[b] *Disciples.*—Colgan, Act. Sanctor. p. 729 *a*.

[c] *Mauricius.*—Brev. Aberd., Propr. SS., Part. Estiv., fol. 155 (Reprint).

[d] *Picts.*—O'Donnell, Vita S. Columbæ, iii. 26; Trias Thaum. p. 435 *b*.

[e] *Continent.*—Jonas, Vit. c. 3, Fleming, Collect. pp. 219 *b*, 320, 321.

[f] *Wurtzburg.*—Acta Sanctorum, Julii, tom. ii. p. 613 *a*.

[g] *Belgium.*—Colgan, Act. SS. p. 436 *b*.

[h] *Bavaria.*—Vita, c. 18, Colgan, Act. SS. pp. 760 *a*, 766 *a*.

[i] *Friesland.*—Bede, H. E. v. 10; Colg. Act. SS. p. 433 *a*.

I.—Missionary.—*continued.*

10. *S. Forannan*, an Irishman, bishop and abbot of Vassor, circ. 970, with twelve companions, propagated the Gospel on the Belgic frontier[k].
11. *S. Paulus*, uncle of S. Jovinus, with twelve presbyters, passed over from Britain to Armorica[l].
12. *S. Joseph*, and his twelve companions, appear in the Glastonbury Legends; and the number recurs in other instances adduced by Ussher[m].

II.—Monastic.

1. *S. Carthach*, or Mochuda, formed at Rahen a community of twelve, whose names are recorded[a].
2. *S. David*, of Menevia, founded twelve monasteries[b].
3. *S. Petroc*, who retired to the wilderness with twelve companions[c].
4. *S. Benedict* founded twelve monasteries, placing in each twelve monks under a superior[d].
5. *S. Cungar*, or Doccuin, placed twelve canons in each of his monasteries[e].
6. *S. Gall* built an oratory, "mansiunculis per gyrum dispositis, ad commanendum fratribus, quorum jam XII. ad æternorum desiderium concitavit"[f].
7. *S. Corpreus*, collected twelve presbyters into his church at Clonmacnois[g].
8. *S. Disibod*, an Irishman, in whose church of Mons Disibodi, or Dysenberg, twelve canons were placed "ad numerum XII. apostolorum"[h].
9. *S. Rhabanus Maurus*, at Fulda, had 270 monks, "inter quos juxta numerum Apostolorum XII. viri erant præ ceteris doctissimi"[i].
10. *Mons S. Victor*, a cell of St. Gall, founded for twelve Irish pilgrims[k].
11. *S. Colman Finn*, "cum suis sociis XII. in Morthreabh Corcnea[l].
12. *SS. Conchennacii* XII., qui cum utroque Sinchello jacent in Kill-achuidh[m].
13. *S. Finniani* XII. discipuli in Ard-brendomnuigh[n].

[k] *Frontier.*—Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis, tom. iii. p. 817 *b*.

[l] *Armorica.*—Colgan, Act. SS. p. 441 *a*, c. 2.

[m] *Ussher.*—Works, vol. v. pp. 26, 29, 131; vi. pp. 291, 440.

[a] *Recorded.*—Acta Sanctor. Maii, tom. iii. p. 382 *b*; Colgan, Act. SS. p. 303; Ussher, Works, vol. vi. p. 543.

[b] *Monasteries.*—Rees, Lives of Cambro-British Saints, p. 123.

[c] *Companions.*—Acta Sanctorum, Jun. tom. i. p. 401 *b*.

[d] *Superior.*—S. Gregorii Dial. ii.

[e] *Monasteries.*—Ussher, Works, vol. vi. p. 540.

[f] *Concitavit.*—Jonas, Vit. c. 30; Flem. Collect. p. 242 *a*.

[g] *Clonmacnois.*—Colgan, Act. SS. p. 509 *a*, c. 4.

[h] *Apostolorum.*—Acta Sanctorum, Jul. tom. ii. p. 596 *b*.

[i] *Doctissimi.*—J. Trithemii, An. Hirsaug. i. p. 5.

[k] *Pilgrims.*—Zeuss, Gram. Celtic. vol. i. p. xvi.

[l] *Corcnea.*—Litan. Ængus, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 539 *a*; Vardæi Rumold. p. 206.

[m] *Kill-Achuidh.*—Litan. Ængus, *ut supra*.

II.—Monastic.—*continued.*

14. *Episcopi* XII. habitatores Killachiæ Dromfhodæ apud Falgheides[o].
15. *Meuthi*, an Irish hermit in Wales, with twelve ministers[p].
16. *Monymusk*, where was a college of twelve Culdees and a prior[q].

III.—Diocesan.

1. *Pope Gregory* wrote to St. Augustine of Canterbury, directing: "Per loca singula XII. episcopos ordines, qui tuæ subjaceant ditioni. Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus episcopum mittere; ita duntaxat, ut si eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque XII. episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur"[a].
2. *S. Cataldus* ducatum in XII. episcopatus distribuens, de suo episcopio archiepiscopatum fecit[b].

IV.—Capitular[c].

1. *Canterbury.*—Dean and twelve canons.
2. *Durham.*—Dean, twelve canons, and twelve minor canons (orig. constit.).
3. *Winchester.*—Dean and twelve canons.
4. *Westminster.*—Dean and twelve canons.
5. *Windsor.*—Dean and twelve canons.
6. *Gloucester.*—Dean, six canons, and six minor canons.
7. *Bristol.*—Dean, six canons, and six minor canons.
8. *Norwich.*—Dean, six canons, and six minor canons.
9. *Aberdeen.*—Bishop, and twelve canons[d].

V.—Educational.

1. *S. Finnian*, of Clonard, had twelve principal students, afterwards styled the *Twelve Apostles of Erin*[e].
2. *Aidan.*—Eata "unus de XII. pueris Aidani, quos primo episcopatus sui tempore de natione Anglorum erudiendos in Christo accepit"[f].
3. *Daire-rabhne.*—Duodecim innocentes pueri in Daire-rabhne[g].

[n] *Ard-brendomnuigh.*—Litan. Ængus, *ut supra.*

[o] *Falgheides.*—Ui Failghe, or Offaley. Litan. Ængus, Vard. p. 205.

[p] *Ministers.*—Rees, Lives of Cambro-British Saints, p. 25.

[q] *Prior.*—Collect. of Aberdeen, pp. 170, 175.

[a] *Perfruetur.*—Bede, Hist. Eccles. i. 29.

[b] *Fecit.*—Ussher, Works, vol. vi. p. 305.

[c] *Capitular.*—See First Report of Cathedral Commission, 1854, Analysis, pp. 1–37.

[d] *Canons.*—Collect. of Aberdeen, p. 157.

[e] *Erin.*—Colgan, Act. SS. pp. 113 *a*, 395 *a*, c. 19; 398 *b*, n. 24; Battle of Magh Rath, p. 26.

[f] *Accepit.*—Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 26.

[g] *Rabhne.*—Litany of Ængus, Vardæi Rumoldus, p. 206. Situation unknown.

VI.—Ceremonial.

1. At Wilfrid's consecration, *Agilberct*, bishop of Paris, "et alii undecim episcopi ad dedicationem antistitis [Wilfridi] convenientes, multum honorifice ministerium impleverunt"[h].
2. *Eanfleda* "baptizata est die sancto Pentecostes, prima de gente Nordanhymbrorum, cum undecim aliis de familia ejus"[i].

VII.—Peregrinal.

1. *S. Ailbhe* went to Rome, attended by several companies of twelve[k].
2. *S. Barr*, of Cork, was attended to Rome by twelve companions[l].
3. *S. Maidocus.* Duodecim qui cum Maidoco Fernensi ultra mare sunt peregrinati"[m].
4. *Laisreanus.* Duodecim qui sine morbo ad æterna tabernacula transierunt cum S. Molassio[n].
5. *Duodecim* peregrini, quorum unum superstitem in Insula Felis reperit Brendanus[o].
6. *S. Rioch.* Duodecim socii S. Riochi ultra mare[p].
7. *Duodecim* peregrini in Lethglas Mor[q].
8. *Duodecim* qui cum Albeo mori elegerunt[r].
9. *S. Munna*, attended by twelve of his fraternity, went to meet the King of Leinster at Rathmor[s].

VIII.—Moral.

1. *Duodecim* gradus humilitatis[t].
2. *Duodecim* pericula animæ[u].
3. *Duodecim* abusiones sæculi[v].

IX.—Miscellaneous.

1. Twelve citizens placed by St. Patrick in Armagh[w]. Represented by twelve burgesses in modern times[x].
2. Twelve pillars and twelve lamps in the Anastasis at Jerusalem[y].

[h] *Impleverunt.*—Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 19.
[i] *Ejus.*—Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 9.
[k] *Twelve.*—E. 3, 11, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 133 *a a*.
[l] *Companions.*—Colgan, Act. Sanct. p. 436 *a*.
[m] *Peregrinati.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 205.
[n] *Molassio.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 206.
[o] *Brendanus.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 205.
[p] *Mare.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 206.
[q] *Lethglas-mor.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 206.
[r] *Elegerunt.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 206.
[s] *Rathmor.*—Cod. Marsh. fol. 128 *bb*; Colgan, Act. SS. p. 352 *a*, c. 18.
[t] *Humilitatis.*—Regula S. Benedicti, cap. 7,
[u] *Animæ.*—Confess. Patric. Lib. Armac. fol. 24 *aa*.
[v] *Sæculi.*—Villanueva, Opuscula S. Patricii, pp. 256–278.
[w] *Armagh.*—Jocel. c. 165, Trias Th. p. 101 *a*.
[x] *Times.*—Stuart's History of Armagh, p. 345.
[y] *Jerusalem.*—Adamnan, De Locis Sanct. i. 2; Bede, H. E. v. 15.

IX.—Miscellaneous—*continued.*

3. Twelve psalms to be recited[a].
4. Twelve hostages delivered up[a].
5. Si XII. ordinati viri sapientes defuerunt, XII. clericorum inordinatorum consilium: si vero XII. clerici non affuerunt, XII. parvulis pueris, virginibus cum mulieribus haut coinquinatis, judicium atque consilium permittatur[b].
6. Twelve masons employed in Wales under an Irish architect called Liuguri[c].

X.—Multiples.

1. *S. Patrick* came to Ireland attended by twenty-four companions[d].
2. *S. Brendan* visits a community consisting of an abbot and twenty-four monks[e].
3. *S. Ailbhe*, with twenty-four men of Munster, crossed the sea[f].
4. *S. Cadoc* and his twenty-four disciples[g].
5. *Ratisbon.*—An Irish monastery, founded for twenty-four Scots[h].
6. *Exeter* cathedral, dean, and twenty-four canons[i].
7. *York* cathedral, dean, and thirty-six canons[i].
8. *S. Cadoc* appointed thirty-six canons at Nantcarban[k].
9. *S. Brendan*, with sixty pilgrim monks[l].
10. *S. Leonorius* went from Britain to Gaul with seventy-two disciples[m].
11. *S. Benedict.*—"Instrumenta bonorum operum LXXII."[n].
12. *Servi* Dei MCC. circa Lasreanum, ac episcopos Lethglinenses[o].

K.

(*See* iii. 18, p. 223. "*Egea insula.*")

There are three Donnans known to the Irish, namely, Donnan, son of Liath, nephew and disciple of St. Senan, who is mentioned in the Life of that saint[a]; Donnan the Deacon[b], son of Beoaedh, brother of St. Ciaran, whose day is Aug. 11; and Don-

[a] *Recited.*—Regula S. Benedicti, cap. 10.

[a] *Delivered up.*—Four Masters, An. 1044.

[b] *Permittatur.*—Vit. S. Cadoci, Rees, Lives of the Cambro-Brit. Saints, p. 43.

[c] *Liuguri.*—That is, Laeghaire. Rees, p. 47.

[d] *Companions.*—Trias Thaum, p. 23 *a*, c. 27.

[e] *Monks.*—Vit. c. 17, Cod. Marsh, fol. 58 *a b*.

[f] *Sea.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 206.

[g] *Disciples.*—Rees, Lives Cambr. Brit. SS. p. 61.

[h] *Scots.*—Zeuss, Gram. Celt. vol. i. p. xxvii.

[i] *Canons.*—Report of Cathedr. Commiss. 1854.

[k] *Nantcarban.*—Rees, Lives Cambr. Brit. SS. p. 82.

[l] *Monks.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 206.

[m] *Disciples.*—Ussher, Works, vol. vi. p. 52.

[n] *Duo.*—Regula S. Benedicti, cap. 4.

[o] *Lethglinenses.*—Litan. Ængus., Vard. p. 206.

[a] *Saint.*—Cap. 35, Colgan, Act. SS. p. 535 *b*.

[b] *Deacon.*—Calendar of Donegal, Aug. 11.

nan of Eigg. The pedigree of the last is not on record, and all that we know concerning him is what may be gathered from short notices in the Irish Calendars and Annals. His name, indeed, occurs at its proper day in the Calendar and Offices of the Breviary of Aberdeen, but there is no allusion to his history, and therefore the writer of his memoir in the Acta Sanctorum is obliged to draw entirely upon Irish authorities. We are told this much of him—that, like St. Columba, St. Maelrubha, and St. Moluoc, this saint was a native of Ireland, and was led to settle, with a company of followers, in the west of Scotland, and that he suffered a violent death at the instance of a malicious woman, and by the hands of a marauding party, possibly of Picts[c] from the neighbouring coast. We learn that he was somewhat junior to St. Columba, whose friend he was, and in whose community he desired to be enrolled. He suffered martyrdom on Sunday, the 17th of April, 617.

His commemoration in the Feilire of Ængus, and the accompanying commentary, are as follows:—

La feil petair deochain. Drebraing martra mbuaidi cona cleir cain dine Donnan eca uari.	With the festival of Peter the Deacon[d]. To glorious martyrdom ascended, With his clerics, of pure lives, Donnan of cold Eig[e].
Donban Ega .i. Ega ainm oilein fil in Alpain, ocus if annfide ata Donnan, no i Cataib, et ibi Donnan sanctus cum sua familia obiit .i. lii.	Donnan of Eig, i. e. Eig is the name of an island which is in Alba, and in it Donnan is [commemorated]; or, in Catt[f]; *et ibi Donnan sanctus eum sua familia obiit, id est,* LII.

[c] *Picts.*—The Life of St. Comgall relates that while he abode in the *Regio Heth*, that is, Tiree, about the year 565, "gentiles latrunculi multi de Pictonibus irruerunt in villam illam, ut raperent omnia quæ ibi erant, sive homines, sive pecora."—cap. 22 (Fleming, Collectan. p. 307 *b*). It would appear from this that the Picts, in their piratical character, still hovered about the Western Islands. See the case of Artbranan, at p. 62, and the extracts from Tighernach at p. 290, *supra*.

[d] *Peter the Deacon.*—In the Martyrology which bears the name of St. Jerom we find the following notice: "xv. Kal. Maii. In Antiochia natalis sancti Petri Diaconi, et Hermogenis ministri."—Opp. tom. xi. pt. 2, col. 564 (Vallarsii, Venet. 1771). The same appears in the Martyrology ascribed to Ven. Bede. It is also entered at the same day in the Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin, p. 106. But it is not found in the Roman Martyrology edited by Baronius, nor in the Greek Menologium. Marian Gorman's Calendar, at April 17, has La petar i prim nem, 'With Peter in chief holiness.' The old parish church of Kilchrenan in Argyleshire was formerly called *Ecclesia S. Petri Diaconi de Lochaw*. See Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 120. It is remarkable to find the name of an obscure martyr of the East thus prominently commemorated in the far West. See Acta Sanctorum, April. tom. ii. p. 479.

[e] *Eig.*—The copy of the Feilire preserved at Brussels reads Eige. In both it and the copy in the Leabhar Breac, from which the extract in the text has been made, there is over the name of Eig the interlinear gloss, i. e. *fons*. The island may have de-

Ir he in Donnan-sa do coid fos amus Choluim cille dia gabail d'anmchara. Co n-debert Colum cille frisi: Ni bam anmchara-sa, ol se, do lucht dergmartra, uair sagu-sa i n-dergmartra ocus do muinntir lat; ocus issed on so comailled.

This Donnan went to Columcille to make him his soul's-friend[g]; upon which Columcille said to him, I shall not be soul's-friend to a company [heirs] of red martyrdom; for thou shalt come to red martyrdom[h], and thy people with thee. And it was so fulfilled.

Teit iarum Donnan cona muinntir i n-Gallgaedelaib, ocus gebid aittreb ind bail a m-bitis caerig signa in tire. Indisset sin don sigain. A marbad uile, olsise. Ni creitmech sin ol cach. Tecas chuca iarum dia marbad. Is andsin bui in clerech oca oiffend. Lecid cairde dun co tais in oiffend, ol Donnan. Lecfides olsiat. Ocus marbtar iarum, iarsin, in lin batar uile.

Donnan then went with his people to the Hebrides[i]; and they took up their abode there, in a place where the sheep of the queen of the country were kept. This was told to the queen. Let them all be killed, said she. That would not be a religious act, said her people. But they were murderously assailed. At this time the cleric was at mass. Let us have respite till mass is ended, said Donnan. Thou shalt have it, said they. And when it was over, they were slain, every one of them.

The Calendar of Marian Gorman, at the same day, has the following commemoration, with its explanatory gloss:—

DONNAN MOR SA MANAIG.

Abo fos caeccait lion a coimtionoil. Co tangatar piratai na fairgi don oilen ina fabatar co ro marbat uile. Eigo ainm in oileim isin.

Donnan the great, with his monks.

Fifty-two were his congregation. There came pirates[k] of the sea to the island in which they were, and slew them all. Eig is the name of that island.

rived its name from a spring, possibly St. Donnan's Well, mentioned further on.

[f] *Catt.*—The crio Chat, 'region of Catt,' included Sutherland and Caithness, the latter of which preserves the original word, compounded with *ness*, 'a promontory.' *Catenes* is the form in old charters. See Irish Nennius, p. 148. Shaw takes the inflection of the word cat, and, supposing *Catav* to be the root of Caithness, proceeds to derive it from *cad*, 'high,' and *taobh*, 'side.'—Moray, p. 50. The same process should apply to the Catti of Hesse; but etymology, without reference to original authorities, is an indulgence as dangerous as it is seductive. The parish of Kildonan, which is referred to in the gloss on the Feilire, is situate on the east side of Sutherland, adjoining Caithness. Sutherland, formerly Sudrland, was the name given to the *south land* of Catenes. See Orig. Paroch. pp. 652, 734.

[g] *Soul's-friend.*—Anmchara is the term commonly used in Irish records to denote *Confessarius*.

[h] *Red martyrdom.*—The Rule of St. Columba mentions *red martyrdom* and *white martyrdom* (Reeves' Colton, p. 110); and in the ancient manuscript of Irish canons preserved at Cambray, the distinction is drawn between *Red*, *Green*, and *White martyrdom* (Zeuss, Gram. Celt. ii. p. 1007). The *Red* is where the life is taken, or martyrdom proper. St. Columba's motive was humility; because Don

The Martyrology of Tamlacht is still more brief: *Donnani Egha cum suis* LII. *Quorum nomina in majore libro scribimus.*

Unfortunately, this larger book is not known to exist at present; but the particular entry in it which is here referred to is preserved in the Acta Sanctorum[l], having been introduced there by Godefridus Henschenius, from an extract which was communicated by Thomas Sirinus[m], or O'Sheerin, Jubilate Lector of Theology in the Irish Franciscan College of Louvain. It is as follows:—

"Ega nomen fontis in Aldafain[n] Cattaibh, in boreali Albania: et ibi Donnanus cum sua familia martyrium subiit. Quod sic contigit. Quædam mulier dives illic habitabat ante Donnanum, et ibi pascebantur pecora ejus. Hæc ergo propter invidiam, quam circa illos habebat, quibusdam latronibus persuasit, ut interficerent Donnanum. Sed cum illi latrones illuc venissent, invenerunt eos in Oratorio psalmodiam cantantes, et ibi non potuerunt eosdem interficere. Dixit autem Donnanus discipulis suis, Eamus in refectorium, ut hi possint interficere nos, ubi vivere carnaliter solebamus: quia quamdiu sumus ubi Deo sategimus placere, mori non possumus: ubi vero carni beneficimus, carnis dispendium solvemus. Sic ergo in refectorio in nocte Paschæ occisi sunt. Quinquaginta duo autem passi sunt simul cum ipso Donnano." Then follow the names: "Ædanus, Iarloga, Maricus, Congallius, Lonanus, Maclasrius, Joannes, Arnanes, Erninus, Baithinus, Rothanus, Andrelanus, Carellus, Rotanus, Fergussanus, Rectarius, Connidius, Endeus, Macloga, Guretius, Junetus, Coranus, Baithanus, Colmanus, Iernludus, Lugadius, Luda, Gruundus, Cucalinus, Cobranus, Conmundus, Cumminus, Balthianus, Senachus, Demanus, Cummenus, Fernlugus, Finanus, Finnchanus, Finnichus, Conanus, Modomma, Cronanus, Kieranus, Colmanus, Naviunus, Remanus, Erninus, Ailchuo, Donnanus."

Upon which recital Henschenius observes: "Noluimus hæc nomina in titulo exprimere, non tam quia veremur ne plura perperam scripta sint, quam quia suspicamur a posteris excogitata, ne pii isti monachi propter justitiam occubuisse crediti, remanerent anonymi." He then adds a Latin translation of the entry in the Calendar of Cashel:

nan, as a martyr, would be a saint of higher order.

[l] *Hebrides.*—Sirinus renders the word Ꝑall-Ꝑaeḋela by *Britanno-Hibernos* and *Britannos-Hibernos.* It occurs in the Four Masters, An. 854, 856, where Dr. O'Donovan interprets it *Dano-Irish.* At 1154, mention is made of Gall-Gaeidhil of Ara, Cantyre, Mann, and west-coast of Scotland.

[k] *Pirates.*—The gloss coins the term ꝓıꝓaıꞇı, as the Latins did *pirata*, from the Greek πειρατής. The word used by the Calendar of Donegal is ꝺıbeꝓꝑaıꝑ, 'robbers.'

[l] *Acta Sanctorum.*—Aprilis, tom. ii. p. 487.

[m] *Sirinus.*—In 1662, he edited Ward's Rumold from the compiler's manuscript, and, in 1667, Fleming's Collectanea, under similar circumstances. A manuscript in St. Isidore's at Rome is entitled, "Catalogus MSS. tam Latine quam Hibernice olim in camera R. P. Colgani repertorum, quibus postea R. P. Sirinus usus fuit."—Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, and vol. vi. p. 96.

[n] *Aldafain.*—This seems to be an error arising out of a misreading of the original. Otherwise, this authority ignores Eigg entirely, and places the massacre at Kildonan, in Sutherland.

"S. Donnanus martyr cum multis sociis, ad Britanno-Hibernos profectus, missis a Rege satellitibus, qui eum interficerent, tantisper ad ejus preces expectarunt, donec Missam finiret. Qua finita ipse S. Donnanus cum suis martyrio est coronatus in eodem loco." To this is subjoined a Latin translation of Maguire's gloss on the Feilire, which has been given above, with an English version.

Now, as to the date of the tragedy, writers are very much at fault: Sirinus conjectures that it was before 596, whereas Keith[o], following Dempster[p], refers Donnan's *florebat* to so late a year as 840. But the true date is placed beyond any question by the hitherto unnoticed entries in the Irish Annals. Tighernach, at 617, says, *Combustio*[q] *Donnain-Ega* hi [*in*] xv. *Kal. Maii cum* CL. *martiribus*[r]; and the Annals of Ulster, at 616, in the same words. According to the peculiar computation of the Annals of Innisfallen, the event took place in 611, at which year they record the Orgain Donnain Ega hi xu. cal. Mai, 'the destruction of Donnain-Ega on the 15th of the Calends of May.' According to the Annals of Ulster, which are more correct in their notation than the printed text of Tighernach[s], the first of January, in 617, the year of Donnan's martyrdom, fell on Saturday, so that the Sunday-letter of the year is B, which is also the Regular-letter of April 17, and thus the saint's death is calculated to have occurred on Sunday, a fact which we would have been led to expect from the mention, in the Calendars, of his having been at mass at the time he was attacked. It is, however, a mistake in the Martyrology of Tamlacht to say that it was on Easter Sunday; for that festival, in 617, fell on April 3, and in 618, on April 16, neither of which, even supposing the latter to be the true date, could coincide with St. Donnan's day. It is a remarkable test of the accuracy of the Annals of Ulster to find a year and a chronological note assigned for an occurrence which is limited by a casual expression in a gloss upon the Calendar; and it is to the credit of that gloss, that what might be supposed to wear the appearance of a random statement is borne out by the solid testimony of veracious chronicles.

In process of time, the island again became a religious abode, and the Annals of Ulster have preserved the obit of one[t] successor of St. Donnan: 724, *Oan princeps* [superior] *Ego mortuus est.* The Irish Calendars add some other names, but as their object

[o] *Keith.*—Scottish Bishops, p. 377 (Edinb. 1824).

[p] *Dempster.*—Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. t. i. p. 207, cited in Robertson's Hist. Collections of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 505 (Spalding Club).

[q] *Combustio.*—This is the term in Tighernach and An. Ult. That in the An. Innisf. agrees better with the Calendars. Possibly the murderers set fire to the chamber where the fraternity were assembled, and slew every one who came out.

[r] *Martiribus.*—The Annals make the number 150, but there seems to have been some error, probably the insertion of a numerical c. The catalogue in the Martyrol. Tamlact. contains just 50 names.

[s] *Tighernach.*—The notation of 617, as printed by O'Conor, is K. iiii., that is, that Jan. 1 fell on Wednesday. In such case the Sunday letter would be E, which belongs to 615, 620.

[t] *One.*—Possibly the following, which is found in Tighernach, at 752, is a second. *Cumine hua Becce religiosus Eco mortuus est.*

is only to give the day, the year is unrecorded: Conan Ceꝺo, 'Conan of Eig,' Jan. 12; Berican Ceꝺo, 'Berchan of Eig,' Apr. 10; Enan inri Ceꝺo, 'Enan of the island Eig,' Apr. 29; Conꝺalach o Aro Ceꝺo, 'Conghalach of Ard-Eig,' Dec. 22.

Of the subsequent history of the island little more is known than the names and dates of occasional possessors[u], from 1292 onwards, till we come to 1703, when we are refreshed by the interesting report of the honest and judicious explorer of the Western Islands. Speaking of the religious remains at Egg, this writer says: "There is a heap of Stones here, called *Martin Dessil, i. e.* a Place Consecrated to the Saint of that Name, about which the Natives oblige themselves to make a Tour round Sunways." Again, "There is a Church here on the East side of the Isle, Dedicated to *St. Donnan*, whose Anniversary they observe. About thirty yards from the Church there is a Sepulchral Urn under ground; it is a big Stone hewn to the bottom, about four feet deep, and the Diameter of it is about the same breadth; I caus'd 'em to dig the ground above it, and we found a flat thin Stone covering the Urn; it was almost full of Humane Bones, but no Head among them, and they were fair and dry. I enquir'd of the Natives what was become of the Heads, and they could not tell; but one of them said, perhaps their Heads had been cut off with a two-handed Sword, and taken away by the Enemy. Some few paces to the North of the Urn there is a narrow stone passage under ground, but how far it reaches, they could give me no account. The Natives dare not call this Isle by its ordinary Name of *Egg*, when they are at Sea, but Island *Nim-Ban-More*[w], i. e. the Isle of the big Women. *St. Donnan's* Well, which is in the South West end, is in great esteem by the Natives, for *St. Donnan* is the Celebrated Tutelar of this Isle. The Natives do not allow Protestants to come to their Burial"[x].

The other church of St. Donnan, alluded to in the Irish Calendars, is situate in Sutherland, adjoining Caithness, and gives name to the parish of *Kildonan*. It stood on the bank of the Helmsdale river, anciently the Iligh, in the valley, called from it Strath Iligh. In this parish "there was a large hollow stone, situated about 3 miles from the church, and about midway between it and Helmsdale, which was called *Suigh Donan* by some, and *Cathair Donan* by others, i. e. St. Donnan's Seat, or Resting Place. The tradition is, that the saint sat down in it, to rest himself, when passing through the Strath of Kildonan"[y].

Another church, where St. Donnan's memory was held in great veneration, was Auchterless, an inland parish of Aberdeenshire. Here his pastoral staff was preserved, and was believed to be efficacious in curing fever and jaundice, until it was broken by

[u] *Possessors.*—See Orig. Paroch. Scot. vol. ii. pp. 335–338.

[w] *Nim-Ban-More.*—That is, na mban mop. Query, could this name have any traditional reference to the female proprietor who instigated the robbers to murder St. Donnan and his people?

[x] *Burial.*—Martin, West. Islands, pp. 277–279.

[y] *Kildonan.*—Old Stat. Account, vol. iii. p. 405.

[z] *Reformers.*—See Robertson's Collections of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 505 (Spalding Club).

the Reformers[a]. His festival was observed on the 17th of April, and that of his relics on the 18th. Here "a market, called Donan Fair, is held in the Kirktown in the month of April, for the sale of sheep, cattle[a], &c."

Besides these principal churches, there were the following chapels in Scotland, where the saint's memory was observed:

4. *St. Donnan's Chapel*, in Little Bernera, on the west of Lewis[b].
5. *Kildonan*, in the parish of Kilpeter, in South Uist[c].
6. *Kildonen*, on Little Loch Broom, in the parish of Loch Broom, Rosshire[d].
7. *Kildonnen*, at Lynedale, in Snizort, a parish of Skye[e].
8. *Kildonnen*, in Kilchousland, a parish of Cantyre[f].
9. *Kildonan*, in the parish of Kilmoric, Isle of Arran[g].
10. *Kildonan*, in Kirkmaiden, a parish of Wigtonshire[h].
11. *Kildonan*, in Colmonel, a parish of Ayrshire[i].

L.

(See iii. 23, p. 230. "*Hac sequenti media venerabili Dominica nocte, patrum gradiar viam.*")

In calculating the year of St. Columba's death, it will be granted that he died on the ninth of June: for though Adamnan does not name the day of the month, he states the coincidence of St. Columba's and St. Baithene's festivals[a], and speaks of the saint's decease as occurring soon after the month of May[b]. In the Feilire of Ængus and the Roman

[a] *Cattle.*—New Stat. Account, vol. xii. p. 292.

[b] *Lewis.*—Martin, West. Islands, p. 27; Orig. Parochiales, ii. p. 386.

[c] *Uist.*—Orig. Parochiales, vol. ii. p. 366.

[d] *Rosshire.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 408.

[e] *Skye.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 355.

[f] *Cantyre.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 20.

[g] *Arran.*—Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 255.

[h] *Wigtonshire.*—N. Stat. Ac. vol. iv. pt. 3, p. 199.

[i] *Ayrshire.*—New Stat. Acct. vol. v. pt. 1, p. 533.

[a] *Festivals.*—See ii. 45 (p. 182) *supra*. To which may be added the following verses from the Brussels MS. already cited (p. 264):

Colaim cille, caem a li,
Ir a peap cumca baoichin;
A pel do ġper, cin cupde,
Fop aenlaice pecemuine.
Batup oena, peġa a lin,
Ceicpe bliadna, ni hanpip,
Deidenchu baitin ipup:
Colum pop cup i papcup.

Columcille,—beautiful his aspect,
And his comrade Baithene;
Their festivals perpetually, without change,
Upon the same day of the week [month].
They were as one, behold this interval;
Four years—it not untrue—
Baithene was later on earth:
Colum was the first in Paradise.

It is a remarkable coincidence that St. Derlugdacha, the immediate successor of St. Brigid at Kildare, whose name is also associated with Abernethy, died on the same day as her patron, having survived one year. See Irish Nennius, p. 163.

[b] *May.*—See ii. 23 (p. 228) *supra*.

Martyrology, as well as those of Bede[c] and Notker, we have domestic and foreign testimonies agreeing with the date which has been observed for the solemnity within the memory of man. We learn, however, from Adamnan the following particulars, which, taken in conjunction with the date of the festival, determine the year with great precision:—

1. Saturday was the last day of the saint's life[d].
2. He had attended the nocturnal vigils[e].
3. Shortly after midnight he rose for matins[f].
4. Which was the second service of Sunday.
5. And just as the brethren had assembled[g].
6. While it was still dark in the oratory, for his attendant was obliged to feel after him, and was unable to discern his condition till lanterns were brought.
7. That this portion of the twenty-four hours was called the *night of Sunday*[h].
8. That, therefore, he died on Sunday.
9. That the ninth of June fell on Sunday.

Now the Regular letter of the ninth of June is f; therefore F was the Sunday letter of the year. But 597 is the only year at this period to which F belongs, that is, whose first of January fell on Tuesday. Thus, as far as Adamnan's statements go, the inference is very explicit, and we are freed from the uncertainty which Ussher expresses: "Cum media nocte Romani civiles suos dies et incipere soleant et terminare: num nox illa media, qua Columbam decessisse diximus, diem Junii nonum vel inchoaverit vel finierit, quæstionis quid habet"[i]. With regard to Adamnan's language, there cannot be any uncertainty; for he represents the saint as saying, while it was yet Saturday, "hac sequenti media venerabili Dominica nocte patrum gradiar viam," and states of the penultimate service which he attended, "Sanctus ad vespertinalem Dominicæ noctis missam ingreditur ecclesiam." Adamnan reckons his day from sunset to sunset, and thus we find him, on more than one occasion, employing a *νυχθήμερον*, and making the night of a festival precede the day[j]. See ii. 45 (p. 181), iii. 11 (p. 210), 12 (p. 211), 23 (230, 233). With this date agree the biographer's chronological notes, who states that St. Columba passed over to Britain in the second year after the battle of Culdreibhne, that is, in 563, being then 42 years old[k], and that he died, having completed 34 years in his pilgrimage[l], thus giving 597 for his obit, and 76 years for his age. So also Bede,

[c] *Bede.*—"In Scotia, S. Columbæ Confessoris."

[d] *Life.*—iii. 23 (p. 230) *supra.*

[e] *Vigils.*—iii. 23 (p. 233, note [m]) *supra.*

[f] *Matins.*—See note [a], p. 234, *supra.*

[g] *Assembled.*—See pp. 235, 239.

[h] *Sunday.*—See pp. 230, 233. Ernene and others were out fishing that night (p. 238, 239, *supr.*), which they would hardly have been if it was the eve of Pentecost.

[i] *Habet.*—Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. 15 (Wks. vi. p. 235).

[j] *Day.*—Cæsar says of the Galli, "dies natales sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur."—Bell. Gall. vi. 18.

[k] *Old.*—Præf. ii. (p. 9) *supra.*

who places his removal to Scotland at 565, the length of his pilgrimage 32 years, and his death, when he was about 77 years of age[m].

But against this evidence may be alleged the authority of Tighernách, who records *Quies Coluimcille in nocte Dominica Pentecostes* v. *Id. Junii, anno peregrinacionis sue* xxxv. *etatis vero* lxxvii. With this statement, that he died on Whitsunday, agree the ancient Irish Life, cited in note [a], p. 234, *supra*, and the Naemhsenchas, which, under the saint's name, has Tri cengcaiḋiṙ Colamcilli: a gen, a baṫhiṙ, a baṙ, 'Three Pentecosts [quinquagesimas] of Colam-cille: his birth[n], his baptism, and his death.' Now, in 597, Whitsunday fell on the 2nd of June, but in 596 on the 10th. If, therefore, the Whitsun element enter into the calculation, the year of the death must be assigned to 596, and Adamnan's mode of computation be inverted; for, in this case, the midnight between Saturday and Sunday must be attracted to the former in order to fit the obit into the 9th, while, at the same time, an opposite process must be adopted in order to identify the occurrence with the ensuing Pentecost. This date, which seems to follow from Tighernach, is adopted by Hermannus Contractus, who places St. Columba's death at 596. But it is opposed to Tighernach's own calculation, who assigns the saint's birth to 520, and allows him an age of 77 years. Dr. Lanigan accounts for this discrepancy by supposing that "Tighernach was, probably, prepossessed with the idea that 596 was the real year of his death, as he might have found it marked in some elder annals, which, however, considering their mode of computation, was, in fact, the same as 597. Then, finding that Pentecost fell in 596 about the 9th of June, he supposed it to be the Sunday on which Columba died"[o]. Or, it may be urged that, as Columba's removal to Britain is said by some to have been at Whitsuntide, *Prima nox ejus in Albain in Pentecosten*[p], an even period was assigned to the term of his pilgrimage, the chronicler being desirous to square the matter, by placing the obit at the same festival. It is further to be observed that, supposing Whitsunday to have been on the 2nd, which it most probably was, the saint's decease was inside the week, and was thus within the octave of Whitsuntide; for the festival of Trinity Sunday was not yet instituted[q], and Easter and Pentecost were the two great ecclesiastical seasons of the year. Dr. Lanigan very justly observes, that "Adamnan, who mentions more than once this obituary Sunday, never calls it *Pentecost*, which, had it been so, he would assuredly have noticed as a very remarkable circumstance, combining the saint's removal to heaven with the celebration of that great festivity"[r].

[l] *Pilgrimage.*—See iii. 22 (pp. 227, 228, *supra*.

[m] *Age.*—Bede, H. E. iii. 4.

[n] *Birth.*—According to the Calendar of Marian Gorman, he was *born* on the 7th of December.

[o] *Died.*—Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 248.

[p] *Pentecosten.*—Annals of Innisfallen, An. 555.

[q] *Instituted.*—Its observance commenced about the middle of the ninth century, but was not admitted into the Roman use until about the middle of the twelfth. The Sundays between Trinity and Advent used to be reckoned from Pentecost.

[r] *Festivity.*—Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. *ut supra*.

With respect to the notation of Tighernach[s] at this year, it must be confessed that it contradicts the entry. For it is K. iiii., that is, that the first of January fell on Wednesday, which makes E the Dominical letter, and thus refers the occurrences under that signature to 598, two years later than is deducible from the entries. We might suppose .iiii. by a very common mistake put for .iii., which would mend the matter a little, and the antecedent signatures might be treated in the same manner; but then the .ii. which would become .u. would have .iiii. as its antecedent, whereas a .i. is found in situ. The Annals of Ulster record the occurrence thus, *Quies Coluim cille* v. *Id. Jun. anno etatis sue* lxxvi. But their signature is vii., which gives B as the Sunday-letter, and indicates 595, the very year in their margin, for where they *say* 594, they *mean*[t] 595. Now it is evident that their record of the event has been advisedly framed; and, therefore, it is hard to conceive on what principle they could refer the event to so early a year. In it, Easter fell on the 3rd of April, and Whitsunday on the 22nd of May, and the 9th of June was *Thursday*.

The choice, then, lies between 596 and 597. To the former Colgan[u] and Dr. O'Conor[v] incline; to the latter the graver judgments of Ussher[w], O'Flaherty[x], and Lanigan[y]: but the question would not have arisen if Tighernach had not mentioned Pentecost; and it has been shown that, even on his high authority, the introduction of this element into the calculation is irreconcilable with the explicit statements of both himself and Adamnan.

M.

(*See* iii. 23, p. 241. "*Locum in quo sancta pausant ossa.*")

Thus it appears that during a century, at least, after the death of St. Columba, his remains were permitted to lie undisturbed in the earth. Ven. Bede extends the period

[s] *Tighernach.*—It has been very much the habit to extol this chronicler as a most accurate chronologist, but it is to be remembered that the years printed in the margin by O'Conor are *O'Conor's own*, not Tighernach's. He generally adjusts them by adding one to the years set down for the parallel entries in the Annals of Ulster. This is very often done in opposition to the author's own notation. In the whole range of Irish literary desiderata no work is more imperatively demanded than a faithful exhibition of Tighernach's text. In O'Conor, it is so corrupt, so interpolated, so blundered, that it is extremely unsafe to trust the text, while it is certain mischief to follow the translation.

[t] *They mean.*—This curious perversity prevails all through these Annals till 1015, when they right themselves.

[u] *Colgan.*—Tr. Thaum. pp. 484–486, where the author discusses the question at length.

[v] *O'Conor.*—Rer. Hib. SS. vol. i. Proleg. p. 139.

[w] *Ussher.*—Britann. Eccl. Antiqq. c. 15 (Wks. vol. vi. p. 235).

[x] *O'Flaherty.*—Ogygia, pp. 474, 475.

[y] *Lanigan.*—Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 245.

a little, and speaks of the monastery of Hy "in quo ipse requiescit corpore"[a]. But ere Notker Balbulus[b], in the tenth century, borrowed the expression *ubi requiescit*, a change had taken place in the condition of the saint's remains. In the course of the eighth century it is probable that his bones were disinterred, and deposited in a shrine or shrines[c]. And once enshrined, they were not likely to be restored to the earth, because every passing year would increase the veneration which led to the first exposure. Yet we find mediæval tradition confidently setting forth Downpatrick as his resting-place[d], while an original record of very early date claims for the neighbouring church of Saul the honour of his interment. We might easily reconcile these two accounts by supposing a translation from Saul, as soon as it became a subordinate church, on the erection of Downpatrick into a bishop's see. The fragmentary memoirs of St. Patrick contained in the Book of Armagh were put on record in the eighth century[e], and the manuscript itself was written[f] about the year 807, by a scribe[g] whose death took place in 846. Speaking of the burial of St. Patrick, they add: "Colomb cille Spiritu Sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii[h] ubi est confirmat id est in Sabul Patricii[i] id est in aeclesia juxta mare pro undecima ubi est conductio martirum id est ossuum Columbcille de Britannia et conductio omnium Sanctorum Hiberniæ in die judicii"[j]. This enigmatical passage seems to owe its involved construction to the circumstance of its having been copied from an earlier authority, in which a portion of the matter consisted of detached explanations, in the form of interlinear glosses, which the copyist, on account of the peculiar nature of his page, or for some other reason, incorporated with the text. The following conjectural restoration is proposed, as exhibiting the passage in a more intelligible, and possibly more genuine form:—

colombcille spiritu sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam
.i. in pabul patricii .i. in aeclesia iuxta mare
patricii ubi est confirmat pro undecima ubi est conductio
.i. orruum
martirum columbcillae de brittannia et conductio omnium
sanctorum hiberniae in die iudicii.

[a] *Corpore.*—Bede, Hist. Eccles. iii. 4.

[b] *Balbulus.*—Martyrol. v. Id. Jun., Canisius, Antiq. Lect. tom. vi. p. 854.

[c] *Shrines.*—The Annals of Tighernach and of Ulster record a series of enshrinings, which took place in Ireland in the course of the eighth century, and the expression by which they denote the process is *Commutacio martirum* (Tig. 734, 743; Ult. 733, 742, 775), or *Commotacio reliquiarum* (Ult. 784, 789, 792, 793), or *Positio reliquiarum in arca* (Ult. 799, 800). With the exception of the last, there are no equivalent entries to these in the Four Masters, possibly from ignorance of their import.

[d] *Place.*—See Reeves' Eccl. Antiqq. pp. 225–228.

[e] *Century.*—The Irish portion makes mention of Flann Febhla, who was abbot of Armagh from 688 to 715; and of Eladhach, son of Maelodhair, lord of Crimthann, who was slain in 738.

[f] *Written.*—This has been proved by Professor Graves in a very able paper in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. iii. pp. 316–324.

[g] *Scribe.*—His name was Ferdomnach. See note

The words *pro undecima* are difficult of explanation, but they were so at the time the manuscript was written, for the scribe has placed in the margin opposite *pro* the mark of obscurity. But whatever ambiguity may attend some words, it is plain that *conductio* is employed to denote 'bringing together,' or 'transfer'[k]; as elsewhere, in the same manuscript, 'meeting,' 'interview'[l]; and that the passage expresses the belief as existing, at the close of the eighth century, that the bones of Columkille[m] had, before that period, been brought to Ireland from Britain, and deposited in Saul.

The same impression is conveyed in another but more legendary record, and seemingly of a later date, which also supposes St. Columba's remains to have been conveyed into the innermost part of Strangford Lough, in the county of Down, and merely differs in making Downpatrick the destination instead of the neighbouring church of Saul. O'Donnell's account of the matter is thus translated by Colgan: "Pro operis hujus coronide (quod minime debuit silentio pertransiri) hic subjicio quomodo corpus hujus S. Patriarchæ in Monasterio Hiensi prius sepultum, fuerit in Hiberniam postea translatum, et in eodem sepulchro cum sacris exuviis Sanctorum Patricii et Brigidæ reconditum. . . . Sufficiat memorare modum et occasionem factæ Translationis, quam hoc modo S. Berchanus[n] contigisse refert. Manderus filius Regis Daniæ, et

at p. 242, *supra*. His death is entered in the An. Ult. at 845: *Ferdomnach, sapiens, et scriba optimus Ardmachae dormivit.* How just this character was, the execution of the Book of Armagh, now open before the writer, fully proves.

[h] *Patricii.*—See the passage from the An. Ult. in No. 8 of the present note (p. 326, *infra*).

[i] *Sabul Patricii.*—That is, *Horreum Patricii*, now Saul. See Reeves, Eccles. Antiqq. p. 220.

[j] *Judicii.*—Liber Armacan. fol. 15 *bb*, 16 *aa*.

[k] *Transfer.*—The late ingenious archæologist, the Hon. Algernon Herbert, in a paper "On the Peculiarities of Culdeism" (British Magazine, vol. xxvi. p. 249), has the following observation on this passage: "It would seem, that Iona was to be the seat of the last judgment; for we read in Tirechan that, eleven miles from the grave of St. Patrick, was 'the embarkation [conductio] of the martyrs, or port [ostium] of Columcille from Britain, and the embarkation of all the saints *from Ireland* at the day of judgment.' From Ireland *to Iona*, since Iona alone was to be unsubmerged." A comparison of this passage with the genuine extract in the text will show how easily an *original authority* may be brought to bear any way one wishes, and will naturally create distrust in a paradox founded on *such* evidence. Saul is not *two* miles from Downpatrick.

[l] *Interview.*—"Per xxx. vices conductionum anguelus ad eum venerat."—fol. 8 *bb*.

[m] *Bones of Columcille.*—That the word *ossuum* has been correctly assigned as a gloss to *martirum* in the restoration proposed in the text, will be seen from the following entries in the early Annals:—734, *Commutacio martirum Petair et Poil et Padraic ad legem perficiendam* (Tigh., An. Ult.) 743, *Commutatio martirum Treno Cille Delgin* (*Ibid.*). 775, *Commutatio martirum sancti Erce Slane; et comotatio martirum Finniani Cluana-Iraird.* (An. Ult.) After A. D. 775, the Annals of Ulster employ the term *reliquiarum* instead (784, 789, 792, 793, 799, 800). Cathal Maguir, who compiled these Annals, borrowed from a succession of original chronicles, and the change in the terms probably indicates a change of author. Mapcpa is the analogous Irish term, which is glossed by caipi in an old MS. (H. 3, 18, p. 525, Trin. Coll. Dubl.), or by minna (H. 4, 22, p. 7). The parish *Kilnamartry*, signifying 'Church of the relics,' derives its name from the same word.

[n] *Berchanus.*—This was Berchan, son of Muir-

Nortmannorum pyraticæ classis Dux, ferro et flamma septemtrionales Britanniæ partes devastans, venit ad Ionam insulam, ubi sacra prophanis Sathanæ Satellites miscentes: direptis omnibus, quæ oocurrerant, terram hinc inde fodiunt, latentes, ut putabant, thesauros inquirentes; ac inter alia effodiunt Sarcophagum seu arcam, in quâ verus erat, licet non cui illi inhiabant, thesaurus, nempe S. Columbæ corpus. Arcam ad navem portant, quam postea versus Hiberniam tendentes aperiunt: et tum nihil inclusum, præter hominis ossa, ac cineres, reperiunt, clausam in mare projiciunt; quæ Dei nutu, Oceani fluctibus agitata, et per undas injecta, reperitur in sinu maris Dunensi urbi vicino, undis supernatans. Quam sic repertam, et divina revelatione agnitam, aperiens Abbas Monasterii Dunensis, sanctum thesaurum arca extractum, in eisdem lipsanis cum Divorum Patricii, et Columbæ [*recte* Brigidæ] sacris exuviis recondidit"[o]. The earliest recorded descent of the Northmen on Hy is 802, which is only five years anterior to the writing of the Book of Armagh.

Notwithstanding this reputed interment, whether in Saul or Down, we find that on the occasion of St. Blaithmac's martyrdom, in 825, St. Columba's shrine, which was adorned with precious metals, was the chief object of the murderous Northmen's search; so Walafridus Strabus states:

"Ad sanctum venere patrem, pretiosa metalla
Reddere cogentes, queis sancti sancta Columbæ
Ossa jacent, quam quippe suis de sedibus arcam
Tollentes tumulo terra posuere cavato,
Cespite sub denso gnari jam pestis iniquæ:
Hanc prædam cupiere Dani"[p].

How soon, or by whom, the shrine was brought to light from its place of concealment, is not recorded; but we know that it was soon after removed to Ireland, for in 878 it was transferred, together with all St. Columba's *minna*[r], to Ireland, for security from the Danes, where it probably remained. Now, it is remarkable, that whereas we hear of Adamnan's relics at 727, 730, within twenty-four years after his death, we find no mention of St. Columba's till eighty years afterwards. Possibly, indeed, in the promulgation of the *Lex Coluimcille* in 753, 757, 778, his shrine may have been borne about as the warrant for the exaction of this religious tribute, and thus an indirect evidence

edhach, of the race of Loarn Mor, the founder of Cluain-sosta, now Clonsast, in the King's County (Ord. Survey, s. 27, where *St. Braghan's Well* is marked); and patron saint of Kilbarchan in Renfrewshire. He was surnamed *Ferdaleithe:* Ferdaleithe anm oile do .i. leth a faogail i nAlbain aour an leth oile in Erinn, 'Ferdaleithe (man of two portions) is another name for him, because one portion of his life was in Alba, and the other in Erin.'—Calend. Doneg., Dec. 4.

[o] *Recondidit.*—Vit. Trip. iii. 78, Tr. Th. p. 446 *a*.

[p] *Dani.*—Vita S. Blaithmaci. Canisius Antiqq. Lect. tom. vi.; Messingham, Florileg. p. 402; Colgan, Act. SS. p. 129; Mabillon, Act. SS. Or. Ben. sæc. iii. pt. ii. p. 318; Pinkerton, Vit. Ant. p. 463.

[r] *Minna.*—In 829, Diarmait, abbot of Hy, went to Alba with the *minna* of St. Columba, and, in 831, returned with them to Ireland. The word minna

of the enshrining may be afforded. After 878 we hear no more of this shrine till 1127, when we find the Danes of Dublin carrying it off, and restoring it, possibly stripped of its gold and silver, at the end of a month. Tighernach, at 976, records the plundering of Scrin Coluimcille, but this violence appears to have been offered to the *church* of Columba's shrine, namely, Skreen in Meath[s], where the precious reliquary may have been deposited. In 1152, the mionna or *reliques* of St. Columba were employed in conjunction with the great reliquary of Armagh, the Bachall Jesu, in the solemnization of a compact; but the reference in that case seems to be to the Soṗcela Maṗtain, or 'St. Martin's Gospel,' which will be noticed further on as being the great heir-loom of the monastery of Derry.

Meanwhile, a fresh competitor for the honour of possessing St. Columba's remains arose in Pictland, for according to the Pictish Chronicle, Kenneth Mac Alpin, "septimo anno regni reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit"[t]. To which an English record adds: Ðonne ꝑeꝗteð Columcýlle on ðaṗe, ꝗtoṗe ꝑe iꝗ ȝenemnoð Duncachan. neah ðaṗe ea ꝑe iꝗ ȝenemnoð tau, 'Sanctus Columcylle requiescit in loco dicto Duncahan juxta fluvium Tau'[u]. Hence Pinkerton draws the conclusion: "It is evident that *Duncahan* is *Duncaldan*, or Dunkeld, upon the river Tay; so that the Irish vainly contend that his bones were carried to Ireland, though, perhaps, his crosier, or some other relics, may have been conveyed thither"[v]. Father Innes declares: "It is the constant tradition and belief of the inhabitants of Ycolmkill and of the neighbourhood at this day, that St. Columba's body lies still in this island, being hidden by pious people, at the time of the new Reformation, in some secure and private place in or about the church, as it used frequently to be in former ages during the ravages of the infidel Danes; and not only the inhabitants of Ycolmkill, and those of all our Western Islands, and of all the Highlands in general, but all the Scots look upon the pretended translation of S. Columba's body to Ireland as fabulous"[w]. But this is declamation: for in the next page the writer adduces evidence

signifies articles of veneration, such as the crozier, books, or vestments, of a saint, upon which oaths used in after times to be administered. See Colgan, Acta SS. p. 127 *b*, n. 5. The old word denoting the bones of a saint is maṗṫa, which is explained by the modern ṫaiṗi. See note [m], *supra*.

[s] *Meath.*—Scṗin Colaim cille ḋo aṗȝain ḋo Ḋomnall mac Muṗcaḋa, 'Scrin of Columcille was plundered by Domhnall, son of Murchadh.'—Tig. 976. This is omitted in the other Annals.

[t] *Construxit.*—T. Innes, Crit. Essay, p. 783; Civil and Eccl. Hist. p. 216; Johnstone, Antiqq. Celt. Normann. p. 140 *a*.

[u] *Tau.*—Hickes, Thesaur. vol. ii. p. 117. Hickes, impressed with the idea of St. Columba's burial at Downpatrick, conjectures that Duncachan may be Down, but does not know whether there is a river Tau near it. Gosselin's translation of the tract, as cited by Ussher, has *Duncabeam* vel *Duncachan*.—Wks. vol. vi. p. 252.

[v] *Thither.*—Enquiry, vol. i., Adv., p. ix. ed. 1814.

[w] *Fabulous.*—Civil and Eccl. Hist. p. 214. The author cites the chronicles of Ordericus Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon, and Matthew Paris, to show that in the eleventh and following centuries it was believed that St. Columba's remains still lay in Hy.

for a translation to Dunkeld. The rational statement is this:—The *grave* of St. Columba is in Hy, where his remains were suffered to lie till a century had passed. Meanwhile his dust had mingled with the earth, and dust with dust continues there to this day: but where that grave is, there is no satisfactory evidence to show; and tradition, which claims for the island the custody of the body, fails, as might be expected, to point out the spot where it lies[x]. It was the custom in the eighth century, particularly in the Irish Church, to disinter and enshrine the tangible remains of the founders of religious houses. There are explicit records of the very years when such processes took place[y]; and that St. Columba's remains were dealt with in like manner, is *a priori* to be expected, and in fact proved. The shrine in which these bones were deposited subsequently became the title-deed of the Columbian community, and was from time to time taken over to Ireland as the warrant for levying religious contributions[z]. But it soon became exposed to fresh danger: for the costliness of the shrine, which veneration for the founder's memory had suggested, excited the cupidity of the roving Northmen; and Ireland became the permanent asylum of these reliques, until it in turn suffered from the same scourge, and even its midland remoteness proved no security against the restless Danes. It is possible that, during these constant removals of the shrine, portions of the reliques may have been taken out, and under the compulsion of power, or the inducements of patronage, have been shared with other churches; thus probably Kenneth Mac Alpin came by his share; and thus, too, the Irish *Screens* by their name. But the gold and silver, which affection had lavished on the original

He also refers to some verses which were appended by the scribe to Cod. B., but which are not now to be found in that MS.

[x] *It lies.*—Martin says: "Near to the West end of the Church in a little Cell lies *Columbus* his Tomb, but without Inscription; this gave me occasion to cite the *Distich*, asserting that *Columbus* was buried in *Ireland;* at which the Natives of *Iona* seem'd very much displeas'd, and affirm'd that the *Irish* who said so were impudent Liars; that *Columbus* was once buried in this Place, and that none ever came from *Ireland* to carry away his Corps, which, had they attempted, would have prov'd equally vain and presumptuous."—Western Islands, p. 258. The place Martin refers to is the cavity near Martin's Cross, opposite the west door of the cathedral. But this ground does not appear to have been a cemetery, or, at all events, not to have been an original one. St. Columba's grave should be sought for in the Reilig Odhrain.

[y] *Place.*—Treno of Cill Delgin, in 743; Erc of Slane, and Finian of Clonard, in 775; Ultan, in 784; Coemgen of Glendaloch, and Mochua Macc U Lugedon, in 789; Tola, in 792; Treno, in 793; Conlaedh, in 799; Ronan, son of Berach, in 800.—An. Ult. The Life of St. Comgall relates: "Transacto jam multo tempore post obitum sancti patris Comgalli, supradictus Sanctus Fiachra venit ad monasterium Bennchor, et elevatis de sepulchro honorifice Sancti Comgalli Reliquiis, elegit S. Fiachra brachium Sancti Comgalli, portavitque ad fines Lageniensium, suam sc. provinciam."—cap. 50, Flem. Collect. p. 313 *a*. St. Comgall's shrine was broken open by the Danes in 823, and his relics cast away. *An. Ult.* See Bede, H. E. iii. 11, 17, 26, iv. 19, 30.

[z] *Contributions.*—This idea seems to be implied in the entry in the An. Ult. 733: *Commutatio martirum Petair et Poil et Padraic ad legem perficiendam.* Armagh was partly indebted for her ecclesiastical precedence to the possession of these relics.

shrine, contributed to defeat its own object in the end, and subjected the shrine to the fate from which its fellow, the Great Gospel of Kells, had so narrow an escape—the shell abstracted, and the substance cast away.

It is further to be observed, that the veneration for St. Columba's remains was not confined to Ireland and Scotland: the cathedral of Durham also claimed to be the depository of at least a portion of his relics. This appears from a catalogue of the relics at Durham, written in the fourteenth century, in which we find the entry: "De ossibus et reliquiis Sancti Columkelli abbatis"[a]. A representation of the saint was painted also on the screen-work of the altar of St. Jerome and St. Benedict, in the same church, with the inscription, "Sanctus Columba monachus et abbas"[b].

In connexion with the history of Columkill's remains, the antiquary may desire to have a catalogue of those articles which tradition invested with the repute of having been esteemed or used by the saint. Adamnan makes mention of a Hymnal, which was preserved in Ireland[c]; and of a White Pebble, which was used as a charm among the Picts[d]; also of Books written by him, and the White Tunic he wore at the time of his death, which were preserved in Hy[e]. Some of these were afterwards lost, but later writings have furnished us with the names of others which do more than supply their place. Thus, among the alleged compositions of St. Columba contained in the Laud MS.[f], is a poem in the form of a dialogue between him and Baithene Mor[g], son of Cuana, on the subject of his chief reliques, to wit, the *Great Cross*, the *Cathach*, and his *Cowl*. Besides these, there were others of lesser note, which will presently be noticed.

1. The Great Cross.—The following is the account of it in the Preface to St. Columba's hymn, *Altus Prosator*[h]:—

In tan po boi Colum cille in hi a	At a time that Columcille was in Hy,
oenur acht boethin na ṡapraḋ nama.	without any attendant, but Baithene only,
Iranḋ tra po ṡailligeḋ do Colum cille	it was revealed to him that guests had ar-
oeigḋ do thiḃecht chuci .i. morpeprur	rived, namely, seven of Gregory's people,

[a] *Abbatis.*—Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres, app. p. ccccxxix. Surtees Soc., Lond. 1839.

[b] *Abbas.*—Description of the Ancient Monuments, &c., of the Church of Durham, p. 115, Surtees Soc. (Lond. 1842.)

[c] *Ireland.*—See ii. 9 (p. 116) *supra.*

[d] *Picts.*—See ii. 33 (p. 148) *supra.*

[e] *Hy.*—See ii. 44 (p. 175) *supra.*

[f] *Laud MS.*—Bodleian Library, Laud, 615, p. 58.

[g] *Baithene Mor.*—Son of Cuana, son of Ænguss, son of Enna, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. He is said to have been present at the convention of Drumceatt. In the Feilire of Ænguss he is styled mor manach, 'great monk,' and is the patron of Tech boethin in Airteach, now Tibohine, in the barony of Frenchpark, county of Roscommon; of Tech boethin, an ancient parish, now a townland called *Taghboyne*, in Churchtown, a parish of Westmeath; and of Rath boethin, now Balrathboyne, a small parish in the union of Kells, in Meath.

[h] *Prosator.*—Leabhar Breac, fol. 109 *a*; Liber Hymnorum; Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 473.

do muntir Grigoir tancatar ḋuiḋeprium o Roim co n-arcadaib leo do .i. in mor Gemm Colum cille, ocur crorr erridhe indiu, ocur immund na rechtmaine .i. immund ceḋ n-oidḋe iriu t-rechtmain ocur alia dona.	who had come to him from Rome with gifts, to wit, the Great Gem of Columcille (which is a cross at the present day), and the Hymns of the Week, that is [a book with] Hymns for each night of the week, and other gifts.

The date of Gregory the Great's accession is Sept. 3, 590, within seven years of which this alleged occurrence may be supposed to have taken place. In O'Donnell the circumstances of the gift are told more in detail, and he ends the account by saying that the reliquary was preserved, at the time when he wrote (1532), in the island of Tory: "Estque illud celebre monumentum quod in Torachia[i] occidua Hiberniæ insula in memoriam Columbæ asservatum Crux magna vulgo appellatur"[k]. This altar cross is not now known to exist, but from the description it would seem that it was cased in metal, and adorned with crystal bosses, like the cross of Cong preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

2. The Cathach.—This name, which is interpreted *Præliator*[l], is derived from cath, 'battle,' for the reason given by O'Donnell in the passage cited at p. 249, *supra*. It is questionable whether the writing of the manuscript be as old as St. Columba's age, though its claim to be considered in the handwriting of St. Columba derives some weight from the great veneration in which it was formerly held, notwithstanding the total absence of decoration. It is a curious particular in its contents, that the reading of Psal. xxxiii. 11, differs from that which is cited by Adamnan as the subject of St. Columba's last act of penmanship[m]. Of the silver case, which is now its most attractive feature, it is unnecessary to offer any description here, as a detailed account, with drawings sufficiently accurate to give a fair idea of its structure, can easily be consulted[n]. The inscription, however, which runs along three sides of the margin of the under surface, is worthy of being correctly recorded:

OROIT DO CATHBARR UA DOMNAILL LAS I NDERNAD IN CUMTACH [SA] ⁊ DO SITTRIUC MAC MEIC AEDA DO RIGNE ⁊ DO DOM[NALL] MAC ROBA RTAIG DO COMARBA CENANSA LAS I NDERNAD.

Which may be interpreted:

ORATIO PRO CATHBARRO UA DOMNAILL PER QUEM FACTUM EST *TÒ* COOPERIMENTUM HOC, ET PRO SITRICO FILIO FILII AIDI QUI FECIT, ET PRO DOMNALLO MAC ROBA RTAIGH PRO COMARBANO KENLISIÆ PER QUEM FACTUM EST.

[i] *Torachia.*—Tory Island. See p. 279, *supra*.

[k] *Appellatur.*—Vit. ii. 20, Trias Thaum. p. 412.

[l] *Præliator.*—The crozier of St. Grellan of Hy-Many was a *cathach*: it was borne in the standard of the king of Hy-Many. St. Caillin of Feenagh blessed a *cathach* for the Conmaicne. See O'Donovan's Hy-Many, pp. 81, 82; also pp. 329, 333, *infr.*

[m] *Penmanship.*—See note [e], p. 233, *supra*.

[n] *Consulted.*—Betham's Antiquarian Researches vol. i. p. 109 (Dublin, 1827).

Cathbarr O'Donnell, son of Gillachrist [ob. 1038], son of Cathbarr, son of Domhnall Mor, the progenitor of the O'Donnell's, was chief of the Cinel Luighdech[o], and died in 1106. Domhnall Mac Robhartaigh[p], successor of Columba at Kells, died, according to the Four Masters, in 1098. His name occurs also in the charters which are entered in the blank pages of the Book of Kells[q]. Sitric was son of Mac Ædha, who was surnamed *Cerd*, that is, 'Artificer,' in the Charters of Kells, where mention is made of *Fland mac Mic Aedha* also. The family of Mac Aedha[r] seem to have been the hereditary mechanics of Kells. It is interesting to observe the relation here recorded as subsisting, through the Columbian system, between remote parts of Ireland: O'Donnell being lord of a territory in the extreme north of the island, yet associated with the abbot of a midland monastery; and that abbot the member of a family which also was seated in the remote north[s], supplying herenachs to two churches in St. Columba's region of Tirconnell, and occasionally appearing in the administration of St. Columba's church of Derry. In 1497 the *Cathach* was employed for military purposes, but failed of procuring victory for its possessors. Con O'Donnell led an army into Moylurg in Connaught, to attack Mac Dermott, but was defeated at the battle of Bealach-buidhe. Mac Robhartaigh, the keeper [maor] of the Cathach of Columcille, was slain, and the Cathach taken from the Tirconallians. Two years after, it was restored.—(Four Masters.) In the early part of the sixteenth century it was still the great reliquary of Tirconnell; and in the following century it continued to be in the custody of the family of Mac Robhartaigh, the official keepers under the Lord of Tirconnell. When it reappears in the next century, it is found in the possession of the head of the O'Donnell family, who recorded his guardianship in an inscription[t] on the silver frame which he made for its preservation: IACOBO 3. M. B. REGE EXULANTE, DANIEL O DONEL IN

[o] *Cinel Luighdech.*—A tribe of the Cinel Conaill, who occupied the present barony of Kilmacrenan. See p. 192, *supra*. At 1129, the Four Masters record that "the house of Columcille at *Cill-mic-Nenain* was taken by Ua Tairchert, from Aedh, son of Cathbarr Ua Domhnaill, and it was burned over him." The O'Donnells were at first only chiefs of Cinel Luighdech, but they afterwards rose to be lords of Tirconnell. It was probably on their rise that the story contained in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 108 *b*) was written, of which the following is an extract: ar ir bocha lium Gaedil olbaic fri domain ocar cenel Conaill olbaic Gaedil, ocar cenel Lugdach olbaic Cenel Conaill, 'for I prefer the Gaedhil to the men of the world; and I prefer the Cinel-Conaill to the Gaedhil; and Cinel Lughdhach to the Cinel Conaill.'

[p] *Robartaigh.*—The name is defective in the inscription, but enough remains to identify it with that in the charters of the Book of Kells.

[q] *Kells.*—Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society, pp. 130, 140.

[r] *Mac Aedha.*—Now anglicised Mackew, Mackee, Magee, Hewson, Hughes.

[s] *North.*—A portion of this family, whom the Columbian connexion with Kells brought to Meath, have descendants still remaining in that county, who are known by the name *O'Rafferty*, while the other branch, which is found in Donegal, is called *O'Roarty*.

[t] *Inscription.*—Incorrectly printed in Betham' Antiquarian Researches, p. 115.

XTIANISS° IMP° PRŒFECTUS REI BELLICÆ HUSUSCE HŒRADITARII SANCTI COLUMBANI PIGNORIS VULGÓ CAAH DICTI TEGMEN ARGENTEUM VETUSTATE CONSUMPTUM RESTAURAUIT ANNO SALUTIS 1723. This most remarkable reliquary, combining so many exciting associations, is the property of Sir Richard Annesley O'Donnell, Bart., a descendant of the Cathbarr Ua Domhnaill, whose name is engraved upon the case, between whom and the present possessor four and twenty generations of this illustrious house have passed by[v]. The Caah is at present in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, through the liberal indulgence of its distinguished owner[w].

3. THE COCHALL.—Cocall is the Irish form of *cuculla*, a word which occurs in the text at p. 136, *supra*, where there is evidence to show that, even so early as Adamnan's time, the garment expressed by it was supposed to have been endowed with supernatural virtue. The old Irish Life, treating of St. Columba's reception at Kells, by Aedh Slaine, proceeds to say:

Ro fenartar tra cocall do acar atbert ni gonfaide cein no bech in cocall fin imme. Da pone umoppo Aedh Slane fingal dar brechip Coluim cille for Suibne mac Colmain. I cind ceitre mbliadan iarum luidrium for fect. Dermatir a cochull. Marbtar ir ind lo fin.

He consecrated, therefore, a cowl for him; and he said that he could not be wounded while he had it on him. Aedh Slane, however, committed fratricide, contrary to Columcille's admonition, on Suibhne, son of Colman. At the end of four years he went on an expedition. He forgot his cowl. He was slain that day.

The legend in the Book of Lecan, cited at p. 39, *supra*, represents Aedh, son of Ainmire, as the recipient of the favour. O'Donnell copies both statements, and exhibits the two Aedhs as provided respectively with charmed vestments[x].

4. THE CUILEBADH.—The Annals of Ulster, at 1034, record that—

Macnia hua hUchtain ferleiginn Cenannra do bathad ic tiactain a hAlbain, acar Culebad Coluim cille, acar tri minna do minnaib Patraic acar trica fer impu.

Macnia Ua hUchtain[y], lecturer of Kells, was lost on his voyage from Scotland; and Columcille's *Culebadh*, and three of Patrick's reliques, and thirty men with him.

The old English version, suppressing the first syllable of the word in question, and reading lebar for the rest, translates it 'booke;' while the Four Masters omit the

[v] *By.*—See the pedigree of O'Donnell in O'Donovan's Battle of Magh Rath, p. 336; Four Masters, Appendix, p. 2400.

[w] *Owner.*—The manner in which the Cathach passed from Colonel Daniel O'Donnell to the possession of Sir Neal O'Donnell, the father of the present owner, is related by O'Donovan in his Appendix to the Four Masters, p. 2400.

[x] *Vestments.*—Vit. S. Columbæ, i. 60, 64, Tr. Th. pp. 399 *b*, 400 *a*.

[y] *Ua hUchtain.*—The name of a family connected with the church of Kells. See p. 279, *supra*.

preceding conjunction, and, dismembering the word, read cu lebaḋ, *cum lecto*, thus referring us to the "nuda petra" of p. 233, *supra*. This liberty they took with the original, not knowing, it would seem, what culebaḋ meant. They found the word again in the following passage of the Annals of Ulster, which relates an outrage committed by Tighernan O'Ruairc in 1128, but they have omitted the whole passage:

Comarba Patraicc do nochṁarugaḋ in a fiadnure .i. a cuidechta do ṁlac acar dream dibh do marbaḋ acar mac cleirech dia muintir fein do bi fo chuilebadh do marbaḋ ann.

The successor of Patrick was openly outraged in his presence; for his retinue were plundered, and some of them were killed; and a clerical student of his own people, who bore a *culebadh*, was slain there.

Thus it appears that the word was a general term. We are brought a step further towards the meaning of it by a passage in the Preface to the Amhra Coluim-cille:

Acar ar amlaid tanic Colam cilli acar breid ciarṫa ara ṁuilib, acar culpait tairis anuar, acar att in coṫaill tairis sin anuar, ar na faiceaḋ firu Erend na a mna.

And the way that Columcille came was, with a cere-cloth over his eyes, and his *culpait* over that, and the hood of his cowl over that; so that he should neither behold the men nor women of Erin[z].

O'Donnell gives the legend, with the addition, that means were taken to prevent Columba from *setting foot on Ireland*, but he omits the desired word:

Do bi fod d'uir na hAlban fo a coraib,
Da bi breid ciarṫa dar a ṁuilib,
Do bi a baired tar a ṁuin sin anuar,
Do bi a atan agus a coṫall tarra sin amuig.

'There was a sod of the earth of Alba under his feet:
There was a cere-cloth over his eyes:
There was his woollen-cap drawn over that:
There was his *hood*, and his cowl, over these outside.'

The Annals of Tighernach, at 1090, have the following curious entry:

Mionna Ċoluim cille .i. Clog na rig ocur an Cuillebaig do [teċt] a tir Conaill ocur fect ficit unge dairgiod, acar Aongus Ua Domnaillan irre dor fuc a tuaid.

The reliquaries of Columcille, viz., the Bell of the Kings, and the *Cuillebaigh*, came from Tirconnell, with 120 ounces of silver, and Aongus O Domnallain[a] was the one who brought them from the north [to Kells].

[z] *Erin.*—MS. H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl. The same story is told in the Irish Life contained in the Highland Society MS. (now in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh), fol. 12 *aa*.

[a] *O Domnallain.*—Coarb of the *Disert* at Kells (Miscell. Ir. Ar. Soc. p. 136), chief *confessarius* and

There remains another notice of this monastic habit, in an extravagant tale, called "The Sea-wanderings of Snedgus and Mac Rigail, two of Columcille's priests"[b]:

Acaſ do beſ an t-en duillind do duillib an craind ſin dona cleiſcib acaſ meit ſeđeđ daim maiſ an duilind ſin acaſ aſbeſt ſſiſ na cleiſcib a tabaiſt leo ſoſ altoiſ Coluim cille na duille ſin. Conid h-i cuilefaid Coluim cille andiu a Cenandur atafiđe.

And the bird gave a leaf of the leaves of that tree to the clerics, and it was as large as the hide of a great ox; and told the clerics to take it with them, and place it on the altar of Columcille. And that is the *Cuilefaidh* of Columcille at this day. And it is at Kells that it is.

In the foregoing extracts the word is variously written culebađ, cuilebađ, culpait, and culefaiđ; and in a curious diagram which occurs in a tract on Ogham writing in the Book of Ballymote[c], we find the word cuilibad in conjunction with the names Colum cilli and Ceallać. Cormac's Glossary, cited by O'Reilly, explains culpait *quasi* cail ſuit or ſuaćt, 'a defence from cold.' Still there is good reason for supposing that, as coćall is the Irish form of *cuculla*, so culebađ is of *colobium*, and that it represents the *tunica* of p. 175, *supra*.

5. Delg Aidechta.—The legend of St. Columba's visit to Rome, mentioned at p. 205, *supra*, has the following passage:

Tafaill Colam cilli co Griġair co tuc dealc Griġair lair conad h-e delġ aidechta comarbća Coluim cille beoſ: acaſ co ſafcaib-ſium a ġraib ic Griġair.—Book of Lecan, fol. 183 *a*.

Columcille tarried with Gregory, and brought Gregory's brooch away with him, and it is the Testamentary Brooch[d] of the Coarb of Columcille to this day. And he left his style with Gregory.

senior of Columcille's congregation, died at Kells in 1109 (An. Ult.; Four Mast.)

[b] *Priests.*—MS. H. 2. 16. Trin. Coll. Dubl.

[c] *Ballymote.*—Fol. 169 *b*, Libr. Roy. Irish Acad. It is worthy of notice that in the tract *De Matr. SS. Hib.*, ascribed to Ængus the Culdee, the mother of Maelbrigid, son of Torna, is said to be Saerflaith, daughter of *Cuilebad.*—Liber Lecan.

[d] *Testamentary Brooch.*—Aideoć, now Uđaćt, signifies 'a testamentary disposition.' Connected with the church of Armagh was the Cloc in Aideóta, 'Bell of the bequest,' so called because it was believed to have been bequeathed by St. Patrick. See O'Donnell, i. 7, Tr. Th. p. 390 *b*. In the following passage, which was written circ. 730, we find some early instances of the ecclesiastical application of the term: Cpſcop Aed boi i Sléibti luid du Arđd Machae: biſt eđoct cu Segéne du Arđd Machae. Đubbeſt Seġene oiſtheſſoch aidachť du Aid ⁊ adoſaſt Aed aidachť ⁊ a chenél ⁊ a eclíſ du Pátſiic cubbſach. Fáccab Aed aidachť la Conchad. Luid Conchad du Arť Machae, contubaſt Flann Feblae a cheill đóo, ⁊ ġabſi cadeſſin abbaiđ. 'Bishop Aedh, who was at Sletty, went to Armagh: he gave his bequest to Segene at Armagh. Segene gave a different bequest to Aid; and Aid gave his bequest, his tribe, and his church to Patrick for ever. Aed left his bequest with Conchadh. Conchadh went to Armagh, so that Flann Febla gave his church to him, and therefore he assumed the abbacy.' (Lib. Armacan. fol. 18 *a b*.) The formula of an aedoćht from Feth Fio is given in fol. 17 *a b* of same MS.

This *delg* probably belonged to that class of ornament, of which so many and such beautiful specimens have been found in Ireland.

6. Mor Bachall.—The pastoral staff, which St. Columba confided to Scanlann, prince of Ossory, on the occasion of his liberation after the Convention of Drumceatt[e]. "Pedum suum ei tradit, tanquam in lubrico verum baculum, et in omni adversitate præsidium; in Domino fideliter promittens ipsum illius munimine, eam virtutem Christo conferente, per objecta pericula salvum et incolumem evasurum, et monens ut ipsum demum baculum S. Laisreno discipulo suo, Monasterii Darmagensis tunc rectori, retradat"[f]. From the last line we learn that this reliquary was preserved in Durrow.

7. Cambo Kentigerni.—Jocelin gives an account of a visit which St. Columba paid to his celebrated contemporary, St. Kentigern of Glasgow, and, having related a miracle performed by the latter, proceeds to say: "In illo loco ubi istud miraculum per Sanctum Kentegernum factum, in conspectu Sancti Columbæ, et aliorum multorum, innotuit; alter alterius baculum, in pignus quoddam et testimonium mutuæ dilectionis, in Christo suscepit. Baculus vero quem Sanctus Columba dederat Sancto pontifici Kentegerno, in ecclesia Sancti Wilfridi episcopi et confessoris apud Ripum, multo tempore conservabatur; et propter utriusque sanctitatem, dantis videlicet et recipientis, magnæ reverentiæ habebatur"[g]. We further learn from Fordun, that, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, this reliquary was still to be seen at Ripon: "Ac nunc cambo[h], quem beatus Kentigernus à beato Columba receperat, in ecclesia Sancti Wilfridi de Ripoun, aureis crustulis inclusus, ac margaritarum diversitate circumstellatus, cum magna reverentia adhuc servatur"[i].

8. Gospel of Martin.—Concerning this reliquary the old Irish Life briefly says:

Luiḋṗium ṗeċṫuṙ aile o Ḋoiṗe cu Ṫoṗinip Maṙṫain conuṙ ṫuc in ṗoṙṫela boi ṗoṙ bṗoinniḃ Maṙṫain ceḋ m-bliaḋain i ṫalmain conuṙ ṗacaiḃ i nḊoiṗe.	He went at another time from Derry to Tours of Martin, and brought away the Gospel that lay on Martin's breast in the ground for a 100 years[k], and he left it in Derry.

In the twelfth century it was the chief reliquary of the church of Derry, and we

[e] *Drumceatt.*—MS. H. 2, 16, Trin. Coll. Dubl. fol. 681.

[f] *Retradat.*—Vit. iii. 13, Trias Th. p. 433 *b*. There is a poem on the subject in the Laud MS., beginning beiṙ mo bachuill lſṫ aṫ laiṁ, 'Take my Staff with thee in thy hand.'—p. 50.

[g] *Habebatur.*—Cap. 40. Pinkerton, Vit. Antiq. p. 285.

[h] *Cambo.*—*Cambuta* is the more usual form of the word, denoting a staff. Jonas calls St. Columbanus' staff *cambata* (Vit. c. 30, Fleming, Collectan. p. 243 *b*), a word conveying the idea of curvature, as in the Greek κάμπτω, and the Irish cam. See Mabillon de Liturg. Gallic. p. 435; Fleming, Collectan. p. 362 *b*; and the figures in Goar's Eucholog. pp. 98, 133 (Venet. 1730).

[i] *Servatur.*—Scotichronicon, iii. 30.

[k] *Hundred years.*—St. Martin died circ. 397, so that this legend would place the discovery of his gospel at 497, thirty years before S. Columba's birth! Columba of Tirdaglass also is said to have brought away reliquaries from Tours. See p. 332, *infra*.

find recorded in the Annals of Ulster, at 1166, the violation of a contract which had been solemnized in presence of the Coarb of Patrick with the Bachall Jesu, and of the Coarb of Columcille with the Gospel of Martin. But it was lost soon after; for, in 1182, "Donnell, son of Hugh O'Loughlin, marched with an army to Dunbo, in Dal-Riada, and there gave battle to the English. The Kinel-Owen were defeated; and Randal O'Breslen, Gilchreest O'Kane, and many others, were killed. On this occasion the English carried off with them the Gospel of St. Martin." The legend concerning the invention of this manuscript is borrowed by O'Donnell from the Acts of St. Eugenius of Ardstraw and St. Mochonna, or Machar, the patron saint of Aberdeen. It relates that the people of Tours had lost the clue to the exact spot where St. Martin's remains were buried, and that on the occasion of St. Columba's visiting their city they applied to him to point out the place where the body of their patron saint lay, which he consented to do on condition that he should receive for his portion everything found in the grave, except the bones of Martin. "Conditione facile admissa, vir Sanctus locum, in quo sacrum corpus jacebat, indigitat, in eoque mox defosso simul cum desideratis exuviis cum Missarum reperiretur liber[l]; factæ sponsionis Turonenses prope pœnituit, detrectantes inventum Missale Columbæ poscenti consignare, nisi ille priori beneficio alteram adhuc adderet gratiam, et Turonensi Ecclesiæ administrandæ aliquem e suis sociis virum sanctum et idoneum præficiendo relinqueret. Quod ipsum posteaquam vir Sanctus annuerat, et Sanctum illis Mochonnam velut jam antea a summo Pontifice pro Turonensi sede destinatum, præsentârat, assecutus est desideratum B. Martini librum"[m].

Now, though it is very unlikely that St. Columba ever travelled beyond the British Islands, the above legend is interesting as an indication of the early connexion which existed between Ireland and the church of Tours. St. Martin is represented as St. Patrick's grand-uncle, and as a principal agent in his mission to Ireland. In the next age, his body is reported to have been discovered by the great monastic patron of Ireland, and his ritual transferred from Tours to Derry. And in later times the holy wells of Derry, called tobar Martain, tobar Adamnain, and tobar Colum, preserved the local association of his name with those of the fathers of the Columbian order[n].

[l] *Missarum Liber.*—It is called a poirtela, or *gospel*, in other authorities, but the British and Irish extended the term to a formulary containing portions of the Gospel read in Divine Service. Thus in St. Caidoc's Life we find "Cum beatus Gildas in insula Echni Deo ministeriis mancipatus degeret, missalem librum scripsit, illumque sancto Cadoco obtulit, quum illius Confessor extitit, ideoque codex ille *Evangelium Gildæ* vocatur."—Rees, Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 66. The vague acceptation of the term appears in the gloss on the Felire, at St. Finnian's day, as translated by Colgan: "Ferunt quod Finnianus de Magbili tulerit libros Legis Moysaicæ primo ad Hiberniam, si hoc verum: vel per Libros Legis intelliguntur Evangelia."—Acta Sanctorum, p. 643 *a*.

[m] *Librum.*—Vit. iii. 28, Trias Thaum. p. 436 *a*.

[n] *Order.*—Ord. Memoir of Templemore, p. 26.

Another account of the origin of this ancient manuscript (for that such a book, whether Martin's or Patrick's, was preserved in the diocese of Derry, is unquestionable) is, that it had belonged to St. Patrick, who, as the Tripartite Life says, when "morti vicinus, librum Evangeliorum, quo ipse dum viveret, utebatur, illi velut Euangelii observantissimo cultori, testamento legaverit, ex suo etiam in Ardmachia successori mandaverit certam quotannis pensionem pro eodem seponere. Præfatus vero Euangeliorum codex ad Columbæ manus devenit, sive illi fuerat per S. Brigidam Virginem, penes quam depositus scribitur, consignatus; sive, quod aliqua habent exemplaria, Angelico illi ministerio allatus ex D. Patricii tumulo, in quo jubente Patricio, ne in aliquas iniquas manus incideret, conditus existimatur"[o]. To the discovery of the manuscript in St. Patrick's grave, the following entry in the Annals of Ulster, copied from a chronicle called the Book of Cuana, refers:

A. C. 552. Reilci Patraic do tabhairt i fcrin i cinn tri fichet bliadain iar netrecht Patraic la Colum cille tri minna uairle do fagbhail irin adhnacal .i. in Coach, ocur Soircela ind aingil ocur Clocc in oidechta. Ir amlaidh ro ro ḟogail in taingel do Colum cille inna .iii. minna .i. in Coach do Dun, ocur Clocc in aidechta do Ardmacha, Soircela in aingil do Colum cille fein. Ir aire do gapar Soircel in aingil de ar ir alaim in aingil arroet Colum cille hi.

The relics of Patrick were enshrined sixty years after his death by Columcille. Three precious reliquaries were found in the tomb, sc. the Cup, the Angel's Gospel, and the Bell of the Will[p]. The angel directed Columcille to divide the three reliquaries thus: the Cup to Down, the Bell of the Will to Armagh, the Gospel of the Angel to Columcille himself. And it is called the Gospel of the Angel, because Columcille received[q] it at the Angel's hand.

O'Donnell has transferred this anecdote into his narrative[r], which Colgan has imperfectly translated[s]. That the Gospel of St. Martin and the Gospel of the Angel were supposed to be identical, appears from a poem in the Laud MS. (p. 81) beginning Taircfidter mo ḟoircela, 'My gospel shall be preserved,' in which St. Patrick is represented as describing the future greatness and holiness of St. Columba; where the gloss remarks that the Gospel of St. Martin is alluded to.

[o] *Existimatur.*—Vit. Trip. i. 7, Tr. Th. p. 390 *b*.

[p] *Bell of the Will.*—On the word aidecta, see note [e], p. 323, *supra*. In the Laud MS. there is a poem purporting to be addressed to the Bell by St. Columba, in which it is stated that it had lain concealed for sixty-four years (p. 119). This reliquary is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Todd. See Reeves' Eccl. Ant. pp. 369–375; St. Patrick's Bell with five Chromo-lithog. Drawings (Belfast, 1850).

[q] *Received.*—Arroet, an obsolete word, explained in a gloss fuair, i. e. *got, received*. It occurs again in the An. Ult. 1106, where O'Conor incorrectly translates it *convenerunt*.

[r] *Narrative.*—Bodleian Library, Rawlinson, 514, fol. 24 *b a*.

[s] *Translated.*—Vit. i. 114, Tr. Th. p. 408.

9. Book of Durrow.—Thus noticed by Archbishop Ussher: "In Regio comitatu ea est, Durrogh vulgo appellata: quæ monasterium habuit S. Columbæ nomine insigne; inter cujus κειμήλια evangeliorum codex vetustissimus asservabatur, quem ipsius Columbæ fuisse monachi dictitabant: ex quo, et non minoris antiquitatis altero, eidem Columbæ assignato, quem in urbe Kelles sive Kenlis dicta Midenses sacrum habent, diligenti cum editione vulgata Latina collatione facta, in nostros usus variantium lectionum binos libellos concinnavimus"[t]. Henry Jones, bishop of Meath, subsequently became possessed of it, and presented it to Trinity College, Dublin, of which institution he was vice-chancellor. The silver-mounted case[u] in which this book was preserved has been lost; but its absence is the less to be deplored, as a record of the inscription which it bore is entered, in the handwriting of the famous Roderic O'Flaherty, on the fly-leaf of the manuscript[v]: "Inscriptio Hibernicis literis incisa cruci argenteæ in operimento hujus Libri in transversa crucis parte, nomen artificis indicat; et in longitudine tribus lineis a sinistra et totidem dextra, ut sequitur:

✠ oroit acus bendacht cholumb chille do flann macc mailsechnaill do righ erenn las a ndernad a cumdach so.

Hoc est Latine[w]:

✠ ORATIO ET BENEDICTIO S. COLUMBÆ CILLE SIT FLANNIO FILIO MALACHIÆ REGI HIBERNIÆ QUI HANC (OPERIMENTI) STRUCTURAM FIERI FECIT.

Flannius hic Rex Hiberniæ decessit 8 Kal. Maii et die Sabbati ut in MS. Cod. Hib. quod Chronicon Scotorum[x] dicitur anno æræ Christianæ vulgaris 916. Hanc inscriptionem[y] interpretatus est Ro. Flaherty 19 Jun. 1677."

Thus it appears that the book was venerable in age, and a reliquary in 916.

The remarkable colophon, which has been cited at p. 242, *supra*, appears on the last page of the *capitula* of St. John's Gospel, which originally closed the volume, but which has improperly been made the twelfth folio by the hands of a modern binder. Dr. Charles O'Conor has given an excellent fac-simile of a page of this remarkable manuscript: but he has fallen into the strange error of confounding the Book of Kells with it[z], and of mixing up Lhuyd's notices of the two[a].

[t] *Concinnavimus.*—Britann. Eccles. Antiqq. c. 15, Wks. vol. vi. p. 232.

[u] *Case.*—See, for an example of such a case, the plates at the end of the second volume of Dr. O'Conor's Rer. Hib. Script.

[v] *Manuscript.*—Trin. Coll. Dubl. MSS. A. 4. 5.

[w] *Latine.*—More literally, "Oratio, et benedictio Columbæ-cille, pro Flanno filio Mailsechnalli pro rege Hiberniæ, per quem factum est τὸ operimentum hoc."

[x] *Scotorum.*—Also in the An. of Ulst. at 915, which is 916.

[y] *Inscriptionem.*—See Lhuyd, Archæol. p. 432 *b*; O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. vol. i. Ep. Nuncup. p. 182; O'Flaherty, Ogyg. Vindicated, p. 26; Nicholson, Histor. Libr. (Irish) præf. p. v. (Lond. 1776).

[z] *With it.*—Rer. Hib. SS. vol. i. Ep. Nuncup. p. 180, and Prolegom. p. 185.

[a] *Two.*—Archæologia, p. 432 *b*, *voce* Oroid; p. 435 *c*, n. 417.

10. Book of Kells.—This wonderful manuscript was preserved at Kells, in the county of Meath, at the time that Archbishop Ussher wrote his Antiquities of the British Churches, as appears from his words cited in the preceding article. It had existed there for many centuries, and was traditionally called the Book of Columcille. The costly shrine with which it was enclosed nearly proved its destruction in the beginning of the eleventh century, as we learn from the Annals of Ulster, as also the Four Masters at 1006, where it is related that "the Great Gospel of Columcille was stolen at night from the western sacristy of the great church of Cenannus. This was the principal relic of the western world, on account of its remarkable cover. And it was found after two months and twenty days, its gold having been stolen off, and a sod over it." Fortunately, the manuscript itself sustained little injury (it received more from the *plough* of a modern bookbinder), and in the course of the following century its blank pages were considered a fit depository for copies of certain charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, connected with the endowments of Kells[b]. Archbishop Ussher became possessed of this manuscript, and after his death it was in great danger of being lost: but it escaped, and on the Restoration it came, with what remained of the archbishop's library, "ex dono Caroli II." into the custody of Trinity College, Dublin, where it remains, the admiration and astonishment of every one who examines it.

11. The Misach.—A manuscript, but of what, is unknown; for, conversely to the fate of the Books of Kells and Durrow, the case remains, but its contents are gone. The custody of this reliquary was hereditary in the family of O'Morison, who were the herenachs of Clonmany, a parish in Inishowen, and it continued in their possession till the abolition of old church tenures reduced them to a state of penury, and they were induced to part with it. The case is of wood, overlaid with wrought silver, and is ornamented with ecclesiastical figures resembling those on the case of the Cathach, as may be seen in the published drawing[c]. An inscription in two lines appears on the upper side in these words:

Brian mac Briain i Muirgiurra b
o cumdaig me A. D°. M°CCCCC°XXXIIII.

'Brian, son of Brian O'Muirguissan, covered me, Anno Domini 1534.'

The keeper of the reliquary in 1609 was Donogh O'Morison, who was a juror at an inquisition sped that year at Lifford, where it was found that a quarter named Donally was "free to Donnogh O'Morreesen, the abbots' corbe and the busshop Derrie's herenagh of those three quarters: that the other three quarters of the said six quarters church land were given by the O Dogherties and O Donnells to Collumkill, as a dedi-

[b] *Kells.*—These most curious records have been printed, with a translation and notes, by Doctor O'Donovan, in the Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society, pp. 127–158.

[c] *Drawing.*—Betham's Antiquarian Researches, i. p. 213. (Dublin, 1827.)

cation towards his vestiments when he went to warre, which said three quarters, beinge free, were given to the auncestors of the said Donogh O'Morreeson, whoe in those daies were servaunts to Collumkills: and in the said parishe are sixe gortes of glebe, whereof three gortes belonge to the viccar, and thother fower gortes to the keeper of the *missagh* or ornaments left by Columkill"[d]. By this it appears that the word *misach*, being interpreted 'ornaments,' was supposed to be the plural of maire, 'an ornament,' and not derived, as the form of the word would indicate, from mir, 'a month.' This interesting reliquary having often changed hands, and having been carried away to England, finally became the property of the present Earl of Dunraven, who generously presented it to the College of St. Columba near Dublin[e], where it is now preserved. The following extract from an ancient tale, called *The Death of Muircertach mac Erca*[f], contains the earliest allusion to this reliquary:—

Ro bennaiġ Cairnech iad acur ro ṫaġaib faġbala doib .i. do clanndaib Conaill acur Eoġain; in uair naċ biad airecur Erenn no a riġe acu, arfraicc for caċ cuiceḋ ṅa timċell, acur comarbur Oilig acur Temraċ acur Ulad acu, acur cen tuarurtal do ġabail o neach, airre aruidler ferin rigi nErenn, acur cen ġlar for ġiall acur meaċ for naġiallu dia nelad, acur buaidh catha acu, aċt cotucad faadbar cóir, acur co rabat tri merġi acu .i. in ċaṫach, acur in cloġ Padraiġ .i. in udachta, acur in mirach Cairniġ, acur no biad arraċ rin uile aroen mind dib re huċt caṫa, amail ro faġaib Cairnech doib ut dixit, rl. —(Aidead Muirceartaiġ mac Erca.)

Cairnech[g] blessed them, and left them gifts, i. e. to the Clanns Conaill and Eoghain. That when they should not be chiefs, or kings of Erin, their influence should extend over every province around them; and that the coarbship of Ailech, and Tara, and Ulster, should be with them; and that they should not accept hire from any one, because the sovereignty of Erin was their own inherent right; and that their hostages should not be locked up, and that decay should come upon the hostages who should abscond; and that they should have victory in battle, if fought in a just cause, and that they should have three standards, viz., the *Cathach*, and the *Bell of Patrick*, i. e. the *Bell of the testament*, and *Cairnech's Miosach;* and that the virtue of all these should be on any one reliquary of them in time of battle, as Cairnech bequeathed them; *ut dixit*, &c.

12. Dubh Duaibseach.—A bell, which St. Columba is fabled to have employed in

[d] *Columkill.*—Ulst. Inquis. Append. v.

[e] *Dublin.*—See Colton's Visitation, p. 45; Proceedings R. Irish Academy, vol. v. p. 464.

[f] *Erca.*—MS. H. 2, 16, col. 312, Trin. Coll. Dubl.

[g] *Cairnech.*—For an account of this saint, see Irish Nennius, pp. 178, ci. It would appear from

his conflict with the demons of Sengleann[e]. It was probably preserved in the parish of Glencolumkille, in Donegal.

13. Glassan.—A bell, which formerly belonged to Drumcolumbkille in Sligo, and was reputed to have been given by the saint to his disciple Finbarr, the first minister of that church[f].

14. Dubh Diglach.—A bell of St. Columba's, mentioned in an old poem of the Laud manuscript (p. 28).

15. Cloch Ruadh.—The 'Red Stone,' about which O'Donnell records the strange legend: "Simul etiam cum partu enixa est mater [Columbæ] quasi lapillum quendam rubrum, vulgo *Cloch Ruadh* dictum, teretemque mali aurei magnitudine, qui in eodem prædio religiose asservatur"[g]. The Donegal Inquisition of 1609 finds that two gorts in Gartan were held by "O'Nahan, who carrieth Collumkillie's read stoane." In the Laud MS. (p. 95) there is a poem ascribed to St. Columba on the virtues of the Red Stone, wherewith he banished the demons from Sengleann. O'Donnell calls the latter a *blue* stone, and speaks of it as preserved in Glencolumkille[h].

16. Moelblatha.—The legend in the Preface to the hymn *Altus Prosator* (Leabhar Breac, fol. 109 *a*), speaking of the mill at Hy, says:

Iarrum gebid tra Colum cille fair in m-boilc don cloich fil ind proinntig in h-Ii, acus ire a h-ainm na clochi sin, Moelblatha, acus fonas forcbad for cach m-biud do berar fussi.	Then Columkille himself lifted up the sack from the stone which is in the refectory at Hy, and the name of that stone is *Moelblatha;* and he left prosperity on all food which should be placed upon it.

This may, in after times, have been one of the *Black Stones* of Hy which Martin[i] makes mention of as objects of religious awe.

17. Brecbannoch.—Between the years 1204 and 1211, King William the Lion granted to the monks of Arbroath "custodiam de Brachbennoche," and "cum predicta Brechbennoche terram de Forglint[k] datam Deo et sancto Columbe et le Brachbennache," on the tenure "faciendo inde servicium quod michi in exercitu debetur de terra illa cum predicta Brachbennache"[l]. This grant is recited in the charter of Arbroath[m], passed

the ancient authority above cited, that the Donegal jurors erred in referring the Misach to St. Columba.

[e] *Sengleann.*—O'Donnell, i. 89, Trias Th. p. 403 *b*.

[f] *Church.*—O'Donnell, i. 104, Tr. Th. p. 406 *b*.

[g] *Asservatur.*—O'Donnell, i. 23, Tr. Th. p. 393 *a*.

[h] *Glencolumkill.*—O'Donnell, i. 89, Trias Th. p. 403 *b*. A round green stone, about the size of a goose egg, called *Baul Mulay*, i. e. Moling's Stone Globe, supposed to possess extraordinary virtues in curing diseases, sanctioning oaths, and procuring victory in battle, was, until a few years since, preserved in the parish of Kilbride, in the island of Arran. The custody of it was in the family of Mac Intosh, or Clann Chattan.—Martin, West. Islands, p. 225; New Stat. Acct. vol. v. pt. 2, p. 24; Orig. Paroch. ii. p. 245.

[i] *Martin.*—Western Islands, p. 259.

[k] *Forglint.*—Now Forglen, a parish in Banff.

[l] *Brachbennache.*—Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, p. 10; Collections of Aberdeen, p. 510.

by the same king in 1211–1214; and substantially repeated in a confirmation[n] by King Alexander II. in 1214–1218. In 1314 the convent grants to Malcolm of Monimusk "totam terram nostram de Forglen que pertinet ad Bracbennach cum omnibus pertinenciis suis una cum jure patronatus ecclesie ejusdem terre. . . . . Dictus vero Malcolmus et heredes sui facient in exercitu domini Regis nomine nostro servicium pro dicta terra quod pertinet ad Bracbennach quociens opus fuerit"[o]. From the Monimusks the lands of Forglen, with the custody of the Bracbennach, passed by inheritance to the Urrys and the Frasers, in the latter of which families they were found in 1388. In 1411 they were surrendered to the convent, and about 1420 they were conferred on Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum. In 1457 they had passed to his grandson, who held them of the abbot and convent by service of ward and relief, and "ferendi vexillum de Brekbennach in exercitu Regis," and the payment of the annual rent of 40 shillings[p]. In 1481 Alexander Irvine did homage for these lands and purtenances to the abbot, who "dixit et constituit ut tenentes regalitatis dicti monasterii de Aberbrothoc ubicumque existentes cum dicto Alexandro ad exercitum domini nostri Regis sub le Brecbennoch videlicet sub vexillo dictorum abbatis et conventus meabunt et equitabunt cum requisiti fuerint per dictum dominum abbatem et conventum dicti monasterii et suos successores pro defensione Regis et regni"[q]. In 1483 Alexander Irvine had a charter of the lands of Forglen, with the advowson of the church "faciendo in exercitu domini nostri Regis servicium de le Brekbannach debitum et consuetum"[r]. And lastly, in 1494 it was found that Alexander Irvine was the lawful heir of Alexander Irvine of Drum, his father, in the lands of Forglen, with the advowson of the church, held as above[s]. From these notices we learn that this reliquary was a banner, and held so sacred in the beginning of the thirteenth century that it was named in the dedication clause of the earliest charter. Also, that it was coupled with S. Columba's name, not because the abbey of Arbroath was under his invocation, for it was under that of St. Thomas of Canterbury; nor because he was patron saint of the parish, for St. Adamnan[t] was reputed to be so; but, as we may conceive, because this banner was in some way connected with St. Columba's history, either by use or blessing. Possibly it was like the *Vexillum Sancti Cuthberti*[u], so fatal to the Scots at Neville's Cross. "Ther did appeare to Johne Fossour, the Prior of the Abbey at Durham, a vision commanding him to take the holie Corporax Cloth, which was within the corporax,

[m] *Arbroath.*—Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, p. 5.

[n] *Confirmation.*—Regist. Vet. de Aberbroth. p. 73.

[o] *Fuerit.*—Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, p. 296; Collections of Aberdeen, p. 511.

[p] *Shillings.*—Collect. of Aberdeen, pp. 511–514.

[q] *Regni.*—Collections of Aberdeen, p. 515.

[r] *Consuetum.*—Collections of Aberdeen, p. 516.

[s] *Above.*—Collections of Aberdeen, p. 517.

[t] *Adamnan.*—The parish was called, from him, *Teunan-Kirk.*—Collections of Aberdeen, p. 508.

[u] *Cuthberti.*—Reginald of Durham, *De Cuthberti Virtut.* cap. 39, "De Vexillo Sancti Cuthberti, cui obsistere ignes non potuerant." See Weber's Battle of Floddon Field, pp. 30, 165–172.

wherewith Saint Cuthbert did cover the chalice, when he used to say masse, and to put the same holie relique, like unto a Banner, upon a speare point"[v]. The name Brecbannach seems to be formed from bpeac beannaiġże, 'maculosum benedictum'[w], and denoted something like the bpaṫaċa bpeac-mepġeaba, *pallia maculatorum vexillorum*, which were carried in the battle of Magh Rath[x]. The Brecbannach probably served a double purpose, being, like the Banner of Cuthbert, "shewed and carried in the abbey on festivall and principall daies," and also "presented and carried to any battle, as occasion should serve"[y]. Whence King William obtained the reliquary is not stated. Probably it had been kept in the parish of Forglen by the hereditary tenants of the church lands. Between 1172 and 1180 the king granted to the Canons of Holyrood the rights, tithes, and obventions of four churches in Cantyre, which had previously been enjoyed by the abbey of Hy[z]; and his grant of this reliquary, with its appurtenances, to Arbroath, may have been a transfer of a like nature.

18. Cath-bhuaidh.—That is, *Battle-victory*. This was the name of a crozier, the existence and veneration of which we learn from the following passage, belonging to the year 918, which is extracted from an anonymous collection of Irish Annals preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels (7. c. n. 17, p. 66):—

Ar beġ naċ ir na laiṫiḃri po cuirḋ Foirṫrinnaiġ acur Lochlanaiġ caṫ.

About the same time the Fortrenns[d] and Lochlanns[e] fought a battle[f]. Bravely

[v] *Point.*—Description of the Ancient Monuments, &c. of the Church of Durham (Surtees Soc.), p. 20. This reliquary was burned by Catharine, wife of Dean Whittingham, and sister of John Calvin.

[w] *Benedictum.*—It is common in Irish nomenclature to find an adjective put absolutely.

[x] *Magh Rath.*—See the Battle of Magh Rath, p. 196. The An. Ult., at 835, record a journey of the Abbot of Armagh, *cum lege et vexillis Patricii.* At 810, *armario* is the equivalent for *vexillis.* The Life of S. Columba of Tirdaglass states that he visited Tours, and received certain reliquaries which were taken from St. Martin's tomb, agreeably to the saint's injunctions: "Ponite ergo istud crismale et trabem juxta me in scrinio, quia hec *vexilla* hospes ille a nobis postulabit, et dabitis illi." (Cod. Salmant. fol. 130 *a b.*) After King Oswald's translation, "vexillum ejus super tumbam auro et purpura compositum adposuerunt."—Bede, H. E. iii. 11. But the Irish *vexilla* were boxes.

[y] *Serve.*—Anct. Monum., &c., of Durham, p. 23. It was a *Cathach.* See pp. 249, 319, 329, *supra.*

[z] *Hy.*—Munimenta Sancte Crucis, p. 41; Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 290.

[d] *Fortrenns.*—That is, the men of Fortrenn or Pictland, here put for *Albanaigh* at large.

[e] *Lochlanns.*—That is, *Norwegians.* See O'Brien, Irish Dict. voc. Loċlanniḋ; Four Mast. 846, 851.

[f] *Battle.*—The Chronicle of the Scotch Kings, published by Innes, thus records it: "Bellum *Tinemore* factum est in xviii. anno inter Constantinum et Regnall; et Scotti habuerunt victoriam." The fullest account of particulars is in the Annals of Ulster, at 917, *recte* 918:

Ġaill Locha Daċaech do deirġiu Erenn .i. Raġnall ri Dubġall, acur na da iarla .i. Ottir, acur Ġraġġabai, acur raġaiṫ do dib iarrin co firu Albain. Fir Alban dono ara cennroṁ co comairneċtar fo brutine la Saxanu tuaircirt; do ġenrat in Ġenntu cethrai caṫa diḃ, .i. caṫ la Ġoṫbrich ua nImair, caṫ lar na da iarla, caṫ lar na hoch-tiġerna, caṫ dano la Raġnall in eroloch, nad acadar fir Alban. Romir fe

Ar cruaiḋ imorro ro ċuirriuc fir Alban an caṫ ro, uair baoi Coluim cille aṡ conṡnaṁ leó; uair ra ṡuiḋriuḋ ṡo ḋiuċra é, uair ba he a napstol é, acur ar triḋ ro ṡaḃrad creiḋṁ. Uair feċt oile, anuair ro ḃaoi Imar Conunṡ na ṡilla, oṡ acur taiṁiṡ ḋinnrad Alban, tri caṫa mora alion, areaḋ do ronrad fir Alban, eiḋir laoċ acur ċleireċ, ḃeiṫ ṡo maiḋin in aoine acur an iornaiḋe ra Ḋia acur ra Colam cille, acur eiṡṁe mora do ḋenaṁ firin Coimḋeaḋ, acur almrana iomḋa biḋ acur eḋaiṡ do taḃairt ḋona heṡalraiḃ, acur ḋona boċtaiḃ, acur corp an Ċomḋeaḋ do ċaiṫeṁ allaṁuib a raṡart, acur ṡeallaḋ ṡaċ maiṫiura do ṡenaṁ aṁail ar fearr no iorallaiḋir accleriṡ forra, acur comaḋ eaḋ ba meirṡe ḋoiḃ i ṡcinn ṡaċ caṫa baṫall Cholaim cille: ṡonaḋ aire rin aḋberar Caṫbuaiḋ fria orin alle, acur ba hainm ċoir, uair ir mimic ruṡradorṁ buaiḋ accaṫaiḃ le; aṁail do ronrad iarum an tanrin ḋola amumniṡin Colaim cille do ronrad an moḋ ceḋna an tanra. Ro cuirioḋ iarum an caṫra ṡo cruaiḋ

indeed the men of Alba fought this battle, for Columkille was aiding them; for they had prayed to him most fervently, because he was their apostle, and it was through him that they received the faith. One time, when Imhar Conung[s] was a young man, he came to Alba, with three great battalions, to plunder it. The men of Alba, both lay and clerics, fasted, and prayed till morning to God and Columcille; they made earnest entreaty to the Lord; they gave great alms of food and raiment to the churches and the poor, received the body of the Lord at the hands of their priests, and promised to do all kinds of good works, as their clergy would order them, and that their standard in going forth to any battle should be the crozier of Columkille. Wherefore it is called the *Cathbhuaidh* from that day to this. And this is a befitting name for it; for they have often gained victory in battle by it, as they did at that time, when they placed their hope in Columbkille. They did the same on this occasion. The battle was bravely fought at once. The Albanians gained victory and triumph, killed many

feraib Alban forr na tri caṫa aḃ conncaḋar, corolrat ar ṅḋimar ḋi na Ṡenncib im Oittir ocur im Ṡragṡabai. Raṡnall ḋno ḋo ḟuabairt iarruiḋiu i llorṡ ḟer nAlban corola ar ḋib, act naḋ farcbat Ri na mor Moer ḋirruiḋib. Nox prelium ḋirimic.

'The Foreigners of Loch Dachaech left Ireland, viz., Raghnall, king of the Danes, with the two earls Ottir and Gragava, and afterwards invaded the men of Alba. The men of Alba, with the assistance of the North Saxons, prepared to meet them. The Danes divided themselves into four battalions: one led by Godfrey Ua nImair, another by the two earls, another by the young lords, and another by Raghnall in ambuscade, which the men of Alba did not see. But the three battalions which the men of Alba saw were routed by them, and there was a great carnage of the Danes round Ottir and Gragava. Whereupon Raghnall attacked the men of Alba in the rere, and slew many of them, but neither King nor Great Steward fell by him. Night terminated the contest.'

[s] *Imhar Conung.*—The An. Ult. 903 [*recte* 904], thus record his end: Imhar u hImair do marḋ la firu Forcrenn, acur ar mar nimbi, 'Ivar Ua hIvar was slain by the men of Fortrenn,

ꝼꝺꝺaıꝛ. Ruꝷꝛaꝺ na hAlbanaıꝷ buaıꝺ ⁊ coꝛꝷaꝛ ꝺo maꝛꝺaıꝺ ımoꝛꝺo na Lochlannaıꝷ ꝷo hıomꝺa aꝛ maıꝺm ꝼoꝛꝺa, ⁊ maꝛꝺꝺaꝛ a ꝺıꝷ ann .ı. Oıꝺꝺıꝛ mac Iaꝛnꝷna. Aꝛ cıan ıaꝛꝺꝺaın na ꝺo ꝼaıꝷꝺıoꝺ Danaıꝛ na Lochlannaıꝷ oꝛꝺa, acꝺ ꝺo bu ꝺıꝺ ⁊ comꝺanaꝺ ꝺoıꝺ.

of the Lochlanns after their defeat; and their king was slain *on the occasion*, namely, Ottir[h], son of Iarngna. It was long after until either the Danes or Lochlanns attacked them; but they were at peace and harmony with them.

N.

Institutio Hyensis.

St. Columba's history belongs to the period of the Irish Church when the *Secundus Ordo* of saints prevailed, and his name, with those of the Brendans, Comgall, and Cainnech, whom Adamnan records with honour as his special friends, appears in the catalogue of its worthies. This Order may be regarded as the development of a native ministry, whose system possessed more nationality than that of their predecessors, and took a deeper impress from the customs and condition of the country. Its characteristics were: "Pauci episcopi, et multi presbyteri; diversas missas celebrabant, et diversas regulas; unum Pascha XIV. Luna; unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem; abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis"[a]. The diversity of liturgical practice probably arose from the mixed character of the *Primus Ordo*, which was composed of Romans, Francs, Britons, and Egyptians; and their conventual disci-

with great carnage around him.' This was probably the result of the expedition recorded in the Colbert Chronicle of Innes: "Cujus [Constantini] tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden omnemque Albaniam."

[h] *Ottir.*—The Four Masters briefly say: "Oitir and the Foreigners went from Loch Dachaech to Alba; and Constantine, the son of Aedh, gave them battle, and Oitir was slain, together with the Foreigners who accompanied him." Loch Dachaech was an old name for Waterford Harbour.

[a] *Monasteriis.*—The catalogue of the three orders of Irish saints forms the groundwork of the latter part of Ussher's Brit. Eccl. Antiqq. It was first printed by him, and the various readings in his notes show that he had more than one copy; but he does not tell whence he derived them (Wks. vol. vi. p. 477). A similar record, differing in no material point except the omission of some names, was printed in Fleming's Collectanea, where it is stated that the recital was "verba pervetusti et fidelis authoris vitæ S. Patricii;" and further, "quæ totidem fere verbis, regum tamen et Sanctorum prætermissis vocabulis, leguntur in antiqua et fideli S. Finniani vita, quæ cum aliis plurium Sanctorum Hiberniæ Legendis, quas R. P. Franciscus Matthæus, nunc Collegii nostri Guardianus, et nuper Provincialis Minister nostræ Provinciæ, circa annum 1626, summo studio ac diligentia, ex duobus MSS. voluminibus pergamineis (quorum unum ad Ecclesiam Ardmachanam vel Dubliniensem spectat, et in Bibliotheca Jacobi Usserii, ex ordinatione Regis Angliæ, Primatis Ardmachani, asservatur; alterum ad Insulam quæ *Omnium Sanctorum* dicitur pertinet) transumi curavit."—p. 431 *a*. Both catalogues are printed, with observations, in the second volume of O'Conor's Rer. Hib. Script. pp. 162–165. A catalogue, agreeing in the main with Ussher's, comes after

pline varied in intensity with the tempers or ascetic habits of the framers[b]. They agreed, however, in their preference of the presbyterate; their observance of the old-fashioned Easter; the anterior Eastern tonsure; and seclusion from female society. It is a remarkable fact that many of the monastic churches, which grew in after times to be bishops' sees, were founded by presbyters: Clonard, by Finnian; Clonmacnois, by Ciaran; Clonfert, by Brendan; Aghabo, by Cainnech; Glendaloch, by Kevin; Lismore, by Carthach; and Derry, Raphoe, and Hy, by Columba. The great promoters of the conventual system sought no higher order than such as would enable them, consistently with the vows of humility, to administer the sacraments, and conduct the ordinary devotions of their fraternities. The abbatial office gave them all the jurisdiction of the episcopate, without its responsibilities; and little more was left to the bishop than the essence of his office, the transmission of holy orders, with the personal reverence which was due to the holder of so important a commission. Another element in the Irish monastic system was its social connexions. Every great monastery was a centre of family relation, and served as a school or asylum for all who were of patron's or founder's kin. This particular was most strikingly exemplified in the case of Hy, as may be seen in the genealogical table of the early abbots annexed to this note, which shows that the abbacy was, with one or two exceptions, strictly limited to a branch of the Tir-Conallian family. It shows, also, that there was no lineal succession in Hy, as there was in many other Irish monasteries, where secular interests so far prevailed as to make the abbacy hereditary[c], and ultimately to frustrate the founder's intention

the Life of S. Keranus in the Codex Salmanticensis of Brussels, fol. 78 *b a*.

[b] *Framers.*—The personal austerities which are attributed to some of the Irish saints are almost incredible. The Life of Comgall relates that that saint, having retired to *Custodiaria Insula* (called in the Calendar Inip Coinecca, now *Ely Island*) in Lough Erne, "monachi sui post eum in illam insulam intraverunt; et non valentes rigidissime vivere, sicut suus Abbas, septem ex eis fame et frigore mortui sunt."—cap. 12 (Flem. Collect. p. 305 *a*). The Life of St. Cainnech represents him as travelling "trans *Dorsum Britanniæ*," and states that "Sancti Hybernienses miserunt nuncios post Sanctum Cainnicum audientes eum heremitum esse in Britannia, et tunc ductus est sanctus Cainnicus de heremo contra suam voluntatem" (Vita, pp. 13, 39, ed. Ormonde). See under *Austeritas* in the Index Moralis of Colgan's Acta Sanctor. Adamnan records one instance of St. Columba's mortification (p. 233, *supra*).

[c] *Hereditary.*—The Book of Armagh gives us a most valuable insight into the ancient economy of the Irish monasteries in its account of the endowment of Trim. In that church there was an *Ecclesiastica progenies* and a *Plebilis progenies*, a religious and secular succession: the former, of office, in spirituals; the latter, of blood, in temporals; and both descended from the original grantor. In the religious succession eight names are mentioned, and it is added, "Hi omnes episcopi fuerunt et principes" [abbots]; in the lineal succession there are nine names in a descending pedigree, and it was from this line that the *ecclesiastica progenies* was from time to time supplied (fol. 16 *bb*). The lineal transmission of the abbatial office, which appears in the Irish Annals towards the close of the eighth century, probably had its origin in the usurpation by the *plebilis progenies* connected with the various monasteries of the functions of the *ecclesiastica progenies*, which would be the necessary result of the

by the extinction of conventual observance, and the virtual transfer of the endowments to lay possession, as in Bangor[d], or by the repetition of irregularities such as St. Bernard complains of in the case of Armagh[e].

These sixth-century monasteries were as rapid in their growth as they were numerous in their creation. St. Finnian's of Clonard is said to have numbered 3000 members[f], St. Comgall's of Bangor the same amount, and St. Brendan's *parochia*[g] 3000 more. The ramifications of these houses spread exactly in the same manner as St. Columba's, and, for a time, were fully equal in extent to his; but they wanted the severalty of position which the Columbian centre enjoyed; they had no Pictish race to convert; and, above all, they had no Adamnan to perpetuate the honours of their founders.

Whether St. Columba or any of his contemporaries composed and promulgated a systematic rule like St. Benedict's is very doubtful. Reyner expressed his opinion in the negative[h]: and though Fleming and O'Conor have condemned him for the assertion, they have failed in proving the affirmative of the question. Wilfrid, indeed, spoke at the synod of Whitby of *regula ac præcepta* of Columba[i], and in the Lives of some of the Irish saints the term *regula* occurs, but generally in the sense of 'disci-

former omitting to keep up the succession of the latter. In such case the tenant in possession might maintain a semblance of the clerical character by taking the tonsure and a low degree of orders. This is very much what Giraldus Cambrensis states concerning the *Abbates laici* of Ireland and Wales (Itinerar. Cambr. ii. 4). The so-called Canons of St. Patrick recognise the relation of the "clericus et uxor ejus" (can. 6); and Pope Gregory, in 601, prescribed for St. Augustine, "Si qui vero sunt clerici extra sacros ordines constituti, qui se continere non possunt, sortiri uxores debent, et stipendia sua exterius accipere" (Bede, H. E. i. 27).

[d] *Bangor.*—Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. 5.

[e] *Armagh.*—Vita S. Malachiæ, cap. 7. A *Linea Primatialis*, which the present writer has constructed from the Irish Genealogies and Annals, affords a remarkable illustration of St. Bernard's "hæreditaria successio."

[f] *Members.*—Irish hagiology gives to SS. Maidoc, Manchan, Natalis, Ruadhan, 150 each; to Columban and Fechin, 300; Carthach, 867; Gobban, 1000; Laisrenus, 1500; Brendan, Comgall, Finnian, Geraldus, 3000 each; Kevin and Molua were "multorum millium animarum duces;" and Adamnan himself describes Fintan as leading "innumeras ad patriam animas cœlestem" (21). Bede estimates the congregation of the Welsh Bangor at 2100 (H. E. ii. 2). Serapion of Arsinoe more than trebled any of these, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων (Sozomen. H. E. vi. 28).

[g] *Parochia.*—See p. 65, *supra*. In monastic language a *parochia* was the jurisdiction of a Superior over the detached monasteries of the order. Cogitosus says of St. Brigid: "cujus *parrochia* per totam Hiberniensem terram diffusa" (Prol., Tr. Th. p. 518). St. Brendan "cum venit de navigio suo quærendo terram repromissionis sanctorum, tunc *parrochia* ejus per diversas regiones Hybernie dilatata est" (Cod. Marsh. fol. 57 *b a*). St. Ciaran was styled "*Leath nEirinn*, i. e. 'dimidium Hiberniæ,' *parochia* enim ejus per medium Hyberniæ dilatabitur" (*ib.* fol. 146 *aa*); and his influence was so great that "valde enim *parochiam* Hiberniæ apprehenderet" (*ib.* fol. 147 *bb*).

[h] *Negative.*—"Reyneri error, peritissimi alioquin antiquarii, asserentis, veteres Hiberniæ Cœnobitas, juxta Palestinorum Ægyptiorumque monachorum instituta viventes, sine regula scripta, per solas traditiones Patrum suorum, vitam gubernasse" (Flem. Collect. 438 *b*).

[i] *Columba.*—Bede, Histor. Eccles. iii. 25.

pline' or 'observance'[k]; while the mention of written rules[l] is rare and legendary. There certainly existed, in the middle ages, not only a great diversity in monastic practice[m], but also an understanding that the fathers of the Irish Church had established and defined a variety of orders. An ancient Life of Ciaran of Clonmacnois limits them to eight, and enumerates them under the names of "S. Patricii, Brandani, Kierani Cluanensis, Columbæ Hiensis, cujus ordo dicebatur *Pulchræ Societatis*, Comgalli, Adamnani, Brigidæ, Molassi seu Lasriani"[n]; but the recital is evidently arbitrary: for St. Adamnan, instead of being the author of a new Rule, was unable to induce the society of which he was ninth abbot to accept the reformed Paschal canon. Possibly, the biographer supposed, as did Ussher[o] in a later age, and others after him, that the *Lex* of Adamnan, Patrick, Ciaran, Brendan, &c., mentioned in the Irish Annals, denoted formulas of monastic government. Ussher further states that the Rules of Columbakilli, Comgall, Mochutta, and Albe were extant in the manuscript from which he published his catalogue of the saints, but "Hibernico sermone antiquissimo exaratæ et nostris temporibus pene ignorabili"[p]. It was probably from this or a similar collection that the Irish Rules, preserved in the Brussels MS., were transcribed. Through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Todd, copies of them have been obtained in this country, and by his kind permission the present writer was enabled, in 1850, to print the Rule of St. Columba in the Appendix to Colton's Visitation of Derry (p. 109). It differs from the others in being written in prose. They are all very ancient compositions, but totally insufficient to convey any definite idea of the peculiarities of the orders to which they profess respectively to belong. Colgan, who lived before the dispersion of Irish records, and had the best opportunity of discovering such literary monuments, was not aware of the existence of any other Rule of St. Columba but the one just mentioned[r], and it is evident that he attached but little importance to it, as he has omitted

[k] *Observance.*—"Regulas perfectorum patrum Hiberniæ disce (Vit. Brend., Cod. Marsh. fol. 57 *a b*); mansitque deinceps sub regula S. Comgalli (Flem. p. 311 *a*); propter duritiam et asperitatem regulæ ejus in monachis suis (*ib.* p. 310 *b*); legens apud eum et addiscens regulam ejus (Vit. Munnæ, Cod. Marsh. fol. 127 *b a*); secundum regulam a sanctis Patribus institutam" (Vit. Fechin. c. 10, Colg. Act. SS. p. 131 *a*). "Et ecclesiasticas regulas didicisset."—Vit. Cainici, c. 4. See Jocelin, c. 174.

[l] *Rules.*—S. Mochta "sacræ institutionis regulam scripsit" (Vit. c. 4, Colg. Act. SS. p. 729 *a*). "In campo Au apparuit ei [S. Brendano] angelus Domini dicens ad eum scribe a me regulam, et vive sicut ipsa indicabit tibi: et scripsit S. Brandanus Regulam ab angelo, secundum quam ordinavit vitam suam, et illa usque hodie manet apud successores S. Brandani." (Cod. Marsh. fol. 57 *a b*.) "S. abbas Daganus pergens Romam, duxit secum Regulam, quam sanctus Molua ordinavit et dictavit monachis suis: et legens sanctus Gregorius Papa illam Regulam, dixit coram omnibus: Sanctus cujus est hæc Regula circumsepsit sepim circa familiam suam usque ad cœlum." (Vit. c. 48, Flem. p. 377 *b*.)

[m] *Practice.*—See Gillebert's Letter de Usu Eccles. in Ussher's Sylloge, xxx. (Wks. vol. iv. p. 500).

[n] *Lasriani.*—Fleming, Collectan. p. 433 *a*; Colgan, Trias Th. p. 471 *b*.

[o] *Ussher.*—Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vol. vi. p. 484). See Colton's Visitation, Introd. p. iii.

[p] *Ignorabili.*—Ussher, Works, vol. vi. p. 483.

[r] *Mentioned.*—Fleming says: "Cum adhuc in

to print it among St. Columba's supposed compositions, and contents himself with stating that he had sent a Latin translation of it to a contemporary writer[s]. The Rule of St. Columbanus[t], and the Pœnitentials of him and Cummian[u] are the only remains of Irish monastic discipline which have descended to us, and these have probably been modified by the peculiar institutions of the countries where they were observed; and when they are compared with the Benedictine Rule, in all its beauty of piety, eloquence, and method, it is to be wondered how a lesser light could shine beside it[v], and even the one meagre Irish Rule have been transmitted to us. When saying that Columbanus's is the only Irish Rule which has descended to us, it may be well to mention that Lucas Holstenius has printed two Rules, one intituled *Cujusdam Patris Regula ad Monachos*[w], consisting of thirty-two chapters; and the other, *Cujusdam Patris Regula ad Virgines*[x], of twenty-four chapters; which Calmet has attributed to St. Comgall, but Holstenius's editor to St. Columba. This, however, is mere conjecture, which is not supported even by the style or matter of the compositions. In the same collection there is an *Ordo Monasticus*[y], purporting to be an ancient rule of discipline, "ab antiquis monachis Scotis sub exordio susceptæ Christianæ religionis observatus," and which Holstenius's editor considers the most ancient monument of all the monks of the West, and worthy of ranking next to the institutions of Cassian, and the rule of Pachomius. But a document which opens, as it does, with an account of the Culdees of Culros, and derives the term *Keledeus* from *cella*, however venerable it may appear to a German, must savour to a Scot of mediæval antiquity, especially when it is found, almost *totidem verbis*, in Ricemarch's Life of David[z], as the discipline of the Menevian saint.

It is not necessary to reprint in this Note the only existing *Regula Choluim-chille*, because it is a formula intended more for a hermit than a member of a social community, and the book in which it is printed can readily be consulted. The following

Hibernia variis in locis plura videre liceat prædictarum Regularum et institutionum exemplaria, ex quibus nonnulla uno libello collecta, se vidisse testatur prædictus supra P. Franciscus Matthæus."—Collectan. p. 438 *b*.

[s] *Writer.*—Benedictus Haeftenus, in his Disquisition. Monast., Trias Thaum. p. 471 *b*.

[t] *Columbanus.*—Printed by Messingham, Florileg. pp. 403–407; Fleming, Collect. pp. 3–7; Holstenius, Cod. Regular. tom. i. p. 170; Bibliotheca Patr. tom. xii. Lugd. 1677. Also in three other writers mentioned by Ussher (Wks. vol. vi. p. 484).

[u] *Cummian.*—Flem. Coll., pp. 19–24, 197–210.

[v] *Beside it.*—Ussher adduces several instances to show the joint use of SS. Benedict's and Columbanus's Rules (Wks. vol. vi. p. 485).

[w] *Monachos.*—Cod. Regular. tom. i. pp. 221 *a*–224 *b*. (Ed. Brockie, Aug. Vindel. 1759).

[x] *Virgines.*—*Ib*. pp. 394 *a*–404 *b*.

[y] *Monasticus.*—*Ib*. tom. ii. pp. 64 *a*–66 *b*. It was copied from the archives of the church of Dunblane by Servanus Thomson, a Scotch Benedictine of Dunfermlin, and was taken to Ratisbon in 1526, when he went thither to be prior on the invitation of his uncle, John Thomson, who was abbot of the Scotch monastery of St. James at Ratisbon.

[z] *David.*—See Rees, Cambro-British Saints, pp. 127–129. It is also in the anonymous Life, printed by Colgan, which closely follows Ricemarch's. (Act. SS. p. 427 *a*). Ricemarch flor. circ. 1085.

scheme, which is entirely new in its construction, is derived principally from Adamnan, to whose narrative reference is made by the number of the page in the present edition. Bede and other authorities afford some particulars of information which are acknowledged in their place.

I.—Constitutio Societatis Hyensis.

Conventual life was considered a special *militia Christi* (61, 118), and they who adopted it were looked upon as *Christi milites* (22, 236, *passim*), in reference to their Leader, and *commilitones* (77, 142, 144, 196) as regarded one another. Each one professed his readiness *Deo exhibere hostiam* (61), by withdrawing from the cares of the world, and a willingness to enter it only as an *athleta Christi* (Vit. Munnæ) in the propagation of the Gospel (Bede, iii. 3). The society, termed *cœnobialis cœtus* (12), or *collegium monachorum* (Bede, iii. 5), consisted essentially of an Abbot and Family.

The Abbot, called *abbas* (16), or *pater* (4, 233), or *sanctus pater* (19), or *sanctus senior* (20, 72), and, in the founder's case, *patronus* (6, 19, 185, 230, 234, 239), had his seat at the *matrix ecclesia* (29), which was situate in Hy, the *insula primaria* (12) of his society; but his jurisdiction equally extended over the affiliated churches, which either he in person (23, 59*n*, 86, 99, 160), or his disciples (60, 66, 144), founded in Ireland (276–289) or in Scotland (289–298), which he occasionally visited (23, 99), and regulated (50, 171), and ministered in (221), and whose respective Superiors, *præpositi* (58, 59, 60, 78, 127), received their charge from him (57, 59, 86), and were subject to his orders, even when ministering in churches of their own foundation (60, 70). In ecclesiastical rank he was a presbyter, and officiated at the altar (85, 210, 211, 221, 229), and pronounced absolution (59), but was not a bishop[a]: hence he was emphatically styled *abbas et presbyter*[b]. But this observance, which had its origin in choice[c], and its continuance in precedent[d], by no means implied a usurpa-

Abbas.

[a] *Bishop.*—"Qui non episcopus, sed presbyter extitit et monachus."—Bede, H. E. iii. 4. The patch-work Life of St. Monenna, called Conchubran's, represents the *Archiepiscopus Columpcille* arbitrating between the Irish, Scotch, and English, in the controversy for the relics of Monenna who died in 518! (MS. Cotton, Cleop. A 2, fol. 52 *b*.)

[b] *Presbyter.*—"Baitheneus sanctus presbyter (124) Segeni abbas et presbyter."—Bede, H. E. iii. 5. "Adamnan presbyter et abbas."—*Ib.* v. 15. St. Brendan's case was precisely similar: he founded Clonfert, and was presbyter-abbot of it from 564 till his death in 577. St. Moenu, or Maeinenn, was bishop of the same church during the founder's lifetime, and died in 572. In Armagh the chief dignity, namely, that of *Coarb of Patrick*, was conventual, and the abbot was occasionally distinguished from the bishop who was his subordinate. See King's Memoir of the Primacy, p. 78.

[c] *Choice.*—The motives to it have been already adverted to. Besides the numerous domestic examples furnished by the *Secundus Ordo*, we might mention the case of St. Martin, whose consecration was effected by a mixture of stratagem and force (Vit. c. 7, p. 497, ed. Hornii); of St. Columbanus, who never rose from the presbyterate; of St. Gall, who twice refused the most earnest solicitations to become a bishop (Vit. S. Galli, Messingham, Florileg.

tion or disregard of the episcopal office; for there were at all times bishops connected with the society, resident at Hy[e] or some dependent church, who were subject to the abbot's jurisdiction[f]: that is, who rendered him conventual obedience, agreeably to their monastic vow[g]; whose acts were performed on the responsibility of the abbot[h], or in the name of the community[i]; and who were assigned their stations, or called in to ordain, very much as the bishops of the *Unitas Fratrum*[k] in the present day, being regarded as essential to the propagation of the Church rather than its maintenance; and who, therefore, had as little authority in the internal economy of the society, as the

pp. 266, 269). Bishop Cronan, who visited St. Columba, dissembled his rank (p. 85, *supra*); and in like manner the famous Fergil, or Virgilius, 'the Geometer,' who, from being abbot of Aghabo in Ireland, was appointed by Pepin, king of the Franks, to the monastic see of Saltzburg in Bavaria, entered on the abbatial duties, but "dissimulata ordinatione ferme duorum annorum spatiis, habuit secum laboris et coronæ participem episcopum comitantem de patria, nomine Dobda [Hib. Ꝺuꝺꝺa, *e.gr.* Ua ꝺuꝺꝺa] ad persolvendum Episcopale officium." (Vit., Mabillon, Act. SS. Ben. Ord. sæc. iii. p. 280, Ven. 1734; Messingham, p. 331 *a*.) He died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 788.

[d] *Precedent.*—"Juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius."—Bede, H. E. iii. 4.

[e] *Hy.*—Five bishops of Hy are mentioned in the Irish Annals at various dates. See Chronicon Hyense, in note O, *infra*, Ann. 622, 712, 966, 968, 978, 987. Innes conjectures that the subscription *Episcopus Myensis* to the acts of the council of Calcuith in 787 is a mistake for *Hyensis*.—Civ. Eccl. Hist. p. 186.

[f] *Jurisdiction.*—"Cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti."—Bede, H. E. iii. 4. As regarded the Scotic Church, it was not unusual. Notker Balbulus, unacquainted alike with the geography and history of Ireland, says: "In Scotia insula Hiberniæ depositio S. Columbæ. . . . . Adeo ut Abbas monasterii cui novissime præfuit, et ubi requiescit, contra morem ecclesiasticum, Primas omnium Hiberniensium habeatur episcoporum."—Martyrol.

[g] *Vow.*—"Monachus ipse episcopus Ædan, utpote de insula quæ vocatur Hii destinatus."—Bede, H. E. iii. 3. "Aidan quippe qui primus loci [Lindisfarn] episcopus fuit monachus erat et monachicam cum suis omnibus vitam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut regente monasterium abbate, quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, ceterique gradus ecclesiastici, monachicam per omnia cum ipso Episcopo regulam servent."—Vit. S. Cudberti, cap. 16 (p. 241, ed. Smith).

[h] *Abbot.*—In the case of Aidus Niger, St. Columba's displeasure fell, not on the officiating bishop, but on the presiding abbot. See p. 70, *supra*.

[i] *Community.*—"Sicque illum [Ædanum] ordinantes, ad prædicandum miserunt."—Bede, H. E. iii. 5. "A majoribus meis accepi, qui me huc episcopum miserunt."—*Ib.* iii. 25.

[k] *Unitas Fratrum.*—"Ordination, which among us is conferred by bishops only, is required by those who administer the word and sacraments, to give authority for all church transactions. Our episcopacy gives to the individual who holds it no title to a share in the government of the Brethren's Church, or of any individual congregation. A bishop has no diocese committed to his jurisdiction. A bishop, like every other servant of the Unity, must receive a special appointment to any office which he holds, from the Synod, &c. Ordinations to the different Church-degrees can be performed only by virtue of an express commission from the above-mentioned authorities. The consecration of bishops is generally arranged by the Synods."—Results of the Synod held at Herrnhut, 1848, pp. 149, 150 (Lond. 1849). The expression *Church-degrees* reminds one of the Irish *gradus ecclesiastici*.

bishop had in the Irish monastery of Bobio[l], or the diocesan in the universities of Oxford[m], Cambridge, or Dublin. Still the essential function of the episcopal office was scrupulously maintained: when a presbyter was to be ordained, the bishop was called in[n]; when a distant province was to be brought within the Christian pale, a bishop was consecrated[o] for the creation of a local ministry, and successors to him ordained and sent forth, from time to time[p]; and when an accredited candidate came even from Ireland to Hy, he in like manner was invested with the highest ecclesiastical orders[q]. Nor was this an observance of mere form, while the office was held in low esteem: on the other hand, the great founder set the example of veneration for the episcopate (104); and, as the ninth presbyter-abbot relates (86), in the service of his own mother-church, and from the altar, disclaimed all pretensions to equality with one of episcopal rank. This was no more than was to be expected from a presbyter who had served as a deacon (103, 137) in a monastery where presbyters, called from their chief function *ministri altaris* (104), lived under the presidency of a bishop (103, 195); one who received the hospitality of another bishop (97); one who instituted a feast in memory of a bishop who was *carus amicus* (212); and whose own institution was frequented by bishops from Ireland (29, 85) for communion and edification. The abbot was wont on extraordinary occasions to summon the brethren to the oratory (33, 170), even in the dead of night (51), and there address them from the altar (34, 51, 170, 214), and

[l] *Bobio.*—"Episcopus, quem pater monasterii, vel tota congregatio invitaverit ad Missarum solemnia celebranda, aut consecrationes Presbyterorum seu Diaconorum . . . . ipse habeat facultatem in idem monasterium ingrediendi, tantum ad pii opus Monasterii peragendum. Nullam potestatem habere permittant Episcopos in eodem monasterio, neque in rebus, neque in ordinandis personis, nisi eum, quem cuncta Congregatio regulariter elegerit."—Miracula S. Columbani, cap. 23 (Fleming, Collect. p. 257 *a*; Messingham, Florileg. p. 248 *b*). See also the third capitulum of the Council of Hertford, Bede, H. E. iv. 5.

[m] *Oxford.*—See Bishop Lloyd, Church Government, cap. i. pp. 179, 180.

[n] *Called in.*—"Accito episcopo." See p. 68, *supra*.

[o] *Consecrated.*—"Ab hac ergo insula, ab horum collegio monachorum, ad provinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo, missus est Ædan, accepto gradu episcopatus. Quo tempore eidem monasterio Segeni abbas et presbyter præfuit."—Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, iii. 5.

[p] *Time.*—"Successit ei [Ædano] in episcopatum Finan, et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus, ac tempore non pauco in episcopatu permansit."—Bede, H. E. iii. 17, 25. "Defuncto autem Finano qui post illum fuit, cum Colmanus in episcopatum succederet, et ipse missus a *Scottia*."—*Ib.* iii. 25. "Relictis in ecclesia sua fratribus aliquot, primo venit ad *insulam Hii*, unde erat ad prædicandum verbum Anglorum genti destinatus."—*Ib.* iv. 4. Ceollach, or Cellach, bishop of the Mercians, "ipse de natione Scottorum, qui non multo post, relicto episcopatu, reversus ad insulam Hii [or, as in cap. 24, "ad Scottiam rediit"], ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere cœnobiorum: succedente illi in episcopatum Trumheri, natione quidem Anglo, sed a Scottis ordinato episcopo."—*Ib.* iii. 21. From the above it appears that Bede considered Hy to be in Scotia.

[q] *Orders.*—"Columbanus, qui ad insulam Hyth ad S. Columbam pergens, illic gradum episcopalem accepit: et iterum ad suam patriam reversus est."—Vit. S. Itæ, cap. 21 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 69 *a*).

solicit their prayers. Occasionally he instituted a festival, published a holiday, and enjoined the celebration of the Eucharist (210, 211): as occasion offered, he dispensed with a fast (54, 55), or relaxed penitential discipline (50), or regulated its intensity (157). He gave license of departure (30), which he signified by his benediction (22, 48, 49, 61, 87, 110). He was saluted by prostration (20). He forbade, at pleasure, admission to the island (51). When he thought fit, he despatched a chosen brother on a distant mission (47, 60, 109, 111, 113, 155), or for monastic purposes (77, 106). He had the control of the temporalities (78, 79, 106, 158). When at home he was attended (54, 57, 65, 216, 226, 227), except when he signified his wish to be alone (217, 223, 226). When abroad, he was accompanied by a party (57, 62, 128, 141, 144, 147, 151, 186, 214) who were styled *viri sociales* (128); and he preached (145) or baptized (62, 118, 145, 215) as occasion offered. The founder inaugurated the first independent king of Scotch Dalriada in Hy (198), and the ceremony was probably continued as an honorary function of the abbot (232). The founder also named his own successor (19, 233), who had been his *alumnus* (19, 223), and a *præpositus* (49), whose qualifications were that he was *sanctus, sapiens* (19), *affabilis, peregrinis appetibilis* (20), and experienced *non solum docendo sed etiam scribendo* (233). The third abbot had been a *præpositus* (57). In the election, preference was given to founder's kin: and hence it happened that of the eleven immediate successors of the founder there is but one (Suibhne, sixth abbot,) whose pedigree is uncertain, and but one (Connamail, tenth abbot,) whose descent was confessedly from another house[r]. The surrender of the old Easter and Tonsure, in 716, broke down family prescription, and henceforward the abbacy became an open appointment. The annexed Table, which has been constructed from the genealogies in the Book of Lecan and in Colgan, will show to the reader at a glance the connexion which existed between the early abbots, and their relation to the royal family; and while it proves that abbacy was not transmitted in lineal succession, it will demonstrate the existence of clanship[s] even in a religious community.

THE FAMILY, vernacularly called muintir[t], and in Latin *familia* (An. Ult. 640, 690, 716, 748), consisted of *fratres* (13, 111, 225) or *commembres* (170), whom the founder styled *mei familiares monachi* (229, 230, 240), or *mei electi monachi* (162, 163), and endearingly addressed as *filioli* (142, 225, 234, 240). They were at first twelve in number (196, 245), and natives of Ireland; but their society soon increased, and included Britons (202) and Saxons (208, 227). The brethren, of tried devotedness, were called *seniores* (175, 208); those who were strong for labour, *operarii fratres* (228); and those who were under instruction, *juniores* (22), *alumni*

Familia.

[r] *Another house.*—According to the Calendar of Donegal, Conamhail was son of Failbhe, of the race of Colla Uais.

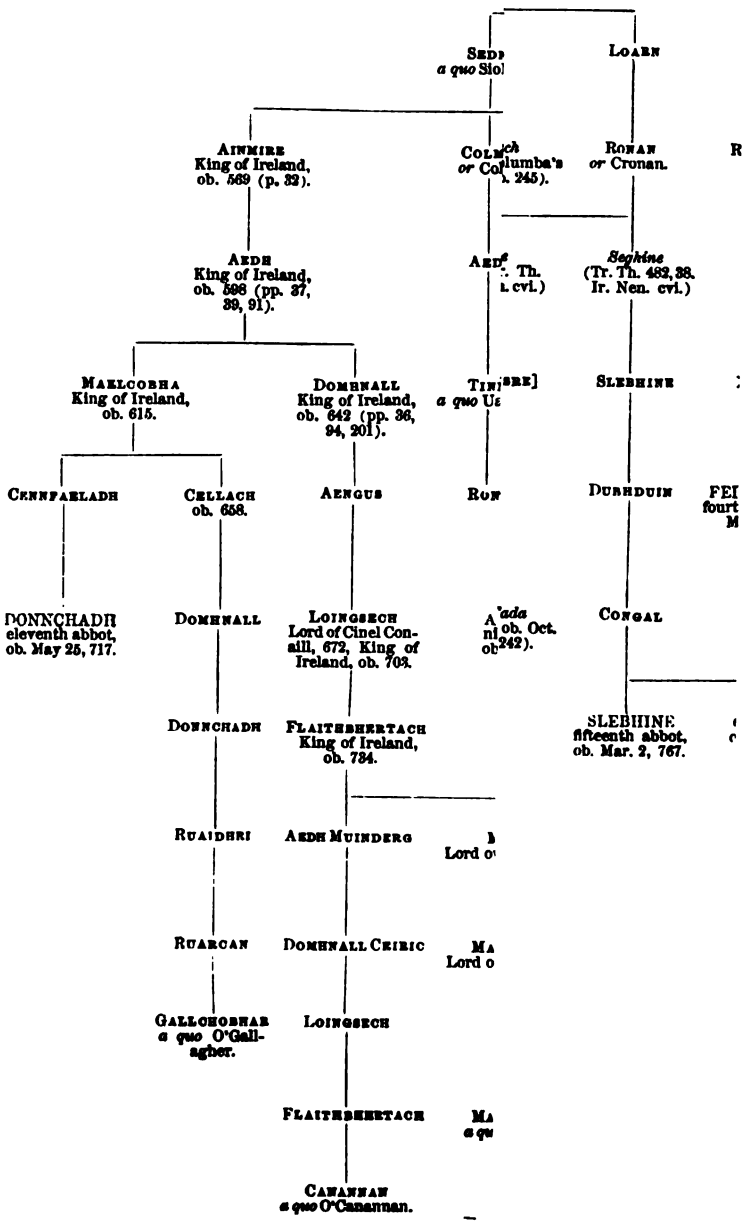
[s] *Clanship.*—This principle was largely developed in the religious institutions of Ireland, and led to the limitation of herenachies and the custody of reliques in certain families.

[t] *Muintir.*—The word enters into the Latin hymn

Y,

SHOWING FAMILIES O

'ES, D. D.



(226), or *pueri familiares* (25). Besides the congregation, or *collectio* (207), of professed members, there were generally present *peregrini* (61, 86, 203, 204), who were sometimes called *proselyti* (55, 59, 61, 85); or *pœnitentes* (50, 58, 157); or *hospites* (27, 41, 45), whose sojourn was of varied length (61, 158, 204).

II.—Disciplina.

The principle of Obedience is embodied in the precept of Columbanus: "Ad primum verbum senioris omnes ad obediendum audientes surgere oportet, quia obedientia Deo exhibetur, dicente Domino nostro Jesu Christo: *Qui vos audit me audit;*" and the measure of obedience is defined to be *usque ad mortem*[u]. It is reasonable to suppose that this essential of monastic order was strictly observed in the Columbian system. Hence the readiness of the brethren to prepare on the shortest notice for a long and wearisome journey (60), or a distant and hazardous voyage (47, 109, 111, 155), or to do the service of the monastery (106), or to submit to exposure in out-door work, at the local Superior's desire, during the most inclement weather (57), or to undertake an office of responsibility, though by a nephew's order (86). Hence the acquiescence in an injunction to intermit a custom (217), and the severe rebuke which attended a violation of his command (218, 226). The *obedientia sine mora* of the Benedictine Rule[v] was evidenced in Hy by the alacrity with which the abbot's orders were executed (91, 112, 125), and the speed with which a distant brother forsook the church of his sojourn, and hastened, at the abbot's call, to Hy, there to abide *in vera obedientia* (60). Obedience, however, had its limit to things lawful: for Adamnan, when abbot, was unable to effect a change in the observance of Easter.

Obedientia.

The members had all things common. Personal property was disclaimed, according to the injunction in Columba's heremitical Rule: Imnocheo do ȝper do pechem ap Chpipc ocup ap na porcela, 'Be always *naked* in imitation of Christ, and [in obedience to] the precepts of the Gospel'[w]. Similar to this was the maxim of Columbanus, "Nuditas et facultatum contemptus prima perfectio est monachorum"[x], after the precept "si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum."

Nuditas.

Though St. Columba was desirous to promote conjugal happiness (165), and he was

Versiculi Familiæ Benchuir, preserved in the Antiphonary of Bangor: "Munther Benchuir beata." (Muratori, Opp. tom. xi. pt. iii. p. 248.)

[u] *Mortem.*—Regula, cap. i. (Flem. Coll. p. 4 *a*).

[v] *Benedictine Rule.*—Chap. 5. Prompt obedience is thus illustrated in St. Cainnech's Life: "Quadam autem die cum sanctus Kannechus sedens scriberet, audivit sonum tintinnabuli invitantis fratres ad opera, et per festinationem obedientiæ implendæ de dimidia parte O literæ scribens alteram partem semiplenam imperfectamque reliquit."—Cap. 4 (p. 3, ed. Orm.). It was a rule in St. David's monastery, "si in auribus alicujus resonabat, scripto tunc litteræ apice, vel etiam dimidia littera, eam incompletam dimittebat."—Vit. c. 12 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 427 *a*). A similar story is told of the monk Marcus in his Life.

[w] *Gospel.*—See Reeves's Colton's Visit. p. 109.

[x] *Monachorum.*—Reg. c. 4 (Flem. Coll. p. 5 *a*).

held in veneration by the other sex (112, 159, 163), there can be no doubt that celibacy was strictly enjoined on his community, and the condition, "virgo corpore et virgo mente"[r], held up for imitation. Hence we find a monk discharging an office usually assigned to women (125), and hence the total absence of anything like hereditary succession in the abbacy of Hy. A learned and ingenious writer in a modern journal[s] has proved to a demonstration, from the native Annalists, that a lineal succession of abbots existed in many of the Irish monasteries during the ninth and following centuries, but he has failed to include the coarbs of Columba in the class; and a comparison of his premises with the Genealogical Table which accompanies this Note will show that he has mistaken *names* for *persons*[o]. Marriage, no doubt, existed among the secular clergy[a], but the practice seems to have been disapproved of by the regulars: and thus we may qualify the story told of St. Comgall's preceptor: "Quadam nocte cum Clericus ille cum muliere dormisset"[b]; and Adamnan's narrative of the *clericus* of Magh Breg, "dives et honoratus in plebe," who died "cum *meretrice* in eodem lectulo cubans" (75).

Castitas.

In their intercourse with one another, the monks of this order appear to have been virtually regulated by the precept of Columbanus, "Cum cautela et ratione loquendum est"[c]. Of such reserve the anecdote told of the monks and Baithene (72) affords an example. Between the abbot and the brethren there seems to have been no restraint (168, 208); and as regards the society at large, the objects of their system were too practical, and their engagements too much characterized by common sense, to impose any restraint in conversation but such as conduced to the purity or decorum of the members.

Taciturnitas.

Another monastic principle was Humility, which was exemplified both in demeanour towards superiors, and in dejection after sin. A visitor on bended knees bowed down before the founder (203), and his successor (20); and even before a subordinate senior the brethren made known their wishes upon their knees (72). The penitent fell on his knees weeping (59). St. Benedict's

Humilitas.

[r] *Mente.*—Reg. cap. 6 (Flem. Coll. p. 5 *b*).

[s] *Modern Journal.*—Catholic Layman (Dublin), vol. ii. p. 87, vol. iii. p. 33. These articles are anonymous, but the reader of the Rev. R. King's *Memoir of the Primacy of Armagh*, pp. 20–24, will not fail to recognise the same master hand.

[o] *Persons.*—Catholic Layman, vol. ii. p. 88 *c*. Failbhe was a very common name, and the father of Conamhail cannot have been identical with abbot Failbhe, because the former was of the Clann Colla. See note[r], *supra*. Again, Dorbene, father of Faelchu, was very different from Dorbene Fada: the former was son of Tinne of the house of Nathi, son of Conall Gulban; the latter, son of Alta of the house of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban.

[a] *Clergy.*—Marriage was not confined to the inferior Orders. When St. Patrick required a ḋuṁna n-eppcuip [*materies episcopi*], 'a man fitted for the episcopal office,' to be placed over the Lagenians, he asked for a person who, among other qualifications, was ꝼ́ſ oenpecche, 'a man of one wife.'—(Lib. Armac. fol. 18 *a b*).

[b] *Dormisset.*—Fleming, Collect. p. 303 *b*, c. 3.

[c] *Est.*—Reg. cap. 2 (Flem. Coll. p. 4 *b*).

injunction was "Omnibus venientibus sive discedentibus hospitibus, inclinato capite vel prostrato omni corpore in terra, Christus in eis adoretur qui et suscipitur"[d]. To the same principle may be attributed the custom which was common to St. Benedict and St. Comgall, and which probably extended to St. Columba, as a received observance of the time: "Si quis frater pro quavis minima causa, ab abbate vel a quocunque priore suo corripiatur, sine mora tandiu prostratus in terra ante pedes ejus jaceat satisfaciens usque dum benedictione sanetur illa commotio"[e]. St. Comgall's Life says: "Mos erat in monasterio sancti patris Comgalli, ut si quis alium increparet, quamvis ille esset culpabilis aut inculpabilis, statim qui increpabatur genua humiliter flecteret"[f]. The strict observance of this regulation is exemplified by legends showing the extraordinary lengths to which compliance with the letter of the precept was carried.

Hospitality, so leading a feature in ancient monasticism, was developed in Hy in the fulness of national generosity: hence, a large portion of Adamnan's anecdotes have reference to the entertainment of strangers; and the story of the heron (91) serves as a lively illustration of the kind reception which was always in store for the visitor. When a stranger arrived, he was sometimes introduced at once to the abbot, by whom he was kissed (54, 61); sometimes the interview was deferred (20, 157). When an expected guest arrived, the abbot and brethren went to meet and welcome him (28, 59, 87). He was conducted to the oratory[g] (24, 152, 168), and thanks returned for his safety. From this he was led to a lodging, *hospitium* (61), and water prepared to wash his feet[h] (27). If the visitor happened to arrive on an ordinary fast-day of the week, the fast was relaxed[i] in his favour (55), *consolatio cibi* (50) was allowed, and he was said *jejunationem solvere* (55). Almsgiving was held in high esteem (132), and the founder, on several occasions, befriended the poor (130, 154). An instance is recorded where valuable presents, under the name of *xenia* (79), were sent to a man in need (78). Itinerant beggars, who went about with wallets (131), were not held in such esteem. The monastery was resorted to for medical relief also (55). Grievous transgressors were excluded (51).

Hospitalitas.

As regarded DIVINE WORSHIP, the days of the year were either ordinary[k] or *solennes* (104, 211). On the former it is likely that the customary *cursus* or *synaxis*[l] was per-

[d] *Suscipitur.*—Regula, cap. 53.

[e] *Commotio.*—Regula, cap. 71.

[f] *Flecteret.*—Cap. 23 (Flem. Collect. p. 307 *b*).

[g] *Oratory.*—"Suscepti autem hospites ducantur ad orationem."—Reg. Bened. cap. 53.

[h] *Feet.*—St. Comgall himself washed the feet of St. Columba and his companions on one occasion when they landed at Bangor.—Vit. c. 30 (Fleming, Collect. p. 309 *a*). St. Benedict's Rule prescribed, "Aquam in manibus Abbas hospitibus det: pedes autem hospitibus omnibus tam Abbas quam cuncta congregatio lavet."—Cap. 53.

[i] *Fast relaxed.*—"Jejunium a Priore frangatur propter hospitem: nisi forte præcipuus sit dies jejunii qui non possit violari."—Reg. Bened. cap. 53.

[k] *Ordinary.*—St. Benedict styles such *Dies privatæ.*—Reg. cap. 13.

[l] *Synaxis.*—The chapter *De Cursu*, in the Rule of Columbanus, commences thus: "De synaxi ergo, id est, de cursu Psalmorum et orationum modo ca-

formed at the canonical hours; for, although Adamnan is silent on the subject, the Life of St. Cainnech mentions a case in which *None* was observed in Hy[m], and it is not likely that the Columbian usage would have differed from the general monastic practice of the age. The brethren who were employed on the farm were not required to attend during the day[n] (71), and fatigue after their labour would probably demand unbroken sleep at night. The congregation was summoned to the oratory *signo personante* (170, 213), that is, by the sound of the bell (33, 234), both on stated and extraordinary occasions. Being assembled, they proceeded to the oratory, sometimes in attendance on the abbot (211), sometimes with less regularity (34, 234). At night they carried lanterns with them (235).

Opus Dei.

The *dies solennes* were the *dies Dominicæ*, and *Sanctorum natales* (181, 182, 210), which were solemnized in the same manner, by rest from labour, the celebration of the Eucharist, and the use of better food (111). The festival commenced after the sunset of the preceding day (181, 210, 230, 310), and its stated services were the *Vespertinalis missa* (112, 191, 233), *Matutini* (234), Prime (209), Tierce, Sext (181), and probably *None* (90, 121, 156). The chief service, *missarum solemnia* (77, 210, 221), was sometimes at *Prime* (209), or at Sext (181): on such an occasion the *cantores* (211) chanted the wonted office, in the course of which there was a commemoration by name of certain saints (211). In the *sacra Eucharistiæ ministeria* (210), also called *sacra mysteria* (211, 221), *sacræ oblationis mysteria* (77), or *obsequia* (210, 211), wine (104), and water, which was drawn by the deacon and set down in an *urceus* (104), and bread (85),

nonico."—Cap. 7 (Flem. Collect. p. 5 *b*). Bede has the expression *matutinæ Synaxeos*, H. E. iv. 19. The chapter of the Rule of Columbanus, *De Cursu*, prescribes: "Per diurnas terni Psalmi horas pro operum interpositione statuti sunt a *Senioribus nostris* cum versiculorum augmento intervenientium pro peccatis primum nostris, deinde pro omni populo Christiano, deinde pro Sacerdotibus, et reliquis Deo consecratis sacræ plebis gradibus, postremo pro eleemosynas facientibus, postea pro pace regum, novissime pro inimicis."—Cap. 7 (Flem. Coll. p. 6 *a*). The corresponding order of special intercessions in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* is as follows: 1. *Oratio communis Fratrum*, beginning "Ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum." 2. *Pro Baptizatis.* 3. *Pro Abbate.* 4. *Pro Fraternitate.* 5. *Pro Pace populorum et regum.* 5. *Pro Blasphemantibus.* 6. *Pro Impiis.* 7. *Pro Iter facientibus.* 8. *Pro Eleemosinariis.* 9. *Pro Infirmis.* This serves as an interesting commentary on the Rule; and, coupled with the consideration that Columbanus was a pupil of St. Comgall at Bangor, we can understand the reference in *Senioribus nostris.* Possibly *Officialis Liber* would be a more suitable name than *Antiphonarium:* it is the title found in a St. Gall manuscript (Maskell, Mon. Rit. Eccl. Angl. vol. i. p. xxxiv.); and the two classes of Irish service books were *Libri Officiales et Missales* (Vit. S. Munnæ, c. 12, Cod. Marsh. 128 *aa*).

[m] *Hy.*—"In insula Ie, cum hora nona appropinquasset quidam sacerdos ut mos est ad interrogandum Columbam perrexit, sed Columbam in suo loco non invenit, diligenter per insulam quærebat, nec inventus est. Et Bithinus jussit ut tintinnabulum percuteret. Cumque fratres celebrare incepissent, subito Columbanus cum igneo vultu et fulgentibus oculis in ecclesiam venit ad eos."—Vit. S. Cainnechi, cap. 25 (p. 15, ed. Ormonde).

[n] *Day.*—A similar exception is made in the Benedictine Rule, cap. 50.

were provided: the priest (77) standing before the altar (222) proceeded to consecrate, *sacra Eucharistiæ consecrare mysteria* (221), *sacram oblationem consecrare* (222), *sacra Eucharistiæ mysteria conficere* (77), *Christi corpus conficere* (85). When several priests were present, one was selected for the office (77, 220), who might invite a presbyter *ut simul Dominicum panem frangerent* in token of equality (85). When a bishop officiated at the altar, he brake the bread alone, in token of his superior office (86). The brethren then approached the altar, and partook of the Eucharist (158).

On extraordinary occasions the abbot summoned the brethren by the sound of the bell to the oratory (33, 170, 213), even in the dead of night (51), on which occasions he addressed them as they stood in their places (170), and having asked their prayers (*ib.*), he kneeled down himself at the altar (170), and sometimes prayed with tears (171). Sometimes the abbot (123, 163, 224), or a brother (223, 225), rose from his bed even in a winter night (219, 223), and proceeded alone to the oratory for private devotion[o] (*ib.*), and if the door was closed, prayed outside (225). Occasionally the founder retired in the daytime to a thicket to pray (138), and even in Hy, it was his practice to retire in winter nights to lonely places for prayer (205, 219). In all these cases the secular abode was avoided; but in cases of sickness the abbot was wont to pray beside the patient's bed, in a standing (144, 203) or kneeling (146) posture.

The chief Festival was the *Paschalis solemnitas* (158, 228), on which occasion the Eucharist was celebrated (158), and the season was specially regarded as *lætitiæ festivitas* (229). The period which elapsed between Easter-day and Whitsunday was called *Paschales dies* (117), and it was the term of the greatest indulgence[p] during the year. For a considerable time after the rectification of the Paschal rule in the Church of Rome, the Columbian society tenaciously adhered to the observance of their founder, whereby there was sometimes as much as a month's interval[q] between their Easter and that of other churches; and it was not until A.D. 716 that they acquiesced in the general practice (28). The *Natalitium Domini* (117) was another sacred festival, for which some made preparation[r] during the forty days immediately preceding.

Festa.

[o] *Private devotion.*—St. Benedict enjoins the immediate departure of the congregation from the oratory when the office is finished, that any brother desirous to engage in private prayer may be undisturbed.—Cap. 52.

[p] *Indulgence.*—It was to save his brethren from the interruption of this enjoyment that St. Columba wished his life to be spared till Pentecost (229). Bede terms this season the *remissio quinquagesimæ paschalis* (H. E. iii. 5).

[q] *Interval.*—Cummian, in his Paschal Epistle to Segienus, abbot of Hy, speaking of his abode in Rome, says: "In uno hospitio cum Græco et Hebræo, Scytha et Ægyptiaco, in ecclesia sancti Petri simul in Pascha (in quo *mense integro disjuncti sumus*) fuerunt."—Ussher, Sylloge, Ep. xi. (Wks., vol. iv. p. 443). For a very satisfactory exposition of the Paschal question, and reference to authorities, see the acute and learned Robert King's Church History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 190–197.

[r] *Preparation.*—As in Ecgberct's practice, described by Bede, H. E. iii. 27.

In the exercise of Fasting, the founder is said (9) to have shown continual diligence. Every Wednesday (54) and Friday throughout the year, except in the interval between Easter and Whitsunday, was a fast-day, and no food was taken till the *nona*[s], unless where the prior claims of hospitality demanded an exception to the rule (55). Lent was strictly kept as a preparation for Easter (158), and during this season the fast was prolonged every day except Sunday till evening, when a light meal, consisting of such food as bread, diluted milk, and eggs, was taken[t].

Jejunia.

The sacrament of Baptism was administered to adult converts, after due instruction in the faith[u]; sometimes by the abbot on his missionary travels, to a whole family (145, 215), sometimes to an individual, a little before death (62, 215).

Baptisma.

Holy Orders were conferred by a bishop only. Young men were admitted to the Diaconate while students (137), and part of their duty was to wait upon the ministers of the altar (104). Priests' Orders were conferred by the bishop (68), but the previous imposition of the abbot's right hand was required as the bishop's warrant for his interference (69). The consecration of the bishops Aidan, Finan, Colman, Cellach, and Columbanus at Hy[v] manifestly proves the presence of a bishop in the island. If they were canonically consecrated, there must have been at least three bishops[w] there at one time. When Finan afterwards consecrated Cedd, he called two other bishops to his assistance[x]; and when Cedda was consecrated by Vini, two British bishops took part in the ceremony[y]. If, however, the services of one were

Ordinatio.

[s] *Nona.*—Bede says of Bishop Ædan, who had lately come from Hy, "Cujus exemplis informati tempore illo religiosi quique viri ac feminæ, consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimæ paschalis, *quarta et sexta sabbati* jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare."—H. E. iii. 5. Adamnan of Coldingham, "de genere Scottorum," lived so abstemiously, "ut nihil unquam cibi vel potus, excepta die Dominica et quinta sabbati perciperet."—*Ib.* iv. 25.

[t] *Taken.*—Bishop Cedd, a Columbian disciple, observed Lent in this manner: "diebus cunctis, excepta Dominica, jejunium ad vesperam usque *juxta morem* protelans, ne tunc quidem nisi panis permodicum, et unum ovum gallinaceum cum parvo lacte aqua mixto percipiebat. Dicebat enim *hanc esse consuetudinem eorum, a quibus normam disciplinæ regularis didicerat.*"—Bede, H. E. iii. 23. The Rule of St. Benedict prescribed, "In Quadragesima vero usque ad Pascha *ad Vesperam* reficiant. Ipsa autem vespera sic agatur, ut lumine lucernæ non indigeant reficientes."—Cap. 41. Ecgberct's diet in Lent was *panis ac lac tenuissimum* (*ib.* iii. 27), which is expressed in Irish by anglaiṙ acuṙ aṙan, 'milk-and-water and bread' (Vit. S. Mailreice, p. 89 *a*).

[u] *Faith.*—Bede, speaking of Oswald and his brothers, says: "Cum magna nobilium juventute apud Scottos sive Pictos exulabant, ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum catechizati et baptismatis sunt gratia recreati."—H. E. iii. 1. Conf. iii. 3.

[v] *Hy.*—See the references at p. 341, *supra.*

[w] *Three bishops.*—The first General Council required three as a minimum.—Cap. 4. (Labbe, Concil. vol. ii. p. 29).

[x] *Assistance.*—As Bede relates: "Vocatis ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis."—H. E. iii. 22.

[y] *Ceremony.*—"Adsumptis in societatem ordina-

judged sufficient, the usage would not have been without precedent. St. Serf[z] is said to have been consecrated by Palladius singly; St. Kentigern[a] was consecrated by an individual bishop, who was invited from Ireland for the purpose; and even St. Columba himself is said in legend to have been sent to Bishop Etchen[b] in order to receive from him episcopal orders, instead of which, through mistake, the order of priest only was conferred upon him. Lanfranc[c] complained of single episcopal ordination as a practice existing in Ireland in 1074; and Anselm[d], in 1100, repeated the charge.

Persons retiring from the world, to live as associates or probationers in the monastery, were said *sumere clericatus habitum*[e] (67, 156), or, as the natives expressed it, ꝺaḃail cleiṙceacta (157 *n.*), and this course was often taken as a voluntary penance (67), *ad delenda peccamina* (157). Whenever any one desired admission to the order, the application was submitted to the abbot, with whom it was discretionary to receive into communion immediately (61), or extend the probation over as long a period as seven years (162). At the appointed time, the candidate was conducted to the oratory, where, on his knees, he repeated, after the abbot, *Susceptio.*

tionis duobus de Brittonum gente episcopis."—Bede, H. E. iii. c. 28.

[z] *St. Serf.*—Johannes Major says: "Servanum episcopum Palladius ordinat. . . . Ex isto patet, quod episcopus in necessitate ab uno episcopo consecratur; et non est de episcopi essentia, quod a tribus ordinetur."—De Gest. Scottor. iii. 2, cited by Ussher (Wks. vol. vi. p. 212). The history of St. Serf is probably a fabrication, but the above statement shows what was the mediæval opinion concerning Scotic ordination. Ailredus says of St. Ninian: "Cepit deinde sacer Pontifex ordinare presbiteros, *consecrare episcopos*, cæterasque ecclesiasticorum graduum distribuere dignitates, totam terram per certas Parrochias dividere." Cap. 6 (Pink. Vit. Ant. p. 11). See in O'Donovan's Ir. Gram. p. 437.

[a] *Kentigern.*—Jocelin says: "Illum inthronizaverunt; accitoque uno episcopo de Hybernia, *more Britonum et Scotorum tunc temporis*, in pontificem consecrari fecerunt. Mos inolevit in Britannia, in consecratione pontificum, ta[ntu]mmodo capita eorum sacri crismatis infusione perungere, cum invocatione Sancti Spiritus, et benedictione, et manus impositione; quem ritum dicebant disipientes se suscepisse divinæ legis institutionem, et Apostolorum traditionem. . . . Sed licet consecratio Britonibus assueta, sacris canonibus minus consona videatur, non tamen vim aut affectum divini misterii, aut episcopalis ministerii amittere comprobatur. Sed quia insulani, quasi extra orbem positi, emergentibus paganorum infestationibus canonum erant ignari, ecclesiastica censura ipsis condescendens excusationem illorum in hac parte admittit."—Vit. S. Kentig. cap. 11 (Pinkerton, Vit. Antiq. p. 223).

[b] *Etchen.*—Bishop of Clonfad, in Westmeath. See the legend from Maguir's note to the Felire, in Obits of Christ Church, Introd. p. liv.

[c] *Lanfranc.*—"Episcopi ab uno episcopo consecrantur."—Ussh. Syll. Ep. 27 (Wks. vol. iv. p. 493).

[d] *Anselm.*—In one letter he writes, "Episcopi quoque solis episcopis consecrantur," Ussher, Syll. Ep. 35 (Wks. vol. iv. p. 521); in another, "atque ab uno episcopo episcopum, sicut quemlibet presbiterum, ordinari."—Ep. 36 (p. 524). In primitive times the practice was not uniform in Ireland; see Reeves's Eccles. Antiqq. p. 127. There is an early instance of single consecration in the case of Ælurus Timotheus at Alexandria, who, on the death of Proterius, "aut voluit aut passus est se ab uno episcopo, in locum occisi episcopi, fieri episcopum."—Gennadius, ap. Ussher, Wks. vol. v. p. 366.

[e] *Habitum.*—St. Cuthbert "ab ineunte adolescentia monachicum et nomen adsumpsit et habitum."—Bede, H. E. iv. 27. Conf. iii. 4.

the *monachicum votum* (61, 162), the solemn asseveration being *per nomen excelsi Dei* (84).

After the commission of an offence, the penitent was required *coram omnibus peccantiam suam confiteri* (59, 77), generally on his knees (59, 98, 99), and thus, promising amendment, *pœnitentiam agere* (98). In such case the abbot either absolved him on the spot (59), or enjoined a more lengthened discipline, *juxta judicationem* (52), which was termed the *leges pœnitentiæ* (52, 157), and sometimes extended to an abode of seven years at a prescribed station (157), sometimes even to twelve, occasionally accompanied by self-mortification, and perpetual exile from father-land[f] (52). The penitent who fulfilled the injunction *salutem exercuit animæ suæ* (160).

Pœnitentia.

The Tonsure of the Secundus Ordo, in which the founder was reckoned, was *ab aure ad aurem*, that is, the anterior half of the head was made bare, but the occiput was untouched[g]. This usage existed in St. Patrick's time, who may have found it in the country; it was adopted by St. Columba, and continued in his Order until 718, when the coronal tonsure was received by the society of Hy[h]. This occurred two years after the Paschal change; for, though Bede refers the joint reformation to 716, the practical adoption of a new style of tonsure would require a longer preparation[i] than a mere ritual observance. The Greek tonsure was total[k], and was styled *St. Paul's*, and the Roman, which was coronal, was styled *St. Peter's*, but the Irish fashion, in order to its being brought into disrepute, was opprobriously ascribed to *Simon Magus;* and when Ceolfrid cast this up to Adamnan, the latter, instead of repudiating the name, is represented as acquiescing in the reproach, for his apology was *etsi Simonis tonsuram ex consuetudine patria habeam*[l]. Another scandal circulated against it was of its introduction into Ireland by the swine-herd[m] of Laeghaire,

Tonsura.

[f] *Father-land.*—Like *patria*, the old Irish word is athair, from athair, *pater*. St. Columba is extolled in his Irish Life for abandoning his *atharda*.

[g] *Untouched.*—In fronte ab aure ad aurem, intonso occipitio.—Mabillon, Annal. viii. 3. The Book of Durrow has a picture of an ecclesiastic in a plaid chasuble, giving a good representation of this tonsure.

[h] *Hy.*—Tighernach, at 718, says, "*Tonsura corona super familiam Iae datur.*"

[i] *Longer preparation.*—When Theodore of Canterbury exchanged the Greek for the Roman tonsure, he lay by for four months. Bede, H. E. iv. 1.

[k] *Total.*—St. Patrick's charioteer was called *Totus Calvus*, in the Book of Armagh, which name is glossed cotimael (fol. 13 *bb*), and elsewhere is written *Bodmailus* (fol. 11 *ab*). Does the name indicate any peculiarity of religious origin?

[l] *Habeam.*—Bede, Historia Eccles. v. 21.

[m] *Swineherd.*—Usher cites an ancient Cotton MS., containing a collection of Irish Canons, for the following: "Romani dicunt tonsuram a Simone Mago sumpsisse initium, cujus tonsura de aure ad aurem tantum contingebat; pro excellentia ipsa *magorum tonsura*, qua sola frons anterior regi solebat. Auctorem autem hujus tonsuræ in Hibernia subulcum regis Loigeri filii Nil extitisse, Patricii sermo testatur: ex quo Hibernenses pene omnes hanc tonsuram sumpserunt."—Ec. Br. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vol. vi. p. 490). The Irish word for *tonsus* is mael, and one of Laeghaire's *Magi* was Lucet-mael,

the Pagan king, who resisted Patrick. In the St. Gall copy of Adamnan there is a representation of St. Columba, but it gives him the coronal tonsure, a mistake into which a continental manuscript of the ninth century might fall.

The sign of the cross was very generally employed as a *signum salutare*[n] (125); hence it was customary, before milking, to cross the pail (126); before tools were used, to cross them (143). The sign of the cross was considered effectual to banish demons (126, 127), to restrain a river-monster (141), to prostrate a wild beast (139), to unlock a door (151), to endow a pebble with healing virtues (147). Hence the readiness to erect the substantial *vexillum crucis* on the site of any remarkable occurrence (88, 231); a tendency which got full credit for its development, when Hy was celebrated for her 360 crosses[o]. Even at sea, the cruciform relation of the masts and yards was regarded as conducive to a favourable voyage (178). In the founder's lifetime there was also an extensive employment of charms, which were produced by his blessing on such objects as *panis* (109, 113), *pinea capsella* (112), *numeri* (113), *sal* (113, 114), *aqua* (109, 113), *cuculla* (136), *pugio* (143), *sudes* (154),

Veneratio.

hence we may infer that the *magorum tonsura* referred to above, had some influence on the Irish style. In the Irish verses concerning the introduction of Christianity, ascribed to the native druids, and which were ancient in the year 700, the term by which the missionary is characterized is Tailcenn, which Muirchu, in the Book of Armagh, renders *Asciciput* (fol. 2 *bb*), a word whose meaning has not hitherto been explained. It is undoubtedly a compound of *Ascia*, 'an adze,' and *caput*. Similarly, the Irish equivalent is compounded of tal, *ascia*, and cenn, *caput*. The Irish had a St. Mactail (Jun. 11), whose name is interpreted *filius asciæ*, not, however, as is generally supposed, because his father was a carpenter (that would be mac an tpaoip), but on the same principle that Maccaile was *filius veli*. Probus, who closely follows Muirchu, not understanding the force of *asciciput*, and taking tail in the abstract sense of *ars*, renders tailcenn *artis caput*, as if it denoted *totius artis magister* (cap. 26) Tr. Th. p. 49 *a*. The Third Life in Colgan, caught by an apparent similarity, substitutes a ludicrous word, *archicapus* 'prime-capon' (cap. 30, Tr. Th. 23 *b*). The Second and Fourth have *vir cum corona decorata* (Tr. Th. pp. 14 *a*, 40 *a*). Jocelin renders it *in circulo tonsus in capite* (cap. 31, Tr. Th. p. 71 *b*), and so in Tripart. Life (i. 43, Tr. Th. p. 123 *b*). Colgan's *tonsus in vertice* (*ib.* p. 2 *bb*) is better. A passage in S. Brendan's Life states that a monk was struck *capiti securi*, and that the place where he was buried was called "*Lebaydh in tollchynd*, i. e. Lectus perforati capitis" (Cod. Marsh. fol. 63 *bb*). If *tailcenn* denote the *coronal* tonsure, it will be open to the suspicion of having been coined in the seventh century, but if *lævigatum caput*, it will suit any date.

[n] *Signum salutare.*—The penitential of Columbanus prescribed penance for any member *qui non signaverit cochlear quo lambit* (cap. 1), or *si non signaverit lucernam* (cap. 2), Fleming, Collectan. p. 19. Shortly after the death of Columbanus, an exception was taken to the former practice by Agrestius, as "superfluum et nugatorium," in the council of Mascon, but Eustasius, the successor of Columbanus at Luxeu, appeared in its defence, and silenced the objector. Vita S. Eustasii, in Surius, and the Acta Sanctorum, at March 29; Flem. Collect. pp. 26 *b*, 38 *b*, 267 *b*. In the Antiphonary of Bangor, there is a hymn of nine stanzas, under the rubric *Hymnus quando Cæria benedicitur*.

[o] *Crosses.*—This number is, of course, an exaggeration, but it indicates a belief that the island abounded with them. See the note from a writer of 1693, in the New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 314.

albus lapillus (147), and this virtue survived him on earth, as in the *laudum carmina* (17), *tunica* (175), *libri* (110, 116, 117, 175). Such belief, however, was peculiar neither to the founder nor his nation: it was professed in equal variety and firmness by the venerable father of *Saxon* history[p].

The Burial of the Dead was a religious office, which involved a regard to the future as well as the present. The lively faith in the Resurrection (238) rendered it a consideration of importance to be buried among the honoured members of the society[q] (163), and as the day of dissolution was regarded as the *natalis* (182, 210), so the object in the choice of a burial-place was *ubi resurgere* (162, 313). The body of the deceased was laid out in the cell (239), wrapped in linen clothes (*ib.*), where it remained during the *exequiæ* (*ib.*), which lasted for three days and nights (*ib.*), in the course of which the praises of God were sung (*ib.*) The body was then borne to the grave in solemn procession, and buried with due reverence (*ib.*)

Sepultio.

The stated employment of the community, besides their religious services, were Reading, Writing, and Labour, according to the example of the founder, who allowed no time to pass, *quo non aut orationi, aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi incumberet* (9).

OPERA.

The primary subject of study was *lectio sacræ Scripturæ* (103), as well with the abbot (163), as the junior members of the society (137, 226); and, in particular, the committing to memory the book of Psalms[r]. Besides the Holy Scriptures, there was the study *scripturarum tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum*[s], the former including the Latin and Greek languages[t], the latter, ecclesiastical

Lectio.

[p] *Saxon history.*—See Bede, H. E. i. 1; iii. 2; ii. 12, 13, 17.

[q] *Society.*—This feeling was afterwards abused, and made not only a source of gain, but the foundation of pernicious, antichristian notions. For instance, there was the tradition at Clonmacnois of a dun cow, called *Odhuyr Kyarain*, which supplied the whole monastery with milk: "Pellis itaque ejus usque hodie honorifice in civitate sancti Kiarani manet; miracula enim gracia Dei per illud fiunt. Et hanc graciam habuit sicut veteres sancti, i. e. discipuli sancti Kierani, nobis tradiderunt, quia divinitus est ostensum quod *omnis homo qui mortuus fuerit super eam, vitam eternam cum Christo possidebit.*"—Cod. Marsh. fol. 146 *aa.* This hide was turned to better account when it became the cover of the *Leabhar na h Uidhre*, a manuscript of Clonmacnois, written in the twelfth century.

[r] *Psalms.*—Ædan's followers, both *adtonsi* and *laici*, employed themselves *aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis.* Bede, H. E. iii. 5.

[s] *Ecclesiasticarum.*—Bede, H. E. v. 18. Bede carefully distinguishes the *Sanctæ* or *Divinæ Scripturæ* (H. E. iv. 23, v. 18), from *scripturæ* simply (v. 18, 20, 21). The former he styles *majora studia.*

[t] *Languages.*—Ceolfrid's Latin epistle was translated into Pictish (Bede, H. E. v. 21). Albinus, who was a pupil of Theodore, circ. 710, "in tantum studiis *scripturarum* institutus est, ut Græcam quidem linguam non parva ex parte, Latinam vero non minus quam Anglorum, quæ sibi naturalis est, noverit" (H. E. v. 20). Of classical manuscripts belonging to the Irish school, it will suffice to mention two: the one of Horace, "Codex Bernensis, N. 363, 4°, sæc. viii. exeuntis, vel. ix. ineuntis. *Scotice scriptus*, antiquissimus omnium quotquot adhuc innotuerunt, et ordine carminum a reliquis mire discrepans."—Orellius, Horatii Opp. Præf.

writings[u]. Adamnan's two remaining Latin works give proof of his classical attainments, and Cummian's Paschal Epistle[v] is a remarkable specimen of the ecclesiastical learning of the day. To the English students who frequented Ireland in the seventh century, the natives supplied *libros ad legendum*[w], and Hy was not likely to fall short in its literary provision. For collective reading, they were probably furnished with the lives of saints (Adamnan quotes Sulpicius Severus' Life of St. Martin (3), and Constantine's Life of St. Germanus (149)), which were collected in a *mixtum*[x]; and it is very likely that for this kind of reading the life of the founder, as written by Adamnan, was reduced to the form in which it is found in the shorter recension, where the titles of the chapters, and most proper names are omitted, as calculated to interrupt or encumber the tenor of the narrative. St. Benedict prescribed the reading, after supper, of *collationes vel vitas Patrum, aut certe aliquid quod ædificet audientes* (cap. 42).

Writing formed a most important part of the monastic occupations; the founder was much devoted to it (143, 215, 233), and many of his books were preserved (116, 117, 175). His successor also practised it (53, 233). Besides the supply of service books for the numerous churches that sprung into existence, and which, probably, were written without embellishment, great labour was bestowed upon the ornamentation of some manuscripts, especially the sacred writings; and the Books of Kells and Durrow are wonderful monuments of the conception, the skill, and the patience of the Columbian scribes in the seventh century. Giraldus Cambrensis's[y] glowing description of the Gospels of Kildare is hardly strong enough to express the excellencies of the Book of Kells. Of their ordinary Latin hand in the eighth century, Cod. A. of Adamnan is a fine specimen[z]. This manuscript con-

Scriptio.

(Turici, 1843). This manuscript has a variety of Irish words entered in the margin. The other is Priscian: "Grammatica Prisciani scottice scripta. Codex eximius ordinateque scriptus, qui ob notas interlineares et marginales idiomate et characteribus scotticis in Europa sine dubio celebre nomen obtinebit. Saec. viii. membr. fol."—Zeuss, Gram. Celt. Præf. p. xix. (Lipsiæ, 1853). This beautiful manuscript is preserved at St. Gall. Another Irish copy of Priscian is preserved in Carlsruhe. Specimens of both are printed by Zeuss, Gram. vol. ii. pp. 1010–1037. See Irish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. v. pp. 152–155.

[u] *Writings.*—King Naiton was induced to adopt the Roman Easter and tonsure, "admonitus ecclesiasticarum frequenti meditatione scripturarum."—Bede, H. E. v. 21.

[v] *Epistle.*—Ussher, Sylloge, Ep. xi. (Wks. vol. iv. p. 432).

[w] *Legendum.*—And, with the books, *magisterium* (196) *per cellas magistrorum.*—Bede, H. E. iii. 27.

[x] *Mixtum.*—Reg. Bened. cap. 38. See Colton's Visitation, p. 57.

[y] *Cambrensis.*—After a most graphic description, he concludes with these words: "Hæc equidem quanto frequentius et diligentius intueor, semper quasi novis obstupeo, semperque magis ac magis admiranda conspicio."—Topogr. Hiberniæ, dist. ii. c. 38 (p. 730, ed. Camden).

[z] *Specimen.*—See Plates 1, 2, prefixed to this work. This heavy hand was distinguished by the name *Scotic*, and appears in a rather debased form in the fly-leaves of the Codex Sangallensis of the Gospels, published by Rettig, pp. 1. 2, 395. The

ains also some examples of the Greek hand[a], which was then in vogue among the Irish. It was a common practice with them to write Latin matter in Greek letters[b] (89, 187), as is remarkably illustrated in the Book of Armagh[c]. The style of the letter is peculiar to the Irish school, and the family likeness can be traced in manuscripts which are now found in situations very remote[d] from one another. It is very probable that a chronicle of events, especially obits[e], was kept in the monastery (66),

ancient Catalogue of the St. Gall library, written in the *ninth* century, specifies the *Libri Scottice scripti*. See Pertz, Hist. Germ. Monum. vol. ii. p. 78; Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten* (Mittheilungen der Antiquarishen Gesellschaft in Zurich, Siebt. Band, p. 61); also the unpublished Appendix A. to the Report of the English Record Commissioners (a most interesting volume, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, and another in Trin. Coll. Library, Dubl.), pp. 79–96.

[a] *Greek hand.*—See Plate 3. There is a beautiful interlinear Greek and Latin Psalter of the Irish school preserved in the town library of Bâle (A. vii. 3), mentioned by Wetstein (N. Test. Gr. vol. ii. p. 9), by Dr. Todd (Book of Hymns, fascic. 1, p. 55), and by Dr. Keller, who has printed a specimen in his valuable Essay (Taf. xii. 5) above cited.

[b] *Greek letters.*—See p. 187, *supra*. The Life of St. Brendan furnishes us with the following curious illustration of the practice: "Habebat sanctus Gylldas missalem librum, scriptum Grecis literis. Et possitus est ille liber super altare. Et custos templi ex jussione sancti Gillde dixit sancto Brendano, Vir Dei, precepit tibi sanctus senex noster ut offeres corpus Christi, Ecce altare, hunc librum Grecis literis scriptum, et canta in eo sicut abbas noster. Accipiensque sanctus Brendanus librum ait, Demonstra michi Domine Jhesu, istas literas ignorans, sicut aperuisti ostia clausa ante nos. Profecto possibilia omnia sunt credenti. Ilico jam literas Grecas scivit sanctus Brendanus, sicuti Latinas quas didicit ab infantia. Et cœpit missam cantare."—Cod. Marsh. fol. 63 *ab*. On the practice of writing Latin in Greek characters, see Dr. Graves in Proceedings, Roy. Irish Acad. vol. iii. p. 357.

[c] *Armagh.*—For instance, the Lord's Prayer (f. 36 *aa*); the calling of St. Matthew (f. 37 *bb*); the colophon of St. Matthew (f. 52 *ba*); the colophon of St. Martin's Life (f. 221 *ba*). See the facsimiles in Betham's Antiq. Res. plate xi. 3; Proceed. Roy. Irish Acad., vol. iii. p. 318.

[d] *Remote.*—Cod. A., formerly preserved at Reichenau, is at present in the Town Library of Schaffhausen. The Cod. Sangallensis of the Gospels was written by an Irish scribe; and the Book of Armagh has never left Ireland. The Cod. Boernerianus, a MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, corresponding to the Cod. Sangallensis, after passing through various hands between Paulus Junius and Professor Boerner, is now in the Royal Library of Dresden. At foot of fol. 23 are six lines, which have been a mystery to all the biblical critics of the Continent, and which the late Dr. Ingram of Oxford, in his ardour for the honour of Saxon literature, endeavoured to interpret. Had he succeeded in the attempt, the name *Anglo-Saxon*, so common a term for *every* literary monument of the British Isles, would not have been a misnomer for the writing of this manuscript, or any of its school; but Saxon helped him as little in the endeavour as Irish did a late speculator on the Eugubian Tables; and in this case it was left for the Irish to assert their legitimate claim to their national monument, and, in reading these lines with ease and certainty, to identify their name with many of the most beautiful and venerable manuscripts to be found in Europe. Keller and Zeuss have settled the question for ever. See Irish Eccles. Journal, vol. v. p. 138.

[e] *Obits.*—The custom of keeping such entries is illustrated in Bede's statement of a Saxon priest, "egressus requisivit in *annali suo*, et invenit eadem ipsa die Osualdum regem fuisse peremptum."—H. E. iv. 14. Annals like Tighernach's were probably kept in all the Irish monasteries.

and that from it the Irish Annals derived the few particulars which they have recorded concerning Hy.

The stated Labour was agriculture, in its various branches, as *aratio* (106, 175), *seminatio* (175), *messio* (72), *trituratio* (56), *portatio* (72): there were, moreover, the *diversa monasteri opera* (210), such as *mulsio* (125), *opus pistorium* (209), *fabricatio* (58, 106, 217), *legatio* (43) on sea (47, 106, 110, 111), and land (43, 60, 163). Besides we may presume that there was the preparing of food, and the manufacture of the various articles required for personal or domestic use. *Labor.*

The individual wants of the members were the subject of discipline as well as their conduct, and the three great requirements of the body *Refectio, Habitus,* and *Requies,* were supplied according to conventual measure, prescribed and practised by the founder, and afterwards established by usage. SUSTENTATIO.

The ordinary Refection (51) was very simple, consisting of bread (109, 110) sometimes made of barley (106); milk (125, 155, 231); fish (128, 129, 238); eggs (348 *n.*); and, probably, seal's flesh (78). On Sundays and Festivals (211), and on the arrival of guests (51), there was an improvement of diet, *consolatio cibi* (50, 58), *refectionis indulgentia* (51), which consisted in an addition to the principal meal, *prandioli adjectio* (211); on which occasions it is probable that flesh-meat was served up, as mutton (78), or even beef[f] (143). The number of meals in the day, and their hours, can only be conjectured. Columbanus's Rule, which is little more than a record of the Bangor observance, seems to recognise but the evening meal[g]; and Ratramm of Corby[h] states that it was the general practice of the Scotic monasteries to delay refection till *nona*, or evening, except on Sundays and Holydays. St. Cainnech's *prandium* (122) was not taken till *post nonam* (122); but this may have been at a special season, such as Lent, or a fast-day. At this chief meal the *xenia* (97, 99), or contributions of the faithful (98), were partaken of (121). It is likely, however, that St. Columba's discipline was milder than that of St. Comgall, and that it resembled St. Benedict's, which allowed dinner at twelve, and supper at evening, every day between Easter and Pentecost; and after Pentecost, on every day except Wednesdays and Fridays, when the first meal was taken at *nona;* from the middle of Septem- *Refectio.*

[f] *Beef.*—The Irish Life relates that on one occasion an aṫlaech [*quondam-laicus*], called Maelumha, son of Baedan, sojourning in Hy, came to Columbcille when for ḟaccaiḃ boiṫhin he ic funi maiṡ don meṫhl, 'he was left by Baithin, cooking a beef for the workmen.'

[g] *Evening meal.*—"Cibus sit vilis et vespertinus."—Reg. Columbani, c. 3 (Flem. Coll. p. 4 *b*). In his Penitential, however, it is prescribed, "Si quis ante horam nonam, quarta sextaque feria manducat, nisi infirmus, duos dies in pane [*al.* paximacio] et aqua."—cap. 13 (*ib.* p. 23 *b*).

[h] *Ratramm of Corby.*—Flor. circ. 840. His words are: "Scotorum natio, Hiberniam insulam inhabitans, consuetudinem habet per monasteria monachorum seu canonicorum vel quorumcunque religiosorum, omni tempore præter Dominicam festosque dies jejunare; nec nisi vel ad nonam vel ad vespe-

ber till the beginning of Lent, the first meal continually after *nona;* and, during Lent only, the first meal was delayed till the last light of day (cap. 41).

The ordinary Garments were two: the *cuculla* (136), of coarse texture[i], made of wool, and of the natural colour[j] of the material; and the *tunica* (141), an under-garment[k], which was occasionally white (175). Instead of the former, when the weather required, was worn a warmer garment called *amphibalus*[l] (25, 113). The *cuculla*, sometimes called *casula*[m] and *capa*[n], consisted of the body and the hood[o], the latter of which was sometimes specially termed the *casula.* When working or travelling, they wore *calcei*[p] (122, 210), which were *ficones* (123 *n.*)

Vestimenta.

ram corpori cibum indulgere."—Lib. iv. contra Græcos, ap. Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Antiqq. c. 16 (Wks. vol. vi. p. 278).

[i] *Coarse texture.*—The Life of St. Cadoc represents an angel saying to St. David, "quot cirri sive jube in tua coccula, quod vulgariter vocatur quoddam genus indumenti, quo Hibernenses utuntur deforis, plenum prominentibus jube seu villis in modum cinium sunt contexte, tot homines per te a penis perpetuis eruentur."—cap. 14 (Rees, Lives Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 44).

[j] *Natural colour.*—Jocelin, describing St. Patrick's cowl, observes: "Unde et monachi in Hibernia S. Patricii sequendo vestigia, per multa temporum volumina habitu simplici contenti erant, quem ovium ministrabat lana, qualibet extrinseca tinctura remota."—Vit. S. Patr. c. 185 (Trias Th. p. 106 *a*). The old Irish Life exaggerates the self-denial of Columcille when it asserts, nir ȝebeḋ lín na olanḃ ḟria chnepp, 'he never put flax or wool to his skin.' On Sundays and festivals the brethren went *albati* (211) in surplices (?) to church.

[k] *Under-garment.*—St. Kiaran's was called *pallium.* See note [m], *infra.*

[l] *Amphibalus.*—See the reference to the Life of St. Deicola at p. 114, *supra.* St. Benedict's Rule says: "Mediocribus locis sufficere credimus Monachis, per singulos, Cucullam et Tunicam: Cucullam in hyeme villosam, in æstate puram aut vestutam; et Scapulare propter opera" (cap. 55).

[m] *Casula.*—The Life of St. Kiaran relates that one day, meeting a beggar, he gave him his *cassula,* and proceeded in his *pallium* to Inis-Cathay, when St. Senan meeting him said: "Nonne pudor est quod sacerdos in uno pallio sine *cucullo* ambulat."—cap. 22 (Cod. Marsh, fol. 146 *b a*). *Sagum* also occurs in cap. 20 (*ib.*)

[n] *Capa.*—St. Comgall's Life relates that "Quodam die cum esset S. Comgallus solus in agro foris operans, posuit chrismale suum super vestem suam. Cum ergo venissent gentiles ad S. Comgallum foris operantem, et chrismale suum super cappam suam vidissent, putaverunt chrismale illud deum S. Comgalli esse."—cap. 22 (Flem. Coll. p. 307 *b*). The *chrismale,* it may be observed, was a box for carrying the consecrated bread of the Eucharist, probably the menpcip of the Book of Armagh (fol. 18 *a b*). In St. Dega's Life an anecdote is told similar to that in p. 141, *supra,* but instead of *tunica* the garment is called *capa* (Act. Sanct. Aug. tom. iii. p. 659 *b*).

[o] *Hood.*—St. Kiaran's Life says of his hood, "illa casula apud sanctum Senanum quasi *diadema* sanctum."—c. 29 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 *a b*). The Preface to St. Sechnall's Hymn represents St. Patrick saying, Rorpia allin ló pil por cappal ḃo ḋochaill, allín peccṫach ḃo ḃul ḃochum nime, ap in n-imon. 'Thou shalt have, then, the number of the hairs that are on the *casula* of thy cowl, the same number of sinners to go to heaven, for the Hymn.'—Leabhar Breac, cited by Dr. Todd, Book of Hymns (Ir. Arch. Soc.) fasc. i. p. 33. See note [l], *supra,* for the Welsh version of the indulgence. The Life of St. Deicola draws a distinction which seems unique, "succinctus *cuculla* non *cucullo.*" (Colg. Act. SS. p. 117 *b.*)

[p] *Calcei.*—The Irish Life, in illustration of Columcille's humility, says: Mop cpa an mirle

or sandals, and which it was customary to remove before sitting down to meat (122). The *femoralia* and *pedules* of the Benedictine Rule (cap. 55) do not appear to have been used by the Irish[q].

In severe weather, or after hard labour, the Superior allowed the labourers *otiari* (58). The monks slept on *lectuli* (144, 203), which were distributed through the several cells. Each bed was provided with a pallet, *stramen* (233), probably of straw[r], and a *pulvillus* (14, 233). What the coverlets were is not recorded, but few probably were required, as the monks slept in their ordinary clothes[s]. *Requies.*

Œconomia.

The Monastery proper[a] was the space enclosed by the *Vallum*, and embraced the *Ecclesia*, *Refectorium*, *Coquina*, and *Hospitia*, lining the *Platea;* the *Armarium*, and probably the *Officina fabri;* together with the furniture and utensils belonging to the several departments of the institution. Its extent was not great (232), and it seems to have been incapable of receiving many strangers (134, 158); yet a visitor might be in the monastery for several days without having been seen by the abbot (20, 157). Monasterium.

The most important building was the *sacra domus* (224), indifferently called *ecclesia* and *oratorium* (164, 170). It was provided with an *altarium*[b] (85, 158, 171), remote

bo Colum cille conid h-e fen no benad a n-iallaḋranda dia manchaib acar no imlad doib, 'It was, now, great lowliness in Columcille that he was wont himself to take the sandals off his monks, and wash them.' So the *Vit. Sec.* of Colgan, "Suis discipulis tanquam vilis servus ministrans calceamenta de illorum pedibus solvebat, eorumque pedes post labores, aquis lavabat calidis." —cap. 17 (Tr. Th. p. 327 *a*).

[q] *Irish.*—The Dauphin, in Shakspeare's Henry the Seventh, alludes to the national custom when he says, "You rode like a kerne of Ireland, your French hose off, and in your strait trossers" (iii. 7).

[r] *Straw.*—Adamnan says that Columba's bed was a bare stone: the *Vit. Secund.* of Colgan adds, "interposito tantum corio."—cap. 18 (Tr. Th. p. 327 *a*). It would seem that hides were occasionally used for sleeping on. St. Macnisse of Connor is said to have derived his name from mac cnip [Patraic], 'son of Patrick's *skin*,' because he slept in his *bed*. (Obits of Christ Ch. Introd., p. lxxiii.) See the passage cited from the Vit. Trip. p. 116, n. [b], *supra;* and the legend of St. Ciaran's cow, p. 352, *supra*.

[s] *Clothes.*—This may be inferred from the promptness with which they were able to respond to the midnight bell. "Vestiti dormiant, et cincti cingulis aut funibus . . . ut parati sint monachi semper, et facto signo absque mora surgentes festinent invicem se prævenire ad opus Dei."—Reg. Bened. c. 22.

[a] *Monastery proper.*—The Four Mast., at 1203, give the name baile, 'town,' to this conventual establishment, in accordance with the practice which is observed in many ancient Lives, of calling a monastery *civitas*.

[b] *Altarium.*—Probably of stone. "Alio autem die S. Kannichus intravit in insulam Ie, cumque osculatus fuisset altare [dedisset pacem altari—*Cod. Marsh.*], caput suum contra cornu altaris incaute percussit, et de capite ejus gutta sanguinis venit, et illa gutta capitis Kannichi data est super filiam Bruidei regis Pictorum."—Vit. S. Kannechi, c. 23 (p. 14, ed. Ormonde).

from the door (234); and on it the customary vessels, namely, the *discus*[c] and *calix*[d]. On extraordinary occasions reliquaries were placed upon the altar (176).

Ecclesia. Attached to the building on one side, and communicating with it by a door, was a *cubiculum* (224) or *separatum conclave*, called *exedra*[e] or *exedriola* (224), which probably served as a sacristy (175, 176), and opened externally as well as internally. Here may have been kept the *clocca* (33, 234), by which the congregation were summoned to the sacred offices[f].

The Refectory of Aghabo, with its *mensula* (122), is mentioned by Adamnan; and, no doubt, there was a similar provision in Hy. The preface to the *Altus*

Refectorium. expressly names it by the term ꝑꝓoinnciꝯ (330), an Irish compound, signifying and derived from *prandii tectum*. Here were probably kept the *collus* (46), *hauritorium* (*ib.*), *biberæ* (147), and such *ferramenta*, as *pugiones* (143), and *cultelli* (Reg. Ben. 55).

Adjoining the refectory we might expect to find the Kitchen[g], called in Irish coicḋenn, or cuicin. Here were the utensils for cooking, such as the

Coquina. *craticula* (51), *sartago*, *cacabus*[h], and *hydria* (54), the ꝺaḃaḋ, or water-pot, of the Irish. In very cold weather the *focus* (53) seems to have been resorted to for heat during the hours of study.

There was most likely a Chamber for the preservation of the books, and other literary apparatus, as the *tabulæ* (66), or waxed tablets[i]; the *graphia* (205 *n.*) or styles[k]; the

[c] *Discus.*—Hence *dish*, in Irish miar. "Cum disco sive patena."—Vit. Trip. iii. 54 (Trias Th. p. 137 *a*). So Vit. Brendani, c. 42 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 63 *a b*). *Disci* were among the altar furniture made by St. Dega (360 *n.*). The Book of Armagh has *patinus* (ff. 8 *bb*, 11 *bb*). The bread was called in Irish baingen, or 'cake.'

[d] *Calix.*—From which comes the Irish cailech, called coilech n-aiffrinn, 'calix offertorii,' in the Irish Life. *Calix.*—Lib. Armac. fol. 8 *bb*.

[e] *Exedra.*—The Irish version of Bede's abstract of Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, translates *exedra* by ipdum.—Leabhar Breac, fol. 69 *b*. This term is explained by Cormac so as to answer exactly to Adamnan's description of the *exedra* at Hy: Aurdom .i. urdom .i. aurcedaḋair, no fria cedaḋair aneḋcair, '*Aurdom*, i. e. *urdom*, i. e. a side-house, or against a house externally.'—*Gloss.* cit. Petrie, Round Towers, p. 438.

[f] *Sacred offices.*—Probably for work also. See note [v], p. 343, *supra*.

[g] *Kitchen.*—Colgan's *Vit. Sec.* says: "Frequenter etiam molendini serviens officiis, farinæ saccum ad coquinam reportabat humeris."—cap. 17 (Trias Th. p. 327 *a*). St. Patrick's *culina* at Armagh was seventeen feet long.—Vit. Trip. iii. 78 (Tr. Th. p. 164 *a*). The cuicin or *coquina* of Armagh was burned by lightning in 915 (An. Ult.).

[h] *Cacabus.*—The Tripart. Life tells that king Daire sent to St. Patrick an *æneus cacabus* (iii. 70, Tr. Th. 162 *b*), which the Book of Armagh simply calls *æneus* (fol. 7 *aa*). "Pro sartagine cacabum trium metretarum."—Vit. Ciarani, c. 20 (Cod. Marsh. 146 *a b*). Vit. Brendani, c. 30 (*ib.* fol. 61 *a b*).

[i] *Waxed tablets.*—*Ceraculum* is the term found in some saints' lives, as St. Maidoc's, cap. 6 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 208 *b*); St. Mochta's, cap. 2 (*ib.* p. 729 *a*); in both which instances it is employed to denote a student's tablet. "Et sanctis pater statim accepta *tabula* et *grafio*, per revelacionem Dei scribebat in *cera*, indicans fratri velle suum."—Vit. Brendani, c. 17 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 58 *b a*). The Irish Life re-

calami (143), or pens: the *cornicula atramenti* (54), or ink-horns[l]. The books[m], at least those which were intended for carriage, were suspended in *pelliceis sacculis* (115, 116) from the walls[n] (117 *n.*) Among these were the *sacra volumina* *Armarium.* (223, 230) of *utraque canon*[o], or Old and New Testaments, possibly in the form of a *bibliotheca*[p] or Bible; ecclesiastical (352) writings; and profane authors (353).

presents St. Columkille's abgitep, or alphabet, as written on a cake. For drawings of a *ceraculum* see Dr. Todd's paper on an Irish waxed Table-book (Transact. R. Irish Acad. vol. xxi. pt. 2).

[k] *Styles.*—From *graphium*, which is of Greek origin, comes the Irish gnaib (205 *n.*) The Life of Cainnech represents that saint saying to Baithene, "porta illi tecum in signum *graffium* hoc quod in aere ex pallio ejus cadens reliquit, quum ille et ego et Comgallus cito perreximus ad Eugenium episcopum Ardsrathae nos vocantem in auxilium circa animam Aidui monachi sui."—cap. 25 (p. 15, ed. Ormonde). The very same anecdote is told in the Life of St. Ruadhan, with this exception that the style is called *pugillaris*, and St. Ruadhan described as the keeper of it (Act. Sanctor. April. tom. ii. p. 386 *a*; Colg., Tr. Th. p. 461 *b*). These styles seemed to answer a double purpose.

[l] *Ink-horns.*—The ink then in use was carbonaceous, not mineral. The writing in the Book of Armagh, after 1050 years, is as black as if executed but yesterday.

[m] *Books.*—At Armagh there was a teach pepeapcpa, *domus scripturarum*, in 1020; and an officer called leabop coimeddad, *custos librorum*, in 1136; but these are the only references in our Annals to the existence of a monastic library. As to Boece's story concerning the chest of manuscripts which King Fergus recovered from the spoils of Rome, it would be sufficient to say that it is fully as unreal, and not half so rational, as any of Æsop's compositions, were it not that there are some, whose studies lying in another direction, may not be aware that the alleged donation is supposed to have been made 100 years before the Scotic dynasty was founded in Scotland, 150 years before Columcille set his foot in Hy, and by a king who never existed! Pope Pius II. may have intended to visit Hy, and might reasonably expect to find the oldest books in the oldest monastery in the kingdom, especially had he known, as we do, that to an Irish monastery on the Continent the literary world is indebted for the preservation of some classical remains; but it is much to be feared that the result of the journey would have been similar to that of Moldenhauer's visit to Alcala, and that Æneas Sylvius would have had painful evidence that Danish bonfires were as bad as Spanish rockets. See Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 15 (Wks. vol. vi. pp. 125, 241). Bede's account of Acca's library is a reliable story (H. E. v. 21).

[n] *Walls.*—The legend referred to in the note at p. 117 is as follows:—In tan doni, ba marb Longarad, ipred innipic eolaig tiaga lebar Erenn do ṫuitim in aidche pin. No i puac na tiaga i pabutar liubair cech danai ir in aracul i paibe Colam cille po thuitpet and. 'When then Longarad died, it is told by the learned that all the book-wallets of Ireland fell down on that night. Or else it was the wallets in which were the books of every science, in the apartment where Columcille was, that then fell.' Gloss of the Feilire, cit. Dr. Todd (Obits of Chr. Ch. Introd. p. lxxi.) The legend opens by saying that Longarad hid his books from Columcille. Probably this saint, like St. Finnian, did not wish to have his books copied.

[o] *Utraque canon.*—"Cum S. Kannechus apud istum magistrum *utramque canonem* legisset." Vit. c. 4 (p. 4, ed. Orm.) The term is used in the same sense in the expression Canoin Phadraic, *Canon Patricii*, the name which the Irish gave to the Book of Armagh.

[p] *Bibliotheca.*—St. Jerom's observation to Florentius, "multis *sacræ bibliothecæ* codicibus abundamus," is an early authority for the limitation of the

Within the enclosure was a *plateola*[q] (203), or ꝑaiṫche (98 *n.*), surrounding or beside which were the Lodgings, *hospitia*, of the community. They appear to have been detached huts, originally formed of wattles (106), or of wood (177). External authorities call them bocha[r], *cellæ*[s], *cellulæ*[t]. Adamnan makes frequent mention of the abbot's *domus* (223, 226), or *hospitium* (239), or *hospitiolum* (226, 233), which he styles a *tugurium* (233), or *tuguriolum* (54, 65, 125, 215), at some distance from the others (226), built with joists[u] (54), and situate on an eminence (227). Here the founder sat and wrote (125, 143, 215), or read (163), hav-

Hospitia.

term to one volume embracing several books, which afterwards came into general use (see Maitland's Dark Ages, p. 194, Lond. 1853), as for instance in Scotland, where the little library of St. Servanus's isle, on Lochleven, numbered among its 16 volumes a *pars Bibliothecæ*, or 'portion of a Bible,' a term not so vague as might be supposed (Reg. Priorat. S. Andreæ, Pref. p. xv.). The Irish acceptation of the word was still more limited, and they applied it to the *case* or *cover of a single book*, and, secondly, to *any case*. "Assicus sanctus episcopus faber aereus erat Patricio, et faciebat altaria, *bibliothicas*, quas facieba[n]t in patinos sancti nostri pro honore Patricii episcopi, et de illis .iiii. patinos quadratos vidi" (Lib. Armac. fol. 11 *bb*). Again, "Fons vero quadratus fuit, et petra quadrata erat in ore fontis, et veniebat aqua super petram, id est, per glutinationes, quasi vestigium regale, et dixerunt increduli quod quidam profeta mortuus fecit *bibliothicam* sibi in aqua sub petra ut dealbaret ossa sua" (*ib.* fol. 13 *bb*). In the short charter of 1004 entered in this manuscript, we find "Sic reperi in *bibliothicis* Scotorum" (fol. 16 *bb*). St. Dega's Life gives an enumeration of his works, namely, campanas, cymbala, baculos, cruces, scrinia, capsas, pyxidea, calices, discos, altariola, chrysmalia, *librorumque cooperiorta*, quædam vero alia auro atque argento, gemmisque pretiosis, circumtecta." (Act. SS. Ang. tom. iii. p. 659 *a.*) Elsewhere in the same Life we have the Latin equivalent for the Greek compound: "Evangelium etiam optimum postremo scripsit, necnon *repositorium* ad idem recondendum mirabiliter construxit." (*Ib.* p. 659 *b.*)

[q] *Plateola.*—The Irish term ꝑaiṫche denotes 'a green,' 'a court,' or the entrenched space attached to an earthen fort. *Faheeran* in the King's County is ꝑaiṫche Ċiaṙain, *platea Kiarani* (Four Mast. 1547). Cormac's Glossary translates ꝑaiṫċi by *platea*, voc. pla. (Ir. Nennius, p. 93.)

[r] *Botha.*—The Irish Life applies this term to the cells in St. Mobi's monastery of Glasnevin.

[s] *Cellæ.*—St. Cainnech was on one occasion in Hy, and when the bell rang for *nona* the abbot was missing, and "per omnes *cellas* ab omnibus fratribus diligenter quærebatur." Vit. c. 22 (p. 40, ed. Orm.) Colgan's *Tert. Vit.* speaks of the abbot's *cella*, c. 34 (Tr. Th. p. 329 *b*).

[t] *Cellulæ.*—The *Sec. Vit.* in Colgan has "tunc omnes fratres de suis advenientes *cellulis*, cap. 19 (Tr. Th. p. 327 *a*). Bede's description of St. Cuthbert's monastery where there were only *oratorium* and *habitaculum commune* (H. E. iv. 28), was of a different character: but his account of the *casæ* and *domunculæ* of Coldingham (H. E. iv. 25) applies to the monastery of Hy. In fact the Irish monasteries seem to have been modelled very much after the eastern pattern, such as Adamnan describes of the monastery of Mount Thabor: "Cujus in medio campo monachorum inest grande monasterium, et plurimæ eorumdem cellulæ." And again, "Supra memorati monasterii et trium ecclesiarum ædificia cum cellulis monachorum, lapideo omnia circumveniuntur muro"—ii. 27 (Mabill. Act. SS. Ord. Ben. sæc. iii. pt. ii. p. 467). *Cassula* is used for *cellula* in the Book of Armagh (fol. 5 *ba*, 10 *aa*).

[u] *Joists.*—Probably two stories high. Adamnan, describing the abodes of the Egyptians in the flooded plains of the Nile, says, "in domibus transversis tabulis suffultis, aquas supra inhabitant." De Locis Sanctis, ii. 30.

ing one attendant (54, 84, 143), who occasionally read to him (65); or by two, who stood at the door, awaiting his orders (216, 227). Here was his *lectulus* (233). The door was provided with a lock and key (223, 226). When a stranger arrived, a *hospitium*[v] (27, 157) was prepared for him. When a member died, he was laid out, and waked in his lodging (239).

There was a Smithy, probably inside the enclosure; and in an institution where timber was so generally used, there must have been a carpenter's workshop. We may conclude that there was such an appointment near the beach also, for large beams of timber, in their rough state, were sometimes floated from the shores of the mainland to the island, and fashioned there into boats (176). *Officinæ.*

All these buildings were embraced by a rampart and fosse, called the *vallum*[w] (143), which, in other Irish monasteries, was of a circular figure, and was intended more for the restraint than the security of the inmates. It is doubtful whether the cemetery was within the *vallum;* probably it was, and, if so, the position of the Reilig Odhrain would help to determine the site of the monastery, and to assign it to the space now partially occupied by the Cathedral and its several appendages. *Vallum.*

Outside the vallum[x] were the various offices and appointments subsidiary to the monastery; as the *Bocetum*, with its cows; the *Horreum*, with its grain; the *Canaba*, with its appurtenances; the *Molendinum*, with its pond and millstream; the *Prædium*, with its horse and cart; and the *Portus*, with its craft of various sizes. These appendages occupied different situations, according to local convenience. SUBSIDIA.

The pasture-ground, with its *bocetum* or byre[y] (231), called by the Irish buaibiḋ or *booley*, was situate on the eastern side of the island, at some distance from the monastery, and for this reason the *lactaria vascula* (125, 231) were usually conveyed on a horse's back (231). The milk-pail had an *operculum* (126), which was secured by a *gergenna* (*ib.*), passing through *bina foramina* in the sides (*ib.*). *Bocetum.*

[v] *Hospitium.*—In some Irish monasteries there was a separate department called ḃip, or cech aeiḋeḋ, 'enclosure' or 'house of guests,' as in Armagh (F. Mast. 1003, 1015, 1116, 1155); and Clonmacnois (*ib.* 1031, 1093, 1106, 1128, 1166).

[w] *Vallum.*—Such was the enclosure of Armagh called rath Aṙomacha (F. Mast. 1091, 1112, 1196). The monastery of Derry was erected in the *dun* of Aedh (160). See pp. 24, 143, *supra.* In 1266, when the Franciscan monastery of Armagh, now known as *the Abbey* in the Primate's Demesne, was founded, they "cut a broad and deep trench around their church" (Four Masters).

[x] *Outside the Vallum.*—The Benedictine Rule required that, if possible, "omnia necessaria, id est, Aqua, Molendinum, Hortus, Pistrinum, vel Artes diversæ, intra monasterium exerceantur, ut non sit necessitas monachis vagabundi foras" (cap. 66).

[y] *Byre.*—This shows how unfounded is the popular proverb, '*Sfar a m-bi bo, bi'dh bean; 'sfar a m-bi bean, bi'dh mallachadh.* 'Where there is a cow there will be a woman; and where there is a woman there will be a curse.' (Pennant's Tour, vol. i. p. 247; Graham's Iona, p. 6.)

The Barn[a], called ꝑaball in the Irish Life, was an out-office of considerable importance (230). Here the grain, when *sequestratus* (230) or winnowed, was stored in heaps (*ib.*). We may presume that it was situate near the kiln and the mill.

Horreum.

The Kiln was employed both for the *trituratio frugum* (56), and *ad spicas siccandas* (88 *n*). The latter process was conducted in a large sieve, *rota de virgis contexta* (*ib.*). This building stood near the path which led from the monastery to the landing-place (87).

Canaba.

Adamnan does not mention the Mill[a], but he speaks of the baker, and of bread. A stream, which flows eastwards, a little to the north of the monastery, is still called *Sruth-a-mhuilinn*, or 'Mill-stream.' It rises in a bog called the *Lochan mor*, or 'Great Lakelet, which may have served as a linn in muilinn, or 'mill-pond'[b]. The stream is small now, because the Lochan is nearly drained; but there are no traces of a weir, and the wheel of the mill was possibly a horizontal one[c]. In the founder's time, the bro, or 'quern,' may have been the mill in use, for such was the grinding apparatus at the school[d] where he was taught.

Molendinum.

[a] *Barn.*—The old word ꝑaball, from which two churches in Ireland took their names (Reeves's Eccl. Ant. pp. 220), and from which Irish hagiologists coined the word *zabulum* to denote 'a barn,' is preserved in the spoken language of Ulster, but in the other provinces of Ireland it is corrupted to ꝑꝛibol. The Brehon laws mention the idhlann *frumenti repositorium.*

[a] *Mill.*—In describing the composition of the *Altus*, its preface states, In can do ꝓac Columcille in cec ꝓoda i m-bel in muilind ir and do chuaid h-i cend ind Altura, ocus ir imalle porcaig in c-imon do benum ocus in tarbur do bleich, 'When Columcille had put the first feed into the mouth of the mill, it was then that he commenced the *Altus;* and it was simultaneously that the hymn and the grinding of the corn were concluded.' Leabhar Breac, fol. 109 *a.* See p. 330, *supra.* St. Fechin, who flourished in the interval between Columcille and Adamnan, erected a water-mill near his abbey of Fore, which is mentioned in his Life, cap. 14 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 131 *b*), and spoken of by Giraldus Cambrensis (Topogr. Hib. dist. ii. cap. 52). See O'Donovan in the Dubl. Pen. Journ. vol. i. p. 282; Petrie's Tara, p. 139; Ord. Mem. of Templemore, p. 215; St. Constantine, on his conversion, in 588, "relicto regno in hyberniam transfretavit veniensque ad quamdam domum religionis humiliter laborem sustinuit quod molenda quæque de granario ad molendinum ferret per septennium." Brev. Aberd. Pr. SS. Pt. Hyem. f. 67 *a b*, lect. 2 (Reprint). The reference is, probably, to Rahen, in King's County.

[b] *Mill-pond.*—Speaking of Rath-both (Raphoe) the Irish Life says, Innrir ro doburcartar in raer a bar, iar na badud illind in mulind, 'It was then he restored to life the wright after he had been drowned in the mill-pond.' Pennant, writing in 1772, says, "Beyond the [abbot's] mount are the ruins of a kiln, and a granary; and near it was the mill. The lake or pool that served it lay behind; it is now drained."—Tour, i. p. 258 (Chester, 1774).

[c] *Horizontal one.*—See Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. iv. p. 6.

[d] *School.*—St. Columcille is said to have been one of the twelve fathers of the Irish who were educated by St. Finnian of Clonard. Speaking of our saint's engagements there, the Irish Life says, Feir aidche no meled a broim cec fer ar n-uair dona h-arrcalaid. Ainzel De nime tra no meled do raich Columcille, 'A night's meal

The land on the east side of the island seems to have been used as pasture, while the tillage was conducted in the more productive plain on the west (71, 217). To the latter, in harvest-time (71), the *messores operarii* repaired in the morning, and returned in the evening, carrying, from the *messis* (72) to the monastery, loads of corn on their backs (*ib.*). The *caballus* or *equus ministrator* (230), called ȝeppan in the Irish Life, grazed near the monastery (230). The *plaustrum* (142, 228) had *rotæ* or *orbitæ* (173), secured to the *axion* by *obices* (171), or *rosetæ* (172 *n*). *Prædium.*

The geographical situation of Hy, *fluctivago suspensa salo*, demanded a constant supply of nautical appointments, and an acquaintance with navigation. The names of the little bays on the east coast are indicative of frequent resort to the island: *Port-na-Mairtear*, 'Martyr's Bay;' *Port-Ronain*, 'Ronan's Bay;' *Port-an-Diseart*, 'Hermitage Bay;' *Port-na-Frang*, 'Frenchman's Bay;' *Port-na-muinntir*, 'People's Bay,' tell their own history. The chief landing-places, *portus insulæ* (52, 58, 87, 124, 181), were *Port-Ronain* and *Port-na-Mairtear*, on the east (59), and *Port-a-Churaich*, on the south (181 *n*). The supply of craft, *naves* (119, 156, 161, 181), *navigia* (30, 150), seems to have been large and varied[e], for it sometimes afforded a *navalis emigratio* (176). There were *onerariæ naves* (106), or *longæ naves* (176), or *rates* (161), some of which were of wood (176), some of wicker-work covered with hides[f] (169), called *curucæ* (176, 177, 275), or *scaphæ* (176); and capacious (176 *n.*), furnished with masts, *antennæ*, *rudentes* (161, 178), *vela* (49, 181), and *palmulæ* (178); having *carinæ*, *latera*, *puppes*, *proræ* (169), and capable of being served both by wind and oar, and formed to hold a crew (120). There were small portable boats, *naviculæ*, *navicellæ*, for crossing rivers[g] (64, 142), or for inland lochs (12), or cruising (14), or for the *transfretatio*, or ferrying, of the Sound of Hy (77, 240), sometimes called *caupalli*, cobles (141), or *cymbæ*, or *cymbulæ* (150). *Barcæ* occasionally arrived from distant countries (57), commanded by *naucleri* (*ib.*). All the vessels of the society were provided with *navalia instrumenta*, among which were *utres lactarii* (155). They were *Portus.*

was ground in a quern, in turn, by each of the apostles. The angel of the God of heaven it was who ground for the benefit of Columcille.' St. Ciaran also is said to have been employed to work a *mola*, but an angel did his work for him while he read. Vit. c. 8 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 145 *a b*).

[e] *Varied.*—The Brehon Laws distinguish the lunȝ, *navis longa*, barc, *scapha*, and curach, *caruca*, in the provision made for builders, Ceṫri ba ar lonȝaib, ocur ceṫri barcaib, ocur ceṫri ba ar curcha, 'Four cows for ships, four for barques, and four cows for curachs.' (H. 2. 16, col. 930, Trin. Coll. Dubl.)

[f] *Hides.*—Ailredus, in his Life of St. Ninian, gives this description of a curach: "Solet illis in locis vas quoddam, in similitudinem crateræ ex virgis compingi, tantæ magnitudinis, ut sedentes juxta se tres homines capere sufficiat. Cui corium bovinum superducentes non solum nabilem, sed et aquis impenetrabilem reddunt." Cap. 10 (Pinkert. Vit. Ant. p. 16). Figures of medieval ships are represented on many of the Iona tombstones. See Graham's Iona, plates 10, 15, 22, 24.

[g] *Crossing rivers.*—If it were not obviously a mere stupid blunder, one might suppose that the scribes who took *caupallus* of p. 141 for *caballus*, had in

manned by *nautæ*[h] (28, 120, 150), *nautici* (161), *navigatores* (40, 47), or *remiges* (49), some of whom were monks (161), some apparently not (47).

MINISTRI.

The Officers and Servants of the community were at first but few: however, as the system became developed, duties became defined, and agents in the various departments multiplied. Those which are recorded were, the Abbot, Prior, Bishop, Scribe, Anchorite, Butler, Baker, Cook, Smith, Attendant, Messengers; to whom was added, in after times, the President of the Culdees.

Abbas.

The abbot was supreme, and the founder's successor was styled comarba Coluimcille, or *Hæres Columbæ-cille* (Ult. 853). When Hy lost its supremacy, and the principal Columbian station was in Ireland, the chief of the order was said to be comarba Ċolaim cille ittir Erinn acur Albain, 'Successor of Columcille both in Ireland and Scotland' (Ult. 979, 1062), and the election[i] lay with "the men of Erin and Alba" (Ult. 988, 1164, 1203). When infirmity of the abbot, or other exigency, demanded, a coadjutor-successor[k] was elected, called the tanaipi abbaid (F. M. 935), who was said thereupon *tenere principatum* (Ult. 706, 721), or *cathedram Iæ* (*ib.* 712), or *cathedram Columbæ*[l] *suscipere* (*ib.* 715). When a vacancy occurred, the new abbot *in primatiam successit* (Tig. 724), and the term of his office was his *principatus* (Ult. 800). When local Superior of Hy, but not *Coarb of Columcille*, he is, in one instance, styled airchinnech or Erenach[m] of Ia, in the early Annals (Ult. 977), for which the later compilations substitute *Abbot of Ia-choluimcille* (F. Mast. 976). In one instance we find the expression *Coarb of Ia* (Ult. 1025).

mind bishop Aidan's horse, one of whose uses was *amnium fluenta transire* (Bede, H. E. iii. 14).

[h] *Nautæ*—The Irish Life cites this verse:

Ampa ocbaid boi in hli
Tri caecat immancunn
Imma curchaib iarrin ler
Oc imram tri ficit fer.

'Illustrious the soldiers who were in Hy,
Thrice fifty in monastic rule
With their curachs across the sea;
And for rowing, three-score men.'

[i] *Election.*—See in Note O, under 1164, 1203.

[k] *Successor.*—That is, abbot designate. The primary qualification was that he should be adbar abbaid *materies abbatis*, like a bamna n-epscuip (344), or rig-bamna *regis materies*. The expression is illustrated in the following passage from the Life of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois: "Alio die cum esset Sanctus Kiaranus in illa insula Angin, audiens vocem hominis insulam volentis intrare in portu, dixit fratribus suis, Ite fratres mei, et *materiam abbatis* vestri post me huc adducite. Fratres autem cito navigantes, invenerunt *adolescentulum laicum* in portu, quem despicientes reliquerunt ibi."—Cap. 26 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 146 *b b*).

[l] *Cathedram Columbæ.*—At Kells there was a church called the necclesr ruide Choluim cille, *ecclesia cathedræ Columbæ-cille.* Four Mast. 1148.

[m] *Erenach.*—Cormac explains the term by uaral ceand, 'noble head.' The earliest instance on record of the word is in Tighernach, at 605. The Wurtzburg MS. of St. Paul's Epistles glosses 1 Tim. ii. 12, by nip ri ber airchinnech, *non ea sit princeps* (Zeuss, Gram. Celt. i. p. 334). The old compound preposition archinn signifies *ante* (*ib.* ii. pp. 565, 577). See Colgan, Tr. Th. p 631; O'Donovan, Four Mast. 601, 1179; Reeves' Colton, p. 4; King's Primacy of Armagh, p. 18. The Four Masters frequently translate the Latin term *princeps* (superior) of the earlier Annals by airchinnech. We find also ban-airchinnech for *dominatrix* (An. Ult. 772, 779, 1134).

As in the associate monasteries there were *præpositi* (59, 60, 65, 127), who were subject to the abbot-in-chief, or archimandrite, so in Hy there appears to have been an officer who assisted the abbot (72), when he was at home, and took his place in the administration, when he was absent. He was sometimes called *Custos monasterii*[n], sometimes *Œconomus*, and his Irish name was Ꝑeꞃcuġuꞃ. The obit of one œconomus of Hy is recorded (47 *n.*), whom the Four Masters style ꝑꞃioꞃ (A. C. 777). *Prior.*

A member of the society is occasionally recorded under the title of Bishop (Ult. 711). Sometimes the function was associated with that of *Scribe* (F. M. 961, 978); sometimes with the condition of *Anchorite* (*ib.* 964), and, in one instance, with the office of *Abbot* (*ib.* 978). At a much later period we meet with the office of Saġaꞃc moꞃ, 'Great Priest'[o] (Ult. 1164), which might, from the generic application of *sacerdos*, be supposed to express the idea of *Bishop*, but it rather seems to denote the priest whose sanctity or other qualifications gave him precedence among the presbyters of the society. *Episcopus.*

Expertness in writing was considered an accomplishment in the founder[p] (9, 233), and an important qualification in his successor (53, 233). Dorbene, the abbot elect in 713, was the writer of Cod. A., and probably had been scribe of the monastery. So honourable was the employment, that the title is frequently added to enhance the celebrity of an abbot or bishop. In 961, the *bishop of the Isles of Alba*[q] was a ꝑcꞃiḃniḋ, 'scribe' (F. Mast.); the abbot of Hy, in 797, was a ꝑcꞃiḃneoiꞃ toġaiḋe, 'choice scribe' (F. Mast.), and, in 978, a scribe and bishop (*ib.*). Generally, however, the office was a distinct one; and when, in after times, instruction in literature was added to the practice and teaching of penmanship, the more honourable name of ꝑeꞃleiġinn (*vir lectionis*), or prælector, was adopted (Ult. 1164). *Scriba.*

Those who desired to follow a more ascetic life than that which the society afforded

[n] *Custos monasterii.*—Thus, in the Life of St. Cainnech: "Quadam die cum custos ejusdem monasterii horam nonam pulsare voluisset."—Cap. 22 (p. 40, ed. Orm.) Speaking of Columcille's departure from Durrow, the Irish Life says, ꝑoꞃacaiḃ cometaiḋ ḃia muintiꞃ ann .ı. Coꞃmac ua Liathan, 'and he left a *guardian of his congregation* in it, namely, Cormac Ua Liathain.'

[o] *Great priest.*—Saġaꞃc moꞃ. There was such an official also at Clonmacnois in 1109 Uaꞃal ꝑacaꞃc and ꝑꞃim ꝑacaꞃc, 'noble priest,' 'senior priest,' are frequently found in the Annals, but they present some anomalies in their use of the term ꝑacaꞃc: thus, at 923, Mochta, *priest* of Armagh, was *bishop* of the Ui Neill (Ult.); and, in 1041, Maelbrighde Ua Maelfinn, *priest*, anchorite, and *bishop*, died.

[p] *Founder.*—His celebrity is thus commemorated in the Irish Life:—

> Ir tri ḋeḋ buaḋach tꞃebon
> Lebor ꝑolaꞃ ꝑaeꞃ ꝑo ꝑcꞃiḃ.
>
> 'And three-hundred, gifted, lasting,
> Illuminated, noble, books, he wrote.'

[q] *Isles of Alba.*—Ꝑoṫaḋ mac Ḃꞃain, ꝑcꞃiḃniḋ, acuꞃ eꞃꞃucc inꞃi Alban ḃecc, 'Fothadh, son of Bran, scribe, and bishop, of Insi-Alban, died.'—Four Mast. Scotch authorities, about this date, assign a *Fothad* to St. Andrew's. Fordun, vi. 24.

unnuſ cona lubgoſcan do Dia ocuſ do Deoradaib craibdechaib do gſeſ cen ſeilb ndilir do nach erraid ann ſrea biuchu co ro chinne a bechaid do Dia ocuſ conor craidbech, 'These have all granted for ever Disert-Columcille in Kells, with its vegetable garden, to God and *devout pilgrims*, no wanderer having any lawful possession in it at any time until he surrender his life to God, and is devout.' Ængus O'Donnellan, who brought the Cuilebadh and other reliquaries of Columkille from the north in 1090, was the Coarb of Disert-Columbkille (322). It was probably to enter on such a manner of life that Muiredhach Ua Cricain, in 1007, resigned the successorship of Columcille ar Dia, 'for God,' i. e. uninterrupted devotion.

The Butler, *pincerna* (46), or *cellarius* (*ib. n.*), had charge of the refectory and its appointments. In primitive times his office sometimes coincided with that of the *œconomus*. The *cellarius* of the Benedictine Rule was a functionary of great importance, on account of the extensive trust reposed in him: "omnia vasa monasterii, cunctamque substantiam, ac si altaris vasa sacrata conspiciat" (cap. 31). *Pincerna.*

The Baker, *pistor* (208), was a member whose services were likely to be constantly required in a society whose food was chiefly cereal. The only one who is spoken of by Adamnan, as "opus pistorium exercens," was a Saxon. *Pistor.*

The Cook is not mentioned in the Latin memoirs, but the Irish Life tells of St. Columcille's coic, and it is not likely that an officer found in other Irish monasteries,[w] and who, in some instances, has found his way into the Calendar, would be wanting in this. In the Benedictine Rule, the members who prepared the food did duty for a week at a time, and were styled *septimanarii coquinæ* (cap. 35). *Coquus.*

lan of Strathfillan, in Perthshire, who is commemorated in Ireland as St. Faolan of Cluain-Maoscna, in Fartullagh, county of Westmeath, on the same day (Jan. 9) as in the Scotch calendar. In 1468, we find the name in the form *Deore*, and, in 1487, *Doire* (Black Book of Taymouth, Pref. pp. xxxv.–xxxvii.). Again, certain lands in St. Munna's parish of Kilmun in Argyleshire (22) were held "per quendam procuratorem cum baculo sancte Munde Scotice vocata *Deoway*" (Reg. Mag. Sig. lib. xiii. No. 314). In 1572, Donald *Dewar* received a grant of the lands of *Garrindewar* [garaid an deoraid, hortus *rov* peregrini] in Menteith, in Perthshire, "quæ olim pro pulsatione unius campanæ coram mortuis personis infra parochiam de Kilmaluig tempore Papismatis fundate et dedicate erant" (Reg. Mag. Sig. lib. xxxiv. No. 24). These *Deorays* or *Dewars* were probably descended from some Irish families, whose proper names merged in their official title (as with the Mac Moyres in Armagh), and who derived this peculiar name of office either from the circumstance of being themselves originally aliens, or of being representatives of three saints, *Faolan*, *Munna*, and *Molua*, each of whom, probably, to use the technical expression, do gabail bachlae, agur a écc ma oilicre, 'took the [pilgrim's] staff, and died on his pilgrimage.' It is worthy of mention, in reference to the Irish deoraid's, that the church of Mayo, called *Tempull Geraill*, or *Cill na nAilither*, 'Church of the Pilgrims,' was rebuilt and endowed, circ. 1100, do deoradaid De, 'for pilgrims of God.'—(H. 2, 17, p. 399, Trin. Coll. Dubl., cit. Petrie, Round Towers, p. 144.) Deoradh was a Christian name among the O'Flynns of Hy Tuirtre (F. M. 1154).

[w] *Irish monasteries.*—St. Patrick's cook is said

to its ordinary members, withdrew to a solitary place in the neighbourhood of the monastery, where they enjoyed undisturbed meditation[r], without breaking the fraternal bond. Such, in 634, was Beccan the *solitarius*[s]; and such, in Adamnan's time, was Finan the recluse of Durrow (95), and Fergna of Muirbulcmar[t] in Himba (237). At Hy an anchorite held the abbacy in 747 (F. Mast.), an anchorite was abbot elect in 935 (F. M.), and another, bishop in 964 (F. M.) The abode of such was called a Ꝺıꞇeꞇc, from the Latin *desertum;* and as the heremitical life[u] was held in such honour among the Scotic churches, we frequently find the word *Desert* an element in religious nomenclature. There was a *Disert* beside the monastery of Derry (Ult. 1122); and that belonging to Hy was situate near the shore in the low ground north of the Cathedral, as may be inferred from *Port-an-Diseart*, the name of a little bay in this situation. The individual who presided here was styled the Ꝺıꞇeꞇcaḋ, or cenn an Ꝺıꞇıꞇc, 'Superior of the Hermitage,' and the name of one such officer at Hy is on record (Ult. 1164). In 1101, the Four Masters record the endowment of a similar institution at Cashel for cꞇaıḋḋech or devotees. We learn from the charters of the Columbian house of Kells that a *Disert* existed there, which, about 1084, was endowed with two townlands and their mills at Leyney, in the county of Sligo. It was founded expressly for eꞇꞇaıꝺ ꝺeoꞇaıꝺ, 'wandering pilgrims'[v]; and the conditions were: Ro eꝺaıꞇꞇeꞇ ꝺıꝺu na hulı ꞇın Ꝺıꞇıuꞇc Choluım chılle hı Cín-

Anacorita.

[r] *Meditation.*—Bede says of Drycthelm's abode at Melrose: "Accepit autem in eodem monasterio locum mansionis secretiorem, ubi liberius continuis in orationibus famulatui sui Conditoris vacaret. Et quia locus ipse super ripam fluminis erat situs, solebat hinc creber ob magnum castigandi corporis affectum ingredi, ac sæpius in eo supermeantibus undis immergi" (H. E. v. 12).

[s] *Solitarius.*—The superscription of Cummian's Paschal Epistle runs thus: "Dominis Sanctis et in Christo venerandis, Segieno abbati Columbæ sancti et cæterorum sanctorum successorum, *Beccanoque solitario*, charo carne et spiritu fratri, cum *suis sapientibus*."—Ussher, Syll. Ep. xi.

[t] *Muirbulcmar.*—Virgnous is said (237) to have spent the *remainder of his life in Hinba;* the first part of this term he passed in conventual subjection, the last twelve in seclusion at Muirbulcmar: therefore Muirbulcmar was in Hinba. But *Murbole Paradisi*, which was probably the same name, seems to have belonged to a bay. Putting these hints together, the mind is at once led to the beehive cells in Eilean-na-naomh (127, 289).

[u] *Heremitical life.*—"Ecgberct, quem in Hibernia insula peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiscenda in cœlis patria retulimus."—Bede, H. E. v. 9. Victberct, "multos annos in Hibernia peregrinus anachoreticam in magna perfectione vitam egerat."—(*Ib.*) Hæmgils, "in Hibernia insula solitarius ultimam vitæ ætatem pane cibario et frigida aqua sustentat." —*Id.* v. 12.

[v] *Pilgrims.*—The word ꝺeoꞇaıḋ signifies an 'exile,' 'outlaw,' 'pilgrim.' In the form ꝺeoꞇuıġe it is used in the Irish version of Gen. iv. 12, 14, to express *vagabond*. The Welsh *dieithr-dhyn* seems cognate to it. The kings of Ireland occasionally employed mercenaries called Ꝺeoꞇaıḋ (Bat. of Magh Rath, p. 163). In Scotland, as well as Ireland, the word assumed a religious limitation, and from an *official* became a *family* name, now known as *Dewar*. In 1428, we find the "lator ipsius reliquie de Coygerach, qui *Jore* vulgariter dicitur." This reliquary, called Coıġcꞇıoch, i. e. *Stranger*, or *Quegrith*, was a crozier-head, sacred to St. Fil-

unnuſ cona lubgoſtan do Dia ocuſ do Deoradaib craibdechaib do gſeſ cen ſeilb ndilir do nach eſſaid ann ſrea biuthu co ro chinne a bethaid do Dia ocuſ conoſ craibdech, 'These have all granted for ever Disert-Columcille in Kells, with its vegetable garden, to God and *devout pilgrims*, no wanderer having any lawful possession in it at any time until he surrender his life to God, and is devout.' Ængus O'Donnellan, who brought the Cuilebadh and other reliquaries of Columkille from the north in 1090, was the Coarb of Disert-Columbkille (322). It was probably to enter on such a manner of life that Muiredhach Ua Cricain, in 1007, resigned the successorship of Columcille aſ Dia, 'for God,' i. e. uninterrupted devotion.

The Butler, *pincerna* (46), or *cellarius* (*ib. n.*), had charge of the refectory and its appointments. In primitive times his office sometimes coincided with that of the *œconomus*. The *cellarius* of the Benedictine Rule was a functionary of great importance, on account of the extensive trust reposed in him: "omnia vasa monasterii, cunctamque substantiam, ac si altaris vasa sacrata conspiciat" (cap. 31). *Pincerna.*

The Baker, *pistor* (208), was a member whose services were likely to be constantly required in a society whose food was chiefly cereal. The only one who is spoken of by Adamnan, as "opus pistorium exercens," was a Saxon. *Pistor.*

The Cook is not mentioned in the Latin memoirs, but the Irish Life tells of St. Columcille's coic, and it is not likely that an officer found in other Irish monasteries,[w] and who, in some instances, has found his way into the Calendar, would be wanting in this. In the Benedictine Rule, the members who prepared the food did duty for a week at a time, and were styled *septimanarii coquinæ* (cap. 35). *Coquus.*

lan of Strathfillan, in Perthshire, who is commemorated in Ireland as St. Faolan of Cluain-Maoscna, in Fartullagh, county of Westmeath, on the same day (Jan. 9) as in the Scotch calendar. In 1468, we find the name in the form *Deore*, and, in 1487, *Doire* (Black Book of Taymouth, Pref. pp. xxxv.–xxxvii.). Again, certain lands in St. Munna's parish of Kilmun in Argyleshire (22) were held "per quendam procuratorem cum baculo sancte Munde Scotice vocata *Deoweray*" (Reg. Mag. Sig. lib. xiii. No. 314). In 1572, Donald *Dewar* received a grant of the lands of *Garrindewar* [gaſraid an deoſraid, hortus *roū* peregrini] in Menteith, in Perthshire, "quæ olim pro pulsatione unius campanæ coram mortuis personis infra parochiam de Kilmaluig tempore Papismatis fundate et dedicate erant" (Reg. Mag. Sig. lib. xxxiv. No. 24). These *Deorays* or *Dewars* were probably descended from some Irish families, whose proper names merged in their official title (as with the Mac Moyres in Armagh), and who derived this peculiar name of office either from the circumstance of being themselves originally aliens, or of being representatives of three saints, *Faolan*, *Munna*, and *Molua*, each of whom, probably, to use the technical expression, do gabáil bachlae, agus a écc ina oilitre, 'took the [pilgrim's] staff, and died on his pilgrimage.' It is worthy of mention, in reference to the Irish deoraid's, that the church of Mayo, called *Tempull Geraill*, or *Cill na nAilither*, 'Church of the Pilgrims,' was rebuilt and endowed, circ. 1100, do deoradaib De, 'for pilgrims of God.'—(H. 2, 17, p. 399, Trin. Coll. Dubl., cit. Petrie, Round Towers, p. 144.) Deoradh was a Christian name among the O'Flynns of Hy Tuirtre (F. M. 1154).

[w] *Irish monasteries.*—St. Patrick's cook is said

Adamnan tells of a *pugio* (143), and a *machera* (158), which were, probably, of home manufacture. The process of fusing a piece of iron through the *ferramenta* (143) of the establishment certainly indicates the existence of workers in metal. With the ȝoba, or 'smith,' was probably associated the cepo, or 'brazier.'

Faber.

The abbot had a private attendant called the *minister* (230, 231), and *ministrator* (33), who waited on him, *ministravit* (55), was a frequent companion, and an object of tender solicitude (144).

Minister.

Certain brethren, active and expert seamen, were employed as *legati* (60, 111) on particular occasions. These seem to have been specially charged with the care of the boats and marine appointments.

Legati.

Late in the history of the Columbian order comes under notice the society called *Culdees*[x]. They had no particular connexion with this order any more than had the *Deoradhs* or the other developments of conventual observance. The system, however, whatever its peculiarities may have been, was admitted in Hy, and the name of one Cen Cele-nDe, 'Superior of Culdees,' like the *Prior Colideorum* of Armagh, is recorded in the Annals of the order (Ult. 1164).

Celedei.

The original grant of Hy, whether Scottish or Pictish, or both, was soon extended to the adjacent islands, as *insulæ Ethica, Elena, Hinba,* and the founder speaks of the *marini nostri juris vituli* (78); and his successor forbids a stay in *nostris insulis* (21). In spirituals the parent institution not only enjoyed a *principatus* among all the monasteries of the order, both among the Scots and Picts, but served as a *caput et arx* (341), exercising an extensive control over the people at large[y]. In successive ages this authority was gradually circumscribed. Much of it was lost when Naiton, king of the Picts, expelled the Columbian clergy from his dominions (184 *n.*): and the forfeiture was completed among the Picts when diocesan jurisdiction became defined and established (297). Even among the Scots, the prestige of Hy declined in proportion as rival influences grew (297): remote endowments were cut off (332); and the surviving rights in temporals and spirituals were nar-

Jurisdictio.

to have been Aithgen of Badoney (Reeves's Colton, p. 73). The Irish Life of Columba mentions Macrith (*Mac Cridhe* of Aug. 11) as cook of St. Mochta.

[x] *Culdees.*—The earliest mention of the order is in the Annals of Ulster, at 920, where is recorded a plundering of Armagh by Godfrey the Dane, who, however, spared the oratories, with their *Ceile-De.* The Four Mast., indeed, at 806, tell of the *Ceile-De,* who wrought great wonders; but the passage, having no parallel support, seems apocryphal. The limits of a note will not admit the discussion of so intricate and varied an inquiry as the history of the Culdees, but the writer hopes to have an early opportunity of dealing with the subject in a special dissertation. In the meantime it is sufficient to say that *Culdee* is the most abused term in Scotic church history.

[y] *People at large.*—"Cujus monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum, et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat."—Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 3.

rowed to the adjacent lands of Mull or a few of the Western Islands[a]. Finally, when the Bishops of the Isles[a] made Hy their episcopal seat, the monastic character of the institution merged in diocesan authority. The privileges of *Armanach* and *Fragramanach*, so called from Ap manach, *Aratio monachorum*, and Freagra manach, *Responsio monachorum*, which existed at Hy[b] in the fourteenth century, were probably the vestiges of ancient rights of the monastery to *duty-work* from the tenants of its lands, or the neighbours of its churches, which titularly had passed to the Lords of the Isles, in consideration of a stated endowment as a commutation for an undefined exaction.

O.

Chronicon Hyense.

THE materials from which the following chronicle is compiled are furnished principally by the Irish Annals, especially those of Ulster, and they are here disposed in such a manner as to exhibit, under each abbot, the principal Scottish events of his incumbency. Down to the year 800, the succession of abbots is unbroken, and the notices of them, though meagre, are generally satisfactory; but, after that date, the entries become irregular, and progressively defective. This is partly attributable to the derangement of the Columbian economy caused by the Danish invasions, and the consequent transfer of the seat of administration to Ireland. The office of abbot, indeed, was still maintained in Hy, but as it became subordinate to that of *Coarb* or *Successor of Columcille*, whose dignity was, to a certain extent, ambulatory among the Columbian houses of Ireland, the notices are desultory, and the consideration of the local superior gradually declined, till it almost vanished from the attention of the annalist. Another marked difference between the two periods is the constant registration of obituary days in the former, and its almost total discontinuance in the latter. With two exceptions, the festivals of the first eighteen abbots are entered in the calendars of Marian Gorman and of Donegall; but after the year 800 there are only four commemorations connected with Hy on record, during the lapse of four hundred years.

[a] *Islands.*—See the Rental in the Collectan. de Reb. Alban. pp. 1–4; Origines Paroch. vol. ii. p. 301.

[a] *Bishops of the Isles.*—In Ireland, the dioceses of Meath and Ossory derive their names from territories, not towns or churches. So, in Scotland, the dioceses of Caithness, Orkney, Argyle, and the Isles, are evidence that the principle of *urban* or *vican* appellation, in the case of diocesan nomenclature, so much insisted on by Cardinal Wiseman, in his famous *Appeal*, was by no means as universally acted on as his Eminence would have the public to believe. See Irish Eccl. Journ. vol. vii. p. 24.

[b] *Hy.*—There is a charter of Donald, Lord of the Isles, to Lachlan Makgilleone [M'Lean], dated July 12, 1390, granting to him, *inter alia*, "officium Fragramanach et Armanach in insula de Hy, cum omnibus libertatibus, commoditatibus, fructibus, et pertinentiis, ad dicta officia spectantibus."—(Reg. Mag. Sig. lib xiii. No. 300.)

Attached to each abbot's name, in the following digest, are the dates of his incumbency, derived from the Annals, and the day of his death as entered in the Calendar. The events which are recorded by Adamnan, or are referred to in the notes, as also the notices of the Columbian houses, and the particulars of early Scottish history which are entered in the Irish Annals, are arranged in order under the abbot's name in whose term of office they occurred, as nearly as the brevity of the plan would admit, in the words of the Annals of Ulster, with the addition of a year to their current date; or of any other authority which is drawn upon for supplementary information. Where the passages have been already cited in this work, a parenthetic reference to the page will be sufficient.

I.—Columcille. *Sed.* 563–597. *Ob.* June 9.

Born on St. Buite's Day, Dec. 7, in the year 520. Founded the abbey of Derry circ. 546 (160), and that of Durrow before 560 (23). Was implicated, in 561, in the battle of Cuil-Dreimhne (31, 247), and, next year but one, in the 42nd year of his age (9), commenced his labours in Scotland (9).

563. Navigatio S. Columbæ de Hibernia ad insulam Iae anno etatis sue xlii. (9), cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis (196). Prima nox ejus in Albain in Pentecosten (Inisf. 555).

Bellum Mona-daire Lothair, *alias* Ondemone, contra Pictos ab ONeillis septentrionalibus (32, 95).

565. Occisio Diarmato filii Cearbhuil, regis Hiberniæ, per Aidum Nigrum, filium Suibhne (68).

Aidus Niger sub clericatus habitu ad Britanniam a Findchano adductus (67).

S. Comgallus fundavit ecclesiam in Terra Heth (152, 220).

568. Expeditio in Iardomhain[a] a Colman Beg filio Diarmato, et Conall mac Conghaill.

569. Occisio Ainmirech filii Setna, regis Hiberniæ, a Fergus mac Neilleni (32, 40).

572. Occisio Baetain et Eachach Finn, regum Hiberniæ (40).

573. Quies Brendain abbatis Birra, Nov. xxix. (210).

574. Mors Conaill filii Comgaill, regis Dalriadæ, anno regni sui xvi.; qui obtulit insulam Iae Columbæ-cille (32).

Aidanum in regem Dalriadæ S. Columba ordinavit (198).

575. Magna conventio Droma-ceata in qua erant Columcille et Aedh mac Ainmirech, rex Hiberniæ (37, 91).

576. Bellum Telocho[b] in Ciunntire, in quo ceciderunt Duncat filius Conaill filii Comgaill; et alii multi de sociis filiorum Gabhrain ceciderunt.

[a] *Iardomhain.*—That is, 'Western world,' a conventional expression for the Western Isles, and which the Four Masters in the parallel place limit to Sol and Ila. Sol is probably intended for Colonsay. Seil is too far to the east, and Coll too far north. We find iapcap domhan, An. Ult. 938, 1006.

577. Quies Brendain abbatis de Cluain-ferta, die xvi. Maii (222).
578. Quies episcopi Eitchen de Cluainfota-Boetain, qui S. Columbam ordinavit.
579. Quies Uinniani episcopi filii Nepotis Fiatach (103).
580. Expeditio contra Orcades per Aedan filium Gabhrani (167).
Ceannalath[c], rex Pictorum, moritur.
582. Bellum Manonn[d], in quo victor erat Aedan mac Gabhrain.
584. Mors Bruidi filii Maelcon regis Pictorum (148).
586. Baedan filius Ninnedha, rex Hiberniæ, occisus (251).
587. Bellum Droma-ethe sive Bealach-Dathi (254).
588. Conversio Constantini[e] ad Dominum.
Jugulatio Aedha Nigri, filii Suibhne, in nave (71).
589. Aedh filius Brendani, qui obtulit Dearmach Columbæ Cille, obiit (23).
590. Bellum Leithreid[f] per Aedan filium Gabhrain (34).
592. Obitus Lugidc [sive Moluoc, abbatis de] Lismoer[g], die Junii xxv.
595. Mors Eugain filii Gabhrain (198).
596. Jugulacio filiorum Aedain in bello Chircind (34–36).
597. Quies Coluimcille v. Id. Jun. anno etatis suc lxxvii. (312).

[b] *Telocho.*—It is entered again at 577. Tighernach calls it Delgenn. The place is in Cantyre, but has not yet been identified.

[c] *Ceannalath.*—He appears to be the *Galam Cennaleph* of the Pictish Chronicle, who reigned jointly with Brudeus for one year.

[d] *Manonn.*—The Isle of Man was so called (An. Ult. 986), but the tract here intended was probably the debateable ground on the confines of the Scots, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, now represented in part by the parish of *Slamannan* (Sliab Manann, 'Moor of Manann'), on the south-east of Stirlingshire, where it and the counties of Dumbarton, Lanark, and Linlithgow meet. The *Cat-Vannan*, or 'battle of Manann,' of the Gododin (vs. 38, pp. 11, 86, ed. Williams) was probably the engagement here recorded in the Annals. "Cunedag cum filiis suis, quorum numerus septem erat, venerat prius de parte sinistrali [i. e. septemtrionali], id est, de regione quæ vocatur *Manau Guotodin.*—Nennius, cap. 62 (p. 52, ed. Stevenson). Clackmannan, on the north of the Forth, is said to have derived its name of Cloch-Manann from a great stone which stands in the territory.

[e] *Constantine.*—Abandoning the throne of Cornwall, this prince became a monk under St. Mochuda or Carthach at Rahen in Ireland, whence he passed over to Scotland, and founded the church of Govan on the Clyde. His labours were extended to Cantyre, where he suffered martyrdom, and where is a church, Kilchousland, called after his name. His festival in the Calendars both of Scotland and Ireland is March 11. See Fordun, Scotichr. iii. 26; Breviar. Aberdon., Propr. SS. Part. Hiem. fol. 67 *ab*; Colgan, Acta SS. p. 577; Petrie's Round Towers, p. 355.

[f] *Leithredh.*—Probably the *Llathreid* mentioned in the death-song of Owen ap Urien.

[g] *Lismoer.*—This is the Lismore of Scotland, whose founder, Molua (generally called by the Scotch *Moluag*), was, in after times, the patron saint of the diocese of Argyle. The name comes to the Scottish form thus: *Lughaidh*, contracted *Lua*, familiarized *Luag*, dignified *Moluag*. Lismore of Ireland was not founded till the expulsion of St. Mochuda or Carthach from Rahen in 636. The Neman, abbot of Lismore, who died, according to the Four Mast., in 610, must have belonged to Scotland.

II.—Baithene. *Sed.* 597–600. *Ob.* Jun. 9.

Son of Brendan, and first-cousin of S. Columba, born, according to Tighernach, in 536. Brought up by S. Columba (19, 233); accompanied him to Britain (245); presided over the monastery of Magh-Lunge in Tiree (78, 206) during St. Columba's lifetime; occasionally visited Hy (49, 124), and even superintended the agricultural operations there (72). Visited the island of Eigg (223). Sometimes was engaged in transcribing books (53, 233). He was nominated by S. Columba as his successor (19, 233), and having enjoyed the abbacy three years, died on the same day as his predecessor (182, 309). He was founder, and patron-saint, of Teach-Baeithin, [i. e. *Ædes Baithenei*] in the territory of Tir-Enna in Tirconnell, now known as the parish church of Taughboyne, locally called *Tŏboyne*, in the barony of Raphoe, county of Donegal.

597. S. Fintenus sive Munna Iouam devenit insulam (20).
598. Bellum Duin-bolg, ubi cecidit Aedh filius Ainmirech (39).
599. Mors Gartnaidh[h] regis Pictorum (Tigh.).
Ailither, abbas de Cluain-mic-nois, pausat (24).
600. Quies Baeteni, abbatis Iae, anno lxvi. etatis sue (Tigh.).

III.—Laisren. *Sed.* 600–605. *Ob.* Sept. 16.

His father, Feradhach, was first-cousin of S. Columba. In 572 we find him in company with S. Columba at Ardnamurchan (40). He was abbot of Durrow during the founder's lifetime (57); from which office he was raised to the abbacy of Hy. His name is omitted in the Annals of Ulster (58).

600. Quies S. Cainnici in Achaid-bo, Oct. xi., anno etatis sue lxxxiv. (121).
Bellum Saxonum[i] in quo victus est Aedan.
Jugulatio Suibhne filii Colmain Moir per Aedum Slane (42).
601. Quies S. Kentigerni episcopi; et obitus Roderci regis (44).
602. Quies Comgalli abbatis Beannchair (93, 220).
604. Jugulatio Aedo Slane per Conallum filium Suibhne (43).
605. Obitus Laisreni abbatis Iae (Tigh. 605; Inisf. 600; F. M. 601).

IV.—Fergna Brit.—*Sed.* 605–623. *Ob.* Mar. 2.

Son of Failbhe, of the family of Enna Boghaine, son of Conall Gulban, of the same race, but not so nearly related to S. Columba as his predecessors. Ængus the Culdee designates him Fionn, *Candidus*, (Feilire, Mar. 2). His surname *Brit*, which signifies 'Briton,' was derived, as Colgan suggests, "a Britanniæ incolatu" (Act. SS. p. 448 *a*), but there is, probably, more implied in the epithet than is recorded. He is called *Virgnous* by Adamnan (223–225), who describes him as a member of the community in S. Columba's time, and a youth of ardent piety. The title of *Bishop*, which is applied to him by the gloss in Marian's Calendar, and repeated by the

[h] *Gartnaidh.*—This is the Gartnait mac Domnach of the Pictish Chronicle. He was the successor of Brudeus, St. Columba's contemporary.

[i] *Saxonum.*—This was the great battle of Degsastan, which Bede records (H. E. i. 34) as having been fought in 603. Saxon Chron. An. 603.

Four Masters (an. 622), and the Calendar of Donegal, is very questionable (224). An exception to the precedent so recently established in Hy by the founder would hardly have been sanctioned in the case of the fourth abbot, especially as Bede, a century afterwards, emphatically says, "Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem *semper* abbatem presbyterum" (H. E. iii. 4).

606. Mors Aedain filii Gabhrain, anno xxxviii. regni sui, etatis vero lxxiiii. (36).
610. Mors Aedha filii Colgan regis Airgialliæ et Airthircorum (83).
611. Mors Eugain filii Eachach Laibh (33).
Quies Colmani-Ela, Sept. xxvi., lvi. anno etatis sue (29, 124).
617. Combustio Donnain Ega xv. Kal. Maii, una cum lii. martiribus (304).
621. Nechtan filius Canonn, nepos Uerp, rex Pictorum, obiit.
622. Mors Colgan filii Cellaigh (65). Conaing filius Aidani dimersus est (198).
623. Obitus Fergna abbatis Iae. (Tigh. 623; Inisf. 616; F. M. 622.)

V.—Seghine. *Sed.* 623–652. *Ob.* Aug. 12.

Son of Fiachna, and nephew of Laisren, the third abbot. He was a zealous advocate of the old Paschal observance, and was addressed on the subject in 634 by Cummian, in an epistle which is superscribed "Segieno abbati Columbæ sancti et cæterorum sanctorum successori" (Ussher, Syll. xi., Wks. vol. iv. p. 432); and by the Clergy of Rome in 640, whose epistle on the same controversy was addressed, among other presbyters, to *Segenus* (Bede, H. E. ii. 19). Adamnan calls him *Segineus* (16, 26, 111), and refers to him as the informant of Failbeus, his own immediate predecessor. Bede mentions him as "Segeni abbas et presbyter" (H. E. iii. 5).

624. Nativitas Adomnani abbatis Iae (Tigh. 624; Inisf. 617).
625. Colman filius Comgellain ad Dominum migravit (92).
Mongan filius Fiachna occisus ab Artur mac Bicair, Britone[k].
626. Australes Scotti pascha canonico ritu observant (27).

[k] *Britone.*—The Four Mast. copy from Tighernach a short poem, which begins, "Cold is the wind across Ile, which they have at Ceann-tire," and implies that this Mongan was killed at Cluain-Airthir by men from those districts. This place has not been identified hitherto, but there is little doubt that it was the Cluain of the Airtheara, now Magheracloone, in the county of Monaghan. One of the parties killed there was Ronan, son of Tuathal, lord of the territory. Fiachna Lurgan, the father of Mongan, was son of Baedan, king of Uladh (Reeves, Eccl. Ant. pp. 340, 353). Baedan, who died in 581, was a powerful prince. An ancient poem in the Book of Lecan (fol. 139 *aa*), and Mac Firbis's Geneal. MS. (p. 491), represents him as receiving tributes from Munster, Connaught, Skye, and Mann. One verse says:

Gid mipi caimig o Sci,
Do puaccap ba do ip ba cpi,
A coimed red no claoi dac:
Ap adpuap an c-Albanac.

'Even I who have come from Sky,—
I have come twice and thrice,
In charge of gems of varying lustre:
Cold, very, is the Albanach.'

The narrative goes on to say: Ap leip an m-baedan pin mac Cainill do glanad Manainn o Gallaib, gona la h-Ulltaid a porpflaiciup o pin ale. Giallap Aodan mac Gadpain pi Alban do daodan mac Cainill i Rop na pioġ a Semne. 'It was that Baedan mac Cairill who cleared Manann of the Foreigners; and to Uladh belongs its custody from that time down. Aodhan mac Gabhrain, king of Alba, made submission to

627. Bellum Arda-corrann, ubi cecidit Fiachna mac Demain[l], rex Ulidiæ, a Connadh Cerr principe Dalriadæ; Dalriati victores erant.

628. Occisio Suibhne Meann regis Hiberniæ: Domnallus filius Aedha regnat (37).

629. Mors Eachach Buidhe filii Aedhain, regis Dalriadæ (36).

Bellum Fedha-euin[m], in quo Maelcaich mac Scannail rex Cruithne victor fuit. Dalriati ceciderunt. Conadh Cerr rex Dalriadæ victus, et Dicuil mac Eachach, rex Generis Cruithne, et nepotes Aidani[n], i. e. Rigullan filius Conaing, et Failbhe filius Eochaidh, et Oiseric filius Albruit princeps Saxonum, ceciderunt, cum strage maxima suorum.

Bellum Duin-Ceithirn, in quo Congal Claen fugit (37, 96).

630. Mors Connadh Ceirr anno primo regni sui, qui victus est in prælio Fedh-eoin.

631. Obitus Cinaedha filii Lachtrenn[o], regis Pictorum.

632. Bellum Cathlon regis Britonum et Anfrith (14, 16).

634. Seigine, abbas Iae, ecclesiam de Rechra fundavit (165).

Bellum in Calathros, ubi victus est Domhnall Breac (202).

635. Mors Gartnait mic Foith[p], regis Pictorum.

Quies Fintani mic Tulchain (22), et Ernain mic Crescini (26).

Ab insula Hii ad provinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo missus est Ædan, accepto gradu episcopatus (341). Insula Medgoet[r] fundata est ab episcopo Ædan (Tigh. 632).

Baedan at Ros-na-riogh in Semhne.' Semhne is now Island-Magee, near Larne. See Reeves's Eccl. Ant. p. 270.

[l] *Fiachna mac Deman.*—He was king of Uladh, having succeeded Fiachna, son of Baedan, the father of Mongan, mentioned in preceding note.

[m] *Fedha-euin.*—*Fedha-eoin* in Tigh. Fiodh-eoin would be pronounced *Fiddane* or *Fewane*. The place has not yet been identified.

[n] *Nepotes Aidani.*—These names appear in the pedigree of the kings of Alba as *Riogallan* and *Failbe* (Mac Firbis, p. 401).

[o] *Cinaedh filii Lachtrenn.*—Kenneth mac Lachtren, called *Cineoch filius Lutrin* in the Chronicon Pictorum.

[p] *Gartnait mic Foith.*—The *Garnard filius Wid* of the Chronicon Pictorum.

[r] *Medgoet.*—Tighernach places the foundation of *Inis-Metgoit* at 632, and the An. Ult. at 631; but the former in this, as in many entries of Saxon events, is three years in arrear. St. Aidan's day in Bede (H. E. iii. 14, 17), and the Irish and Scotch Calendars, is Aug. 31. He was son of Lugair, son of Ernin of the race of Eachaidh Finn-fuath-nairt, and was of the same lineage as St. Brigid and other distinguished saints. Inip Medcoc is placed by the gloss on the Feilire of Ængus in the 'north-west of little Saxon-land,' and is mentioned by Nennius, who calls it *Insula Metcaud* (cap. 63), and adds "Sanctus Cudbertus episcopus obiit in insula Medcaut" (cap. 65). But, according to Bede, "obiit pater reverentissimus in insula *Farne* (H. E. iv. 29). *Lindisfarne*, however, was the island which Oswald assigned to bishop Aidan: yet Farne was his hermitage (*ib.* iii. 16). Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, lies to the N. W. of Farne, and the evidence for the identification is balanced between them: Aidan's history being in favour of the former, Cuthbert's, of the latter. If we admit *sepultus est* instead of *obiit* in Nennius, the question will be settled for Lindisfarn. For an account of Lindisfarne, see Raine's History of North Durham.

637. Bellum Roth, i. e. Magh-Rath (200).
638. Bellum Glinne Murcson, et obsessio Etin (202).
641. Mors Bruidi filii Foith[s], regis Pictorum.
Naufragium scaphæ familiæ Iae.
642. Mors Domhnaill filii Aedo regis Hiberniæ in fine Januarii (36, 38).
Domhnall Breac, rex Dalriadæ, in bello Sraith Cairuin anno xv. regni sui, in fine anni, interfectus est ab Hoan rege Britonum (202).
649. Mors Oengusa Bron-bachlæ, regis Ceniuil Coirpre (41).
650. Mors Cathasaigh filii Domnaill Bric (203).
651. Quies Aedani episcopi Saxonum Aug. 31.
652. Obitus Segeni filii Fiachnæ, abbatis Iae (Tigh. 652; Inisf. 642).

VI.—Suibhne. *Sed.* 652–657. *Ob.* Jan. 11.

Son of Cuirtri. Nothing more is known of his extraction; and he is the first abbot of Hy, "cujus genealogia in patriis hystoriis observata non occurrit" (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 408 *a*). Colgan has a short notice of him at Jan. 11 (*ib.* p. 57).

652. Successit Aidano Finan, ab Hii Scottorum insula destinatus (341).
653. Mors Tolairg filii Fooit[t], regis Pictorum.
654. Bellum Sratho-Ethairt[u], ubi Dunchadh mac Conaing cecidit per Tolartach [Tolargan] mac Anfraith regem Pictorum.
Cellach, relicto episcopatu, reversus est ad insulam Hii (Bede, H. E. iii. 21, 24).
Obitus Suibnei mic Cuirtri, abbatis Iae (Tig. 657; F. M. 654).

VII.—Cuimine Ailbhe. *Sed.* 657–669. *Ob.* Febr. 24.

Son of Ernan, and nephew of Seghine the fifth abbot. Adamnan calls him *Cummeneus Albus*, and cites his tract "De virtutibus sancti Columbæ" (199). Cathal Maguir, cited by Colgan, notices him as "Cumineus abbas Hiensis, i. e. Cumineus filius Dunertuigh: ipse est qui tulit reliquias sanctorum Petri et Pauli ad Desertum Cumini, in districtu Roscreensi donec aufugerint Roscream" (Act. SS. p. 411 *b*, n. 26).

657. Mors Tolargain filii Ainfrith[w], regis Pictorum.
660. Daniel episcopus Cinngaradh[x] quievit.
Conall Crandamhna, rex Dalriatai, mortuus est (198).
661. Cumine abbas Iae ad Hiberniam venit (Tigh.).

[s] *Bruidi filii Foith.*—The *Breidei filius Wid* of the Chron. Pict. In this case, and at 635 and 653, *Foith* in the Annals expresses *Wid* of the Chronicle, but they are the same word represented in Gaelic and British forms.

[t] *Tolairg filii Fooit.*—The *Talorc frater eorum* (i. e. Gartnait and Bruide) of the Chron. Pict.

[u] *Sratho-ethairt.*—Srath-ethairt remains to be identified. It is probably in Perthshire.

[w] *Tolargain filii Ainfrith.*—The *Tallorcen filius Enfret* of the Chron. Pict.

[x] *Cinngaradh.*—Now Kingarth, in Bute. The Festival of this Daniel in the Calendars of Marian Gorman, and of Donegal, is Feb. 18.

662. Defuncto Finano, Colman in episcopatum succedit, ipse missus a Scottia (341).
663. Mors Gartnait filii Domhnaill, regis Pictorum.
664. Colman episcopus in Scottiam, ad insulam Hii, regressus est (Bed. iii, 26, iv. 4).
Mortalitas magna in Hiberniam pervenit (183).
Bellum Lutho-feirnn[7] in Fortrinn sive Pictinia.
668. Navigatio Colmani episcopi ad insulam Vaccæ Albæ, sive Inis-bo-find.
Navigatio filiorum Gartnait ad Hiberniam cum plebe Scith (62, 290).
669. Obitus Cummeni Albi abbatis Iae (Tigh. 669; F. M. 668).

VIII.—Failbhe. *Sed.* 669–679. *Ob.* Mar. 22.

Son of Pipan. His brother Finan, locally called *Peenan*, was founder of the church called *Tempul-ratha* or *Rath*, and now known as Raymunterdoney in the county of Donegal, where he was commemorated on the 25th of November. Failbhe is mentioned by Adamnan as "Failbeus noster abbas" and "meus decessor" (16, 26). Ængus, as cited by Colgan, says of him:—"Quibus verbis efferam S. Falbeum magnum de Hia, qui bis remeavit ultra maria." Colgan has collected his acts at Mar. 22 (Act. SS. p. 719).

669. Venit gens Gairnairt de Hibernia (290).
670. Aldfridus de Northumbria in Hiberniam secessit (185).
671. Maelrubha Benchorensis in Britanniam navigavit.
672. Expulsio Drosto de regno Pictorum.
673. Combustio Maighe Luinge (59).
Jugulatio Domaingairt filii Domhnaill Bric, regis Dalriati (203).
Navigatio Failbei abbatis Iae in Hiberniam.
Maelrubha fundavit ecclesiam Aporcrossan (138).
Captivitas Etiuin mic Cuirpre, et Conamail filii Canonn.
676. Colman episcopus insulæ Vaccæ Albæ, sive Inis-bo-find, pausat.
Failbhe de Hibernia revertitur.
Multi Pictores dimersi sunt in Laind Abæ (60).
678. Mors Drosto filii Domhnaill, regis Pictorum.
Interfectio Generis Loairnn in Tir-inn, i. e. Ferchair Fada, et Britones victores erant (180).
Bellum Duin-locho, et bellum Liacc-Moelain, et Doirad Eilind.
679. Quies Failbei abbatis Iae (Tigh. 679; F. M. 677).

IX.—Adamnan. *Sed.* 679–704. *Ob.* Sept. 23.

Son of Ronan and Ronnat, born in 624. He was the most accomplished and influential of St. Columba's successors. For his history, and a list of his churches in Ireland and Scotland, see the Introduction.

[7] *Lutho-feirnn.*—Not yet identified; even Chalmers leaves it unappropriated (Caled. i. p. 210).

680. Obessio Duin-Baitte. [Dunbeath?]
681. Jugulatio Conaill Coil filii Dunchadha in Ciunntire (57).
Jugulatio Conaing filii Congaile.
Obsessio Duin-Foither[z].
Combustio regum in Dun-Ceithirnn in initio estatis (3, 95).
682. Orcades deletæ sunt a Brudeo (167).
Bellum Ratha-moir in Magh-Line[a] contra Britones, ubi cecidit Cathasach mac Maelduin rex Cruithne, et Ultan filius Diccolla; et jugulatio Muirmin in manu.
683. Obsessio Duin-Att[b], et Duin-Duirn[c].
Initium tertiæ mortalitatis (183).
685. Saxones campum Breg vastant, et ecclesias plurimas, in mense Junii (186).
686. Bellum Duin-Nechtain, in quo Etfrith mac Ossu, rex Saxonum, interfectus est (186). Et combustio Tula-aman Duin-Ollaigh (180).
687. Adomnanus captivos duxit ad Hiberniam lx. (187).
688. Occisio Canonn filii Gartnaid.
689. Iolan episcopus Cinngarath obiit (an. 660).
Mors Cathusaigh nepotis Domhnaill Bricc (203).
Mors Maeleduin filii Conaill Crannamhna (198).
690. Coblaith filia Canonn moritur.
691. Dalriati[d] populati sunt Cruithniu et Ultu.
Ventus magnus xvi. Kal. Octobris quosdam vi. ex familia Iae mersit.

[z] *Duin-Foithir.*—Again at 694. Probably Dunottar in Kincardine. Part of the parish of Kilfinan on Loch Fyne in Cowal, is called Otter, and was a lordship in 1431, enjoyed by Swene (Suibhne), son of Ewen. (Orig. Par. ii. p. 54.) We find "opidum Fother occisum est a Gentibus" in the Pictish Chron. circ. 904, which Chalmers understands of Forteviot (anciently *Fothiur-Thabaicht*) in Strathearn, the Pictish capital. Caledon. i. p. 384. See *Dunfoeder* in Sim. Dunelm, Gest. Reg. Angl. An. 934.

[a] *Magh-Line.*—Now Moylinny, a territory near the town of Antrim. Rath-more was the seat of the Dalaradian kings. See Reeves' Eccles. Ant. p. 279.

[b] *Duin-Att.*—Mentioned again at an. 736. "On a rocky conical mount, which rises abruptly out of Crinan Moss, near the river Ad, is situated the ancient fort of Dunad, of an oval form, and measuring 90 feet by 45." (Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 48.) Dunad is in the parish of Glassary in Argyle, and lies to the north of the Crinan Canal, from which it may be seen as the boat approaches the Crinan Bason. At Kilmahunaig, in North Knapdale, about a furlong north-west from the banks of the Crinan Canal, "is a conical eminence 120 yards in circumference at the base, and about 30 feet in height. This mound is called *Dun Domhnul.*" (N. Stat. Ac. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 635.) This district appears to have been the head-quarters of the house of Gabhran; and somewhere near this we may look for Dun-Monaidh (201).

[c] *Duin-Duirn.*—Girg Mac Dungall, the Scoto-Pictish king, circ. 897, is said in the Chronicle of St. Andrew's to have died in Dundurn, which Chalmers identifies with Dunadeer, in Aberdeenshire (Caledon. i. p. 383), a vitrified fort-hill now called *Dunnideer*, in the parish of Insch. Or the place in question may be Dundurn, at the east end of Loch-Earn in Perthshire.

[d] *Dalriati.*—It is doubtful whether these were the people of Scotch or Irish Dalriada. The scene of

692. Adomnanus xiv. anno post pausam Falbei ad Hiberniam pergit (188).
Obsessio Duin-Deauæ[e].
693. Bruide filius Bile rex Fortrenn, et Alphin mac Nectin, mortui sunt.
694. Obsessio Duin-Fother (an. 681).
Domhnall mac Auin, rex Alo-Cluathe, moritur (44).
696. Jugulatio Domhnaill filii Conaill Crandamhna (203).
697. Tarachin de regno expulsus est.
Ferchar Fota, rex Dalriati, moritur (203).
Adamnanus ad Hiberniam pergit, et dedit legem innocentium populis (179).
Britones et Ulidii vastaverunt Campum Muirtheimhne.
698. Bellum inter Saxones et Pictos, ubi cecidit filius Bernit, qui dicebatur Brechtrid[f].
Combustio Duin Onlaigh (180).
Expulsio Ainfceallaigh filii Fercair de regno Dalriadæ, et vinctus ad Hiberniam vehitur.
699. Tarain ad Hiberniam pergit.
701. Bellum navale, ubi cecidit Conang filius Dunchadho, et filius Cuandai.
Destructio Duin Onlaigh apud Selbach (180).
Jugulatio Generis Cathboth.
Occisio Neill mic Cernaigh in Druman-Ua-Casan ab Irgalach nepote Conaing (179).
702. Irgalach nepos Conaing a Britonibus jugulatus in Inis-mic-Nesan (179).
703. Adamnanus canonicum pascha in Hibernia celebrat (188).
Obsessio Rithe.
704. Strages Dalriati in Valle Limnae[g].
Aldfrith mac Ossu, *alias* Flann Fina, sapiens rex Saxonum, moritur (185).
Adomnanus, lxxvii anno etatis sue, abbas Iae, pausat.

X.—Conamhail. *Sed.* 704–710. *Ob.* Sept. 11.

Son of Failbhe. The first abbot of Hy, whose descent is referred to a different house from that of Conal Gulban. He was one of the Clann Colla, being of the race of Colla Uais, who was king of Ireland in 323 (Calend. Dungall.), and therefore one of the Airghialla or Oriellians. Tighernach writes the name *Conmael*, but the other authorities, as above. During his term of office, Dunchadh is stated by the Annals of Tighernach and of Ulster to have held the *principatus* of

their depredation was the territories of the Cruithne and Ulidians, now the county of Down, and the southern half of Antrim.

[e] *Dun-Deauæ.*—Possibly Dundaff, in the parish of St. Ninian's, south of Stirling.

[f] *Brechtrid.*—This was Ecgfrid's *dux Berctus*, who, in 684, wasted the plains of Meath (187). The Saxon Chronicle at that year calls him "Briht his ealdorman;" and, at 699, relates—"This year the Picts slew Beorht the ealdorman."

[g] *Valle Limnæ.*—Probably Gleann Leamna, the valley of the Levin Water, which runs from Loch Lomond to Dumbarton. The river which bounds Argyle on the north is the Levin, which flows westwards into Loch Levin; but neither this nor the Levin, in Fife, seems intended. The name

Hy, by which we may understand, either that he was appointed, in consequence of the age or infirmity of Conamhail, to administer the affairs of the society, as a *tanist abbot*, or that some schism in the community, possibly on the Paschal question (for Dunchadh proved a reformer in 716) led to a rival appointment. See O'Conor's note in Rer. Hib. Script. vol. iv. p. 72.

705. Jugulatio Conamlo [*genitive of* Conamail] filii Canon.
706. Bruide mac Derili, rex Pictorum, moritur.
707. Dunchadh principatum Iae tenuit.
709. Bellum contra Orcades, in quo filius Artablair jacuit.
710. Contentio apud Genus Comghaill (180), ubi duo filii Nechtain filii Doirgarto jugulati sunt.

Conamail mac Failbhi, abbas Iae, pausat.

XI.—Dunchadh. *Sed.* 710–717. *Ob.* Maij 25.

Son of Ceinfaeladh. Called *Dunchadus* by Bede (H. E. v. 22). He was of the most noble branch of the house of Conall Gulban, for his grandfather Maelcobha, who died in 615, was the third of the family who were successively monarchs of Ireland, and his grand-uncle Domhnall, who won the battle of Magh Rath (200) in 637, succeeded Maelcobha on the throne. During his presidency there seems to have been a schism in the community, for in 713 and 716, two other members of the order were elected to the *cathedra Iae* or *Columbæ:* or it may be that a different office, such as *prior*, or even *bishop*, is denoted by the expression. On the death of Conamail, he succeeded to the vacant abbacy, and it was not till 713 that Dorbene was appointed to the *chair:* who died in the same year. The next election to the *chair* was in 716, and Faelcu, son of Dorbene, who was then chosen, outlived him, and succeeded him in the full enjoyment of the abbacy. It was under this abbot that the Columbian monks conformed to the Roman Easter and Tonsure. The last occasion on which the old Easter was observed was at the festival of 715, after a duration of 150 years (Bede, H. E. iii. 4). The change was effected through the exertions of a Northumbrian priest, called Ecgberct, "qui in Hibernia diutius exulaverat pro Christo, eratque et doctissimus in scripturis et longæ vitæ perfectione eximius" (*ib*). The place of his abode had been "in monasterio quod lingua Scottorum *Rathmelsigi*[h] appellatur" (iii. 27). Having meditated a missionary journey to north Germany, he is said to have been diverted from his purpose by a vision, in which his former master Boisil appeared to him, and declared that "Dei voluntatis est ut ad Columbæ monasteria magis pergat docenda" (v. 9). Accordingly, when upon the conformity of the Picts to the Roman observance, one of the three remaining obstacles to the unity was removed, an opportunity offered for the accomplishment of a work in Hy, which Adamnan, a few years before, had attempted in vain. "Nec multo post illi quoque qui insulam Hii incolebant monachi Scotticæ nationis, cum his quæ sibi erant subdita monasteriis, ad ritum paschæ ac tonsuræ canonicum Domino procurante perducti sunt. Siquidem anno ab incarnatione Domini dccxvi., quo Osredo occiso, Cœnred gubernacula regni Nordanhymbrorum suscepit, cum venisset ad eos de Hibernia Deo amabilis, et cum omni honorificentia

leamain, common in Scotland and Ireland, denotes a place where elms grow. In the genitive it is leamna, whence the names *Levenax* or *Lennox*.

[h] *Rathmelsigi.*—The Rath-maoilmide of the Irish Calendar, whose patron saint, Colman, is commemorated December 14. Colgan places it in Connaught (Acta SS., Index Locor. voc. *Rath-milsige*), but the exact situation remains to be identified.

nominandus pater ac sacerdos Ecgberct, cujus superius memoriam sæpius fecimus, honorifice ab eis et multo cum gaudio susceptus est. Qui quoniam et doctor suavissimus, et eorum quæ agenda docebat erat exsecutor devotissimus, libenter auditus ab universis, immutavit piis ac sedulis exhortationibus inveteratam illam traditionem parentum eorum, de quibus apostolicum illum licet proferre sermonem, quod æmulationem Dei habebant, sed non secundum scientiam; catholicoque illos, atque apostolico more celebrationem, at diximus, præcipuæ sollemnitatis sub figura coronæ perpetis agere perdocuit. Quod mira divinæ constat factum dispensatione pietatis, ut quoniam gens illa quam noverat scientiam divinæ cognitionis libenter ac sine invidia populis Anglorum communicare curavit: ipsa quoque postmodum per gentem Anglorum in eis quæ minus habuerat, ad perfectam vivendi normam perveniret."

"Susceperunt autem Hiienses monachi, docente Ecgbercto, ritus vivendi catholicos sub abbate Dunnchado, post annos circiter octoginta, ex quo ad prædicationem gentis Anglorum Aidanum miserant antistitem. Mansit autem vir Domini Ecgberct annos tredecim in præfata insula, quam ipse velut nova quadam relucente gratia ecclesiasticæ societatis et pacis Christo consecraverat; annoque Dominicæ incarnationis septingentesimo vicesimo nono, quo pascha Dominicum octavo kalendarum Maiarum die celebratur, cum missarum sollemnia in memoriam ejusdem Dominicæ resurrectionis celebrasset, eodem die et ipse migravit ad Dominum, ac gaudium summæ festivitatis quod cum fratribus quos ad unitatis gratiam converterat, inchoavit, cum Domino et apostolis ceterisque cæli civibus complevit, immo idipsum celebrare sine fine non desinit. Mira autem divinæ dispensatio provisionis erat, quod venerabilis vir non solum in pascha transivit de hoc mundo ad Patrem; verum etiam cum eo die pascha celebraretur, quo nunquam prius in eis locis celebrari solebat. Gaudebant ergo fratres de agnitione certa et catholica temporis paschalis; lætabantur de patrocinio pergentis ad Dominum patris, per quem fuerant correcti; gratulabatur ille quod eatenus in carne servatus est, donec illum in pascha diem suos auditores, quem semper antea vitabant, suscipere ac secum agere videret. Sicque certus de illorum correctione reverentissimus pater exultavit, ut videret diem Domini: vidit, et gavisus est."—(Bede, H. E. v. 22.)

711. Strages Pictorum in Campo Manonn[l] apud Saxones, ubi Finnguine filius Deileroith immatura morte jacuit.
Congressio Britonum et Dalriati super Loirgg-ecclet[k], ubi Britones devicti.
712. Coeddi, episcopus Iae pausat, Octob. 24 (Tigh. 712; F. M. 710).
Combustio Tairpirt Boitter[l]. Congal mac Doirgarto (an. 710) moritur.
Obsessio Aberte[m] apud Selbachum.
713. Ciniod mac Derili, et filius Maithgernain, jugulati sunt.

[l] *Campo Manann.*—See Manann, at an. 581, *supra*. This battle is recorded by the Saxon Chron. at 710, thus: "The same year Beorhtfrith the ealdorman fought against the Picts between Hæfe and Cære."

[k] *Loirg-ecclet.*—Not yet identified.

[l] *Tairpirt Boitter.*—Again at 731. This was probably the Tarbert which gave name to East and West Lochs Tarbert, the inlets of the sea which nearly insulate Cantyre on the north. The old castle of Tarbert, situate on the southern side of East Loch Tarbert, in the parish of Kilcalmonel, was formerly a place of considerable importance. See Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 32.

[m] *Aberte.*—Traces of the old castle of *Dunaverty*, standing on a precipitous rock nearly surrounded by the sea, are to be seen on Dunaverty Bay, at the S. E. extremity of Cantyre, opposite Sanda. New Stat. Ac. vol. vii. p. 2, pt. 423; Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 7. Selbach was second son of Ferchar Fada, of the house of Lorn, and 18th king of Dalriada.

Dorbeni kathedram Iae obtinuit, et quinque mensibus peractis in primatu, v. Kal. Novembris, die Sabbati[n] obiit (242).

Tolargg filius Drostain ligatur apud fratrem suum Nechtan regem.

714. Dun-Ollaigh construitur apud Selbacum (180).

716. Jugulatio regis Saxonum, Osrit[o] filii Aldfrith, nepotis Ossu.

Garnat filius Deileroith moritur.

Pasca commutatur in Eoa civitate (28).

Faelcu mac Dorbeni kathedram Columbe lxxiv. etatis sue anno, iv. Kal. Septembris, die Sabbati[p], suscepit.

717. Dunchadh mac Cinnfaelaidh, abbas Iae, obiit.

XII.—Faelcu. *Sed.* 717–724. *Ob.* April 3.

Son of Dorbene, of the race of Conall Gulban, but in a different line from the preceding abbots, namely, through his son Nathi. He was born in 642, for he was 74 years old when he was elected to the *cathedra Columbe* in 716, and he was 82 years of age when he died. Under him, according to Tighernach, the society of Hy received the coronal tonsure. There is some uncertainty about his festival: Colgan places it at April 3, but the name does not appear in the Calendars at that day. They have Faolchu, without any place, at May 23, and July 20. It was probably soon after his accession that the Columbian congregation was driven by king Nechtan beyond the Pictish frontier. They were, no doubt, reluctant to acquiesce in the royal edict, "Hoc observare tempus paschæ cum universa mea gente perpetuo volo; hanc accipere debere tonsuram quam plenam esse rationis audimus, omnes qui in meo regno sunt clericos decerno."—(Bede, H. E. v. 21.) See note [e], p. 184, *supra*.

717. Expulsio familie Iae trans Dorsum Britannie a Nectano rege (184).

Etulb mac Ecuilb obiit.

Congressio Dalriati et Britonum in lapide qui vocatur Minuirc[q], et Britones devicti sunt.

718. Filius Cuidine, rex Saxonum, moritur.

Tonsura coronae super familiam Iae (Tigh.)

719. Bellum Finnglinne[r] inter duos filios Ferchair Fotti, in quo Ainfceallach jugulatus est die quinte ferie[s], Id. Septembris.

[n] *Sabbati.*—Oct. 28 is g, therefore, being Saturday, Sunday is A, the Dom. Letter of 713.

[o] *Osrit.*—Osred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain, according to the Saxon Chron., in 716, on "the southern border." Bede fixes the reformation of the Columbian monks at the year "quo Osredo occiso" (H. E. v. 22, 24).

[p] *Sabbati.*—Aug. 29 is c, therefore, being Saturday, Sunday is D, indicating 716.

[q] *Minuirc.*—The parish of Manner in Peebles was called *Maineure* in 1186, and *Menewire* in 1256.—(Orig. Par. vol. i. p. 238.)

[r] *Finglinne.*—There is a Finglen in Campsie in Stirlingshire; but the place in question seems to have been in Argyle, in the territory of Lorn.

[s] *Quinte ferie.*—This, though in Tigh. also, is an error, for Thurs. Sep. 13 is d, and indicates G as the Sunday Letter, instead of A. The substitution of *quarte* or *vii. Id.* will remove the difficulty. The Dublin copy reads *vi. Id.*

Bellum maritimum Airde-anesbi[t] inter Dunchadh Beg [regem Cinntire] cum Genere Gabhrain, et Selbacum cum genere Loairn, et versum est super Selbacum prid. Non. Octobr., die sexte ferie[u], in quo quidam Comites corruerunt.

721. Dunchadh Beg, rex Cinntire, moritur (57).

722. Maelrubai[v] in Apurcroson, anno lxxx. etatis sue, quievit.
Bile mac Eilpin, rex Alo-Cluathe, moritur (44).
Feidhlimid principatum Iae tenuit.

723. Clericatus Selbaigh regis Dalriada (Tigh.) (67).

724. Faelcu mac Dorbeni abbas Iae dormivit.
Cillenus Longus ei in principatum Iae successit.

XIII.—Cillene Fada. *Sed.* 724–726. *Ob.* April 14 vel 19.

He was surnamed *Fada*, or 'the Tall,' to distinguish him from Cillene Droicteacth, the hermit, who died in 752. Fedhlimid, who was coadjutor abbot in 722, did not succeed to the abbacy on the death of Faelcu, in 724. His pedigree is not recorded, and his festival is uncertain.

724. Caechscuile, scriba de Daire-Calgaidh, quievit (160).
Clericatus [N]echtain regis Pictorum (67). Drust postea regnavit.

725. Sima filius Druist constringitur.
Congal mac Maeleanfaith Brecc Fortrenn mortuus est.
Oan, princeps Ego, quievit (307).

726. Nechtan mac Deirile constringitur apud Druist regem.
Cillenus Longus abbas Iae pausat (Tigh). (F. M. 725.)

XIV.—Cilline Droicteach. *Sed.* 726–752. *Ob.* Jul. 3.

He was of the house of Conall Cremthann, son of Niall, and therefore one of the southern Hy-Neill. His pedigree is thus given in the Naemhsenchas:—Cilline Droicteach mac Dicolla mec Cilline mec Amalgaba mec Fernaidh mec Feici mec Cerbaill mec Conaill Cremthain mec Neill Naoigiallaigh (Book of Lecan). His ancestor Fiac was brother of Diarmait, king of Ireland (68). The epithet *Droicteach* signifies 'Bridge-maker' (Reeves, Eccl. Ant. p. 359). In the Annals of Tighernach and of Ulster he is only termed *ancorita*, but the gloss on his name, at the 3rd of July, in the Calendar of Marian, expressly says: Abb Iae Ċolaim cille an Cilline Droicteach sin, 'Abbot of Hy-Columcille was this Cilline Droictech.' In like manner, the Martyrology of Tamlact, at same day, has Cilline abb Iae. These are followed by the Four Masters and the Calendar of Donegal, the latter of which adds, Are tug go hErinn an scrin no tairi iomda do teaglaim Adamnan, do denam sioda ⁊ ċairdera Ċenel Conaill acus Eogain, 'It was he that brought to Erin the shrine

[t] *Airde-anesbi.*—Not yet identified.

[u] *Sexte ferie.*—The Dominical letter of 719 is A, and therefore f, the current letter of Oct. 6, coincides with the Friday letter of the year.

[v] *Maelrubai.*—The Scotch Calendar places his festival at Aug. 27, but the Irish at April 21.

or numerous relics which Adamnan collected, in order to make peace and friendship between the races of Conaill and of Eoghan.' Fedhlimidh, who was appointed coadjutor abbot in 722, continued alive during the presidency of Cilline. It is possible that, as Cilline was an anchorite, the active duties of the society were discharged by his deputy.

726. Druist de regno Pictorum ejectus est, et Elphin pro eo regnat (Tigh.).

727. Congressio in Ros-foichne,[x] inter Selbacum et familiam Echdach nepotis Domhnaill, ubi quidam ceciderunt utrorumque Arghialla.

Adomnani reliquiæ transferuntur in Hiberniam, et Lex renovatur.

728. Bellum Monid-Croib[y] inter Pictores invicem, ubi Oengus victor fuit, et multi ex parte Eilpini regis, cum filio suo, perempti sunt.

Bellum lacrimabile inter eosdem gestum est juxta Castellum Credi[z], ubi Elpinus effugit, et victoria parta est de eodem Ailpin similiter; et ablatæ sunt regiones ejus, et viri omnes; et obtinuit Nechtain mac Derili regnum Pictorum.

729. Eicbericht, Christi miles, in sancta Pasca die, pausat[a].

Centum et quinquaginta naves Pictorum fractæ sunt apud Ros-Cuissine[b] (Tigh.)

Bellum Monith-carno[c] juxta stagnum Loogdae inter hostem Nechtain et exercitum Aengusa; et exactatores Nechtain ceciderunt, hoc est, Biceot mac Moneit, et filius ejus, Finguine mac Drostain, Feroth mac Finnguine, et quidam multi; et familia Aengusa triumphavit.

Bellum de Druimderg-Blathmig[d] in regionibus Pictorum, inter Oengus et Drust regem Pictorum, et cecidit Drust.

[x] *Ros-foichne.*—Not identified. It is doubtful whether this place was in Scotland or Ireland.

[y] *Monid-croib.*—Moncrieffe, in the parish of Dunbarny in Perthshire. On the summit of Moncrieffe Hill are traces of an ancient circular fort. New Stat. Account, vol. x. p. 810. Chalmers places his Moncrib in Strathern (Caled. i. p. 211). Probably it is the *Dorsum Crup* of the Pictish Chronicle, which Chalmers makes Duncrub in Strathern (*ib.* p. 391.) So also Pinkerton, Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 187.

[z] *Castellum Credi.*—Called Cairlen Creöi by Tighernach in the parallel place. Its situation, and the origin of the name, are thus given in the Pictish Chronicle: "Constantinus rex et Kellachus episcopus leges disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in *Colle Credulitatis* prope regali civitati *Scoan* devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc nomen meruit, i. e. Collis Credulitatis."—Innes, Crit. Ess. App. No. iii.; Pinkerton's Inquiry, vol. i. p. 495, ii. p. 181 (ed. 1814); Chalmers, Caled. i. p. 388. This was an occurrence of circ. 909; hence, if the statement *ab hoc die* be correct, the name given in our Annals must be a prolepsis of about 181 years. The spot was about seventy yards north of the old abbey of Scone, afterwards called the *Moot-hill*, now corrupted to *Boot-hill*, which the Highlanders express by *Tom-a-mhoid*, 'hill of Justice.' Old Stat. Acct. vol. xviii. p. 86; New Stat. Acct. vol. x. p. 1065.

[a] *Pausat.*—Tighernach styles him Ribipe Cpipc, *miles Christi.* He died, according to Bede, on Easter Sunday, the 24th of April, 729 (H. E. v. 22). Bede is followed by the Saxon Chronicle, at 729.

[b] *Ros-cuissine.*—Not yet identified.

[c] *Monit-carno.*—The word *Monit* here, and at 728, 782, seems to be allied to the Welch *Mynydh* 'a mountain,' and the compound means 'mountain of the carn.' See note at p. 64.

[d] *Druimderg Blathmig.*—Chalmers identifies it

730. Reversio reliquiarum Adomnani de Hibernia mense Octobris.
Bran filius Eugain, et Selbach mac Fercair, mortui sunt.

731. Clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini regis Saxonum, et constringitur.
Combustio Tairpirt Boittir apud Dunghal (an. 712).
Bellum inter Cruithne et Dalriati in Murbuilgg, ubi Cruithni devicti fuerunt.
Bellum inter filium Oengusa et filium Congussa, sed Bruideus vicit Talorcum fugientem.

733. Dungal mac Selbaich dehonoravit[e] Toraic (279), cum traxit Brudeum ex ea; et eadem vice insolam Culrenrigi[f] invasit.
Muredach mac Ainfcellach regnum Generis Loairnd assumit (180).
Flaithbertach [rex Hiberniæ] classem Dalriada in Iberniam duxit, et cædes magna facta est eorum in insula h-Oi[n]ae[g], ubi hi trucidantur viri, Concobar mac Lochein et Branin mac Brain, et multi dimersi sunt in Banno (Tigh.).
Eochaidh filius Eachach, rex Dalriada, obiit (Tigh.).

734. Caintigern[h] filia Ceallaigh Cualann moritur.
Talorgg mac Congusso a fratre suo vinctus est, traditur in manus Pictorum, et cum illis in aqua demersus est (71).
Talorggan filius Drostain comprehensus alligatur juxta Arcem Ollaig (180).
Dun-Leithfinn[i] destruitur post vulnerationem Dungaile, et in Hiberniam a potestate Oengusso fugatus est.

735. Flann mac Conaing, abbas de Cillmor-dithribh, jugulatus (99).

736. Oengus mac Fergusa, rex Pictorum, vastavit regiones Dailriatai, et obtinuit Dun-Att (an. 683), et combussit Creic, et duos filios Selbhaic, i. e. Donngal et Feradach, catenis alligavit, et paulo post Brudeus mac Oengusa filius Fergusso obiit.
Bellum Cnuicc-Coirpri in Calatros (202) ad Etar Linndu, inter Dalriatai et Fort-

with "Drumderg, an extensive ridge, on the western side of the river Ila" (Caled. i. p. 211). The Isla is a river in Forfarshire, close to Perthshire.

[e] *Dehonoravit.*—The Irish equivalent is no rapaiḋ, and denotes the profanation of a relic or of a sanctuary.

[f] *Culrenrigi.*—The name occurs again at 802 in the An. Ult.: "Artgal mac Cathusaigh rex insolæ Culen-rigi, de genere Eugain, jugulatus est." It is, probably, the island called Inch, off Inishowen, in Donegal.

[g] *Insula h-Oinae.*—The Ann. of Clonmacnois, at 730, make this Inishowen, but incorrectly. *Insula Hoie* is Tighernach's reading. From the context it appears to have been near the Bann, and the name may be preserved in *Island Heaghey*, a townland in the parish of Coleraine.

[h] *Cantigern.*—This is the St. Kentigerna of Inchcaileoch in Loch Lomond, who is commemorated in the Scotch Calendar at Jan. 7. Her legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen describes her as "Laynensium reguli filia," sister of St. Comgan of Turreff, and mother of St. Foelan of Strathfillane. *Laynensium* is a corruption of *Laginensium*, and denotes the people of Leinster. Cellach Cualann, her father, was king of Leinster, and died in 715. Muirenn, another daughter, died in 748.

[i] *Dun-leithfinn.*—Not yet identified.

tren, et Talorggan mac Ferguso filium Ainfceallaich fugientem cum exercitu persequitur: in qua congressione multi nobiles ceciderunt.

737. Mors Ronain abbatis Cinngaradh (an. 660).
Faelbe filius Guaire, heres Maelrubai, i. e. Apor-Crosain (138), in profundo pelagi dimersus est cum suis nautis numero xxii.

739. Flann mac Cellaigh, filius Crundmhail, episcopus de Rechra, moritur (280).
Talorggan mac Drostain, rex At-foitle[j], dimersus est, scilicet ab Oengus.

741. Bellum de Druim-Cathmail[k] inter Cruithniu et Dalriati per Innrechtach.
Percussio Dalriatai ab Oengus mac Fergusso.

743. Mors Cumene nepotis Ciarain, abbatis de Rechra (280).

747. Mors Tuatalain abbatis Cinrighmonai[l].

748. Cobthach, abbas de Rechra, obiit (Tigh.) (280).

749. Dimersio familie Iae.

750. Bellum Cato[m] hic inter Pictones et Brittones, in quo cecidit Talorggan filius Forgussa frater Oengussa.

752. Mors Cilleine Droctigh, anchorite Iae.

XV.—Slebhine. *Sed.* 752–767. *Ob.* Mar. 2.

Son of Congal, a descendant of Loarn, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban. During his presidency, Cillene, son of Congal, probably his brother, died at Hy; as also, at an advanced age, Fedhlimidh, who became coadjutor abbot in 722. At this period the Columbian influence in Ireland seems to have been at its height, as may be concluded from the repeated mention of the *Lex Coluimcille* (an. 753, 757), and the frequent visits of the abbot into Ireland. Suibhne, who succeeded him, was coadjutor abbot in 766.

752. Mors Cilleni filii Congaile in Hi.
Taudar mac Bile rex Lochlannorum mortuus est.
Cumine nepos Becce, religiosus Ego[n], quievit (307).

[j] *At-foitle.*—Athol in Perthshire. In the Pictish Chronicle we find the name in the form *Athochlach*, which Norse writers make *Atjoklis*.

[k] *Druim-Cathmail.*—Not yet identified.

[l] *Cinrighmonai.*—Righ-monaidh or Reymonth (Fordun, i. 6, ii. 60) was the old name of the parish of St. Andrew's in Fife, and it is still preserved in East and West Balrymonth, two high grounds in its southern part. In the records of this church *Rymont* is interpreted *Regius Mons*, *Mons Regis*. (Pinkerton, Enq. vol. i. pp. 462, 499.) The Irish Calendars call it Cill Rigmonaiḋ, and assign St. Cainnech to it; but Tighernach at 747, and the Four Mast. 742, call it, as above, Cinn-ṡúin-monaiḋ. The present entry supplies the earliest authentic record of this monastery.

[m] *Cato.*—Thus recorded in the Annales Cambriæ: "Bellum inter Pictos et Brittones, id est *gueith Mocetauc*, et rex eorum Talargan a Brittonibus occiditur" (Monument. p. 833). In the Brut y Tywysogion it is called the battle of *Maesydawc* (*ib.* p. 842). The Irish *Cato* represents the British name divested of the prefix signifying a *plain*.

[n] *Ego.*—The conjecture in note [t], at foot of p. 307, is correct. The Dublin MS. of the An. Ult. at 751, has "Cummene nepos Becce religiosus Ego mortuus est." O'Conor disguises the entry, for he has omitted *Ego*.

Prælium inter Pictones[o] invicem, in quo cecidit Bruidhi mac Maelchon (Tig.).

753. Lex Columbe-cille per Domhnall Midhe[p] (315).

754. Sleibene, abbas Iae, in Hiberniam venit.

757. Combustio Cille-moire-dithraibh ab Ui Cremthainn (99).
Lex Columbe-cille per Sleibene (315).

758. Reversio Slebine in Hiberniam (Tigh.).

759. Fedhlimidh sive Failbhe, abbas Iae obiit, annis lxxxvii. ætatis suæ expletis (F. M. 754).

761. Mors Oengusa filii Fergusa, regis Pictorum.

763. Domhnall Mac Murcadha, rex Hiberniæ, mortuus, et sepultus in Dairmagh (276).
Bruide, rex Fortren, moritur.

764. Bellum Arggamain inter familiam Cluana-mac-nois et Dermaigi, ubi cecidit Diarmaid Dubh mac Domhnaill, et Diglac mac Duibliss, et cc. viri de familia Dermaigi. Bresal mac Murcha victor extitit cum familia Cluana (255).

766. Suibne, abbas Iae, in Hiberniam venit.

767. Quies Sleibni, Iae (Inisf. 754; F. M. 762).

XVI.—Suibhne. *Sed.* 767–772. *Ob.* Mar. 2.

His pedigree is not recorded. He was coadjutor abbot in 766, and succeeded to the full title on the death of Slebhine. Nothing more, except his festival, is recorded of him.

768. Bellum in Fortrinn inter Aedh et Cinaedh.

769. Quies Murgaile filii Ninnedha, abbatis de Rechra (280).

770. Niall Frassach, rex Hiberniæ, post septenne imperium, religiosus in Hyensi monasterio factus est (67).

772. Mors Suibhne, abbatis Iae.

XVII.—Breasal. *Sed.* 772–801. *Ob.* Mai. 18.

Son of Seghine, but his descent is not recorded. Colgan refers to him the entry in the Calendar at May 18, Bꞇeaꞇal ó Ꞇꞇꞇeaꞇꞇh, *Breasal de Oratorio.* During his presidency Hy acquired celebrity as a place of pilgrimage, from having two Irish kings enrolled among its members.

773. Aedh mac Cairpre, princeps de Rechra, moritur (280).

775. Mors Cinadhon, regis Pictorum.
Conall de Magh Luingi obiit (59).

776. Mors Maelcmanach, abbatis Cinngaradh (an. 660).

[o] *Pictones.*—The reading of this entry, as printed by O'Conor, seems corrupt.

[p] *Domhnall Midhe.*—He was a descendant of Colman Mor, son of Dermait Mac Cerbhail, and king of Ireland. Being of the Southern Hy Neill, his patrimony lay in Meath; hence his title.

778. Lex Coluimcille per Donnchadh[q] et Bresal.
Niall Frassach mac Fergaile, quondam rex Hyberniæ, in Hy-Coluim-cille obiit.
Aedh Finn mac Ecdach, rex Dalriati, mortuus est.
Eithni, filia Cinadon, moritur.
780. Combustio Alo-Cluade in Kalendis Januarii (43).
Eilpin, rex Saxonum [*recte* Pictorum], moritur.
781. Fergus mac Echach, rex Dalriati, defunctus est.
782. Dubtolargg, rex Pictorum citra Monoth[r], periit.
Muredach mac Huairgaile, equonimus Iae, quievit (47, 365).
Baculus[s] Airtgaile mic Cathail, regis Connaciæ, et peregrinatio ejus in sequenti anno ad insolam Iae.
784. Adventus reliquiarum filiorum Eirc[t] ad civitatem Tailten (194).
788. Combustio Daire Calgaich (160).
789. Bellum inter Pictos, ubi Conall mac Taidg victus est et evasit, et Constantin victor fuit.
790. Mors Noe, abbatis Cinngaradh (an. 660).
791. Artgal mac Cathail, rex Connacht, in Hi defunctus est.
792. Donncorci, rex Dalriatai, obiit.
793. Cinaed mac Cumuscaigh, abbas de Dairmagh, periit (276).
794. Vastatio omnium insolarum Britanniæ a Gentilibus.
795. Vastatio Iae Coluim-cille (An. Inisf. 781).
Combustio Rechrainne (164, 280) a Gentibus; et scrinia ejus confracta et spoliata sunt.

[q] *Donnchadh.*—King of Ireland, and son of the Domhnall Midhe, who was similarly engaged in 753.

[r] *Monoth.*—There are two ranges in Scotland called the *Mound*, or *Mounth*: one, that portion of the Grampians where the road from Fettercairn, in Kincardine, to Aberdeenshire, ascends the *Cairn-o-Mount* (New Stat. Acct. xi. pt. 2, p. 111), and which may be taken in its larger acceptation for the great range bounding Perthshire, Forfar, and Kincardine on the north; the other lying between Caithness and Sutherland (Orig. Paroch. ii. p. 652). "Corpus ipsius [Albaniæ] est mons qui *Mound* vocatur. Qui a mari occidentali ad mare orientale extenditur. . . . Duo præclara flumina descendunt de monte prædicto, i. e. *Mound*, quæ vocantur Tae et Spe." Again, "Mons *Mound* dividit Cathanesiam per medium."—*De Situ Albaniæ* (ap. Johnstone, Antiq. Celt. Norm. pp. 135, 136). See pp. 64, 383, *supra*.

[s] *Baculus.*—The taking of the Pilgrim's Staff. An Irishman, St. Fridolin, the Traveller, is the patron saint of Glarus, and he appears on the seal and banner of that Canton, bearing his *pilgrim's staff*.

[t] *Filiorum Eirc.*—Earc, daughter of Lorn, is said to have been married first to Muiredhach, son of Eoghan, by whom she had four sons, and, on his death, to Fergus, son of Conall, by whom she had four more. Muiredhach's son, Muircertach, was generally known as *Mac Erca*. Fedhlimidh, father of St. Columba, was the issue of her second alliance. (Irish Nennius, p. cv.) Erc was also the name of the father of Loarn, Fergus, and Ængus, the first Dalriadic settlers, of whom a Scotch Chronicle says: "Yona insula, ubi tres filii Erc, scilicet Fergus, Loarn, et Enegus sepulti fuerant."

798. Spoliatio insularum maris, i. e. Innse Gall, inter Erin et Alba.
799. Feradhach mac Segeni, abbas de Rechra, obiit (164, 280).
801. Bresal mac Segeni, abbas Iae, anno principatus sui xxxi. dormivit.

XVIII.—Connachtach. *Sed.* 801–802. *Ob.* Mai. 10.

His name is not found in the Annals of Ulster, but it is entered in the Four Masters, at 797, probably on the authority of Tighernach, now wanting, at that date, or of some other early record. They term him ꝓꝛıbneoıꝛ ꝯocchaıḋe acuꝛ abb Iae, 'choice scribe, and abbot of Ia.' Colgan calls him Coumanus, and takes May 10 as his festival, at which day the name of a Cormac is entered in the Calendar of Tamlacht.

802. Mac Oigi, de Apurcrossan (138), abbas Benchuir, quievit.
Hi Columbæ-cille a Gentilibus combusta est.
Connachtach, scriba selectissimus, et abbas Iae, quievit.

XIX.—Cellach. *Sed.* 802–815.

Son of Conghal, but of uncertain descent. During his presidency it was that Kells, in the county of Meath, was re-organized on a more extended scale, and made the chief station of the Columbian order.

804. Donatio de Cenannus Columbæ sine prælio hoc anno (278).
806. Familia Iae, i. e. lxviij., occisa est a Gentilibus.
807. Jugulatio Conaill mic Taidg a Conall mac Aedani in Cuintire (57).
Constructio novæ civitatis Coluimcille in Ceninnus (278).
811. Blathmac nepos Muirdibuir, abbas de Dermagh, obiit (276).
814. Ceallach, abbas Iae, finita constructione[u] templi de Cenannus, reliquit principatum, et Diarmicius alumpnus Daighri pro eo ordinatus est (278).
815. Ceallach mac Conghaile, abbas Iae, dormivit.

XX.—Diarmait. *Sed.* 815—*post* 831.

He was surnamed *Dalta Daighre*, 'Alumnus Daigri,' and was appointed successor to Cellach at Kells, in 814, when the latter retired, it would seem, to Hy. As Kells had now risen into importance, and Hy had declined, the chief of the order began to assume an official rather than a local title, and to be styled *Coarb of Columcille*. The year of this Diarmait's death is not recorded, nor does his name appear in the Calendar. During his presidency, probably while he abode in Ireland, occurred a second massacre of the congregation of Hy by the Danes. On this occasion Blaithmac, who seems to have been superior of the monastery, was put to death. Wala-

[u] *Constructione.*—The Four Masters, either mistaking the first syllable of this word, or, what is more likely, wishing to uphold the antiquity of Kells, read in their parallel entry, oCenannuꝛ ꝺo ꝺıoṫlaıṫꝛıucḋaḋ, 'Cenannus was destroyed' (An. 802). Colgan repeats their statement (Tr. Th. p. 508 *a*). These compilers are often greatly wanting both in candour and critical acumen.

fridus Strabus, twelfth abbot of Augia Dives[w], who flourished between 823 and 849, has written a poem of 172 hexameters on the martyrdom of this ecclesiastic. He describes Blaithmaic as "regali de stirpe satus," as "regius hæres," and as "rex ille futurus, genuit quem dives Hibernia mundo." He states that, having become a monk, "agmina multorum rexit veneranda virorum;" and that, subsequently, coveting the crown of martyrdom, he betook himself to the island of Eo, whither the pagan Danes had already on more than one occasion come. Expecting their return, he counselled the members of the fraternity to save themselves by flight; whereupon some departed, while others remained with him. The precious shrine containing St. Columba's relics he deposited in the earth, and when, on the arrival of the plunderers, he refused to make known the place of its concealment, they slew both him and his companions. This poem was first printed by Canisius, and has since been frequently reproduced (315).

816. Conan mac Ruadhrach, rex Britonum, defunctus est.

817. Maelduin mac Cinnfaelaidh, princeps de Rath-both, de familia Coluimcille, jugulatus est (280).

Congregatio Coluimcille ivere Temoriam, ad Aidum[x] excommunicandum.

820. Constantin mac Fergusa, rex Fortrenn, moritur (297).

825. Martyrium Blaithmaci[y] filii Flainn a Gentilibus in Hi Coluimcille.

828. Robhartach mac Cathasaigh, princeps de Cluainmor Arddae, obiit (280).

829. Diarmait, abbas Iae, ivit ad Alba, cum reliquiariis Coluimcille (315).

Aedhan Ua Condumha, scriba de Dairmagh, obiit (276).

831. Diarmait venit in Hiberniam cum reliquiariis Columcille (315).

832. Tuathal mac Feradhaich[z] raptus est a Gentilibus, et scrinium Adamnani[a] de Domhnach-moghan (82).

[w] *Augia Dives.*—It is a remarkable coincidence that this monastery (now Reichenau) should furnish the only narrative of St. Blaithmac's martyrdom, and be the depository of the oldest manuscript of Adamnan. Its familiarity with the ecclesiastical affairs of the far west is accounted for by the fact that this abbey was originally an Irish foundation. Before its suppression, in 1799, it contained many Irish MSS., and St. Findan's bowl is still preserved in the sacristy. This saint is the *Fiontann of Lemchoille* who is commemorated in the Irish Calendar at Nov. 16, and whose name occurs in the Necrologium of Reichenau at the same day, "xvi. Kl. Dec. *Findan Scottus.*"

[x] *Aidum.*—This was Aedh Oirdnidhe, monarch of Ireland. His excommunication, which is designedly omitted by the Four Masters, may have been for his invasion of Tirconnell in 815, or because he was privy to Maelduin's death. He is said to have made a royal decree in 804, excusing ecclesiastics from military service. Tara, it is to be observed, was occasionally resorted to as an ecclesiastical station, even after it had ceased to be inhabited. See An. Ult. 779, and p. 179, *supra.*

[y] *Blaithmaci.*—The name, which is a common one, is derived from blaċ, *flos*, and mac, *filius*, and, as Colgan observes, may be latinized *Florigenus*, or *Florentius* (Act. SS. p. 129 *b*). The Index of the Calendar of Donegal represents it by *Florigenius* and *Florus*, as it does blaċh by *Flora*. Walafridus Strabus paraphrases the name by *Pulcher natus.* St. Blaithmac's day is commemorated abroad on the 19th of January (Colg. Act. SS. p. 127), but the Irish Calendar places his day at July 24.

[z] *Tuathal mac Feradhaich.*—Abbot of Rechra and Durrow (an. 850, *infra*). Hence the association of his name with Adamnan's shrine.

[a] *Scrinium Adamnani.*—St. Clera, not Adamnan,

833. Familia de Dairmagh devastata usque ad portam ecclesiæ a Fedhlimidh rege Cassiliæ.

834. Oengus mac Fergusa, rex Fortrenn, moritur.

836. Soergus nepos Cuinnedha, abbas de Dairmagh, quievit (276).

839. Bellum a Gentilibus contra viros Fortrenn, in quo ceciderunt Euganan mac Oengusa, et Bran mac Oengusa, et Aed mac Boanta; et alii pene innumerabiles ceciderunt.

Crunnmael mac Finnamail, equonimus de Dairmagh, jugulatus a Maelsechnaill (276).

XXI.—INNRECHTACH. *Sed.* 8— – 854. *Ob.* Mar. 12.

His surname, *Ua Finachta*, or *Ua Finachtain*, is supplied by the Annals of Innisfallen, at 840, and is copied by the Four Masters at 852. The date of his predecessor's death is not recorded, consequently the year of his accession is undetermined. According to the Annals of Inisfallen, he was on his way to Rome when he was killed by the Saxons (840).

849. Innrechtach, abbas Iae, venit Hiberniam cum reliquiariis Coluimcille (315).

Kinadius filius Alpin, vii. anno regni, reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit (Chron. Pictor.) (297).

850. Tuathal mac Feradhaich, abbas de Rechra, et de Dairmagh, obiit (164, an. 832).

853. Gofraidh mac Fergusa, dominus de Innse Gall, obiit.

854. Heres Columbæ-cille, sapiens optimus, iv. Id. Mar. apud Saxones martirizatur.

XXII.—CELLACH. *Sed.* 854–865.

Son of Ailill. He was abbot of Kildare as well as of Hy, and thus combined the presidency of a monastery which was not Columbian with that of St. Columba's society. He seems to have been engaged in a visitation of the Columbian churches in Scotland at the time of his death.

856. Bellum magnum inter Gentiles et Maelsechnall cum Gall-Gaeidhil[b].

Victoria magna parta per Aedh mac Neill de Gall-Gaeidhil in Gleann-Foichle[c], ubi stragem magnam fecit eorum.

Horm, dux Nigrorum Gentilium, jugulatus est a Ruaidhri mac Merminn[d], rege Britonum.

was the patron of Donaghmoyne (Shirley's Farney, p. 162). It is hard to account for the presence of the abbot of Lambay and Durrow with St. Adamnan's in this church, unless we suppose that, as this was a fast country, he had sought refuge here from the Danes. Concerning the church of Scrin-Adhamnain, and the contents of Adamnan's shrine, see under his name in the Introduction.

[b] *Gall-Gaeidhil.*—That is, 'Stranger-Irish,' or the descendants of the Irish settlers in the Western Isles (306). They seem to have been employed as mercenaries by the monarch of Ireland.

[c] *Glenn-Foichle.*—Now Glenelly, in the parish of Badoney in Tyrone.—See Colton's Visitation, p. 55.

[d] *Ruaidhri mac Merminn.*—He was son of Mermin, or Mervyn Vrych, whose death is placed by the Welsh Annalists at 844.—See under An. 877, 878, *infra.*

857. Victoria parta per Imarum et per Amlaif, de Caittil Finn cum Gall-Gaeidhil, in regionibus Mumhain.

858. Cinaedh[e] mac Alpin, rex Pictorum, et Adulf, rex Saxonum, mortui sunt.
Victoria parta per Cerbhall, regem Ossoriæ, et Imarum, in regione Aradh-tire, de Cinel-Fiachach (153) cum Gall-Gaeidhil Lethcuinniæ.

862. Domhnall mac Alpin, rex Pictorum, mortuus est.

865. Cellach mac Ailella, abbas de Cilldara, et abbas Iae, dormivit in regione Pictorum.

XXIII.—Feradhach. *Sed.* 865–880.

Son of Cormac. During his presidency Hy became more and more insecure by reason of Danish inroads. Dunkeld now comes into notice as an important ecclesiastical station.

865. Tuathal mac Artgusso, summus episcopus Fortrenn, et Abbas de Dun-Caillen, dormivit (298).

866. Amlaiph et Auisle ivere ad Fortrenn cum Alienigenis Hiberniæ et Albaniæ, et vastaverunt omnem Pictiniam, et abstulerunt obsides.

870. Obsessio Aili-Cluithe a Nordmannis;[f] i. e. Amlaiph et Imhar duo reges Nordmannorum obsederunt arcem illum, et destruxerunt, in fine quatuor mensium, arcem, et prædaverunt (43).

871. Amlaiph et Imhar rediere ad Athcliath ex Alba, ducentis navibus; et præda maxima hominum Anglorum, et Britonum, et Pictorum, deducta est secum ad Hiberniam in captivitatem.

872. Artgha, rex Britannorum de Srath-Cluade, consilio Custantini filii Cinnaedho, occisus est (44).
Robhartach de Dairmagh, scriba optimus, pausavit.

873. Flaithbhertach mac Muircertaigh, princeps Duincaillden, obiit (298).

875. Congressio Pictorum cum Nigris Advenis, et strages magna Pictorum facta est.
Oistin mac Amlaiph, rex Nordmannorum, ab Albanicis per dolum occisus est.

876. Constantin mac Cinaedha, rex Pictorum, moritur.

877. Ruaidhri mac Murminn, rex Brittonum, venit ad Hiberniam in refugium ab Alienigenis Nigris.

878. Ruaidhri mac Muirminn, rex Britonum, a Saxonibus interemptus[g].

[e] *Cinaedh.*—Called *Cemoyth* in the Welsh Annals, where his ob. is 856 (Mon. pp. 835, 845).

[f] *Nordmannis.*—The Annales Cambriæ, at this year, say: "Arx Alt-Clut a Gentilibus fracta est" (Mon. p. 835). *Kaer Alcut*, in the Brut y Tywysogion (*ib.* p. 845).

[g] *Interemptus.*—The Ann. Cambr. at 877, have, "Rotri, et filius ejus Guriat, a Saxonibus jugulatur" (Monum. p. 836). The Welsh Chron. calls him *Rodri*, and Gwryat, his brother (*ib.* p. 846). This murder was revenged three years after at the battle of Conwy.

Aedh mac Cinadan, rex Pictorum, a sociis suis occisus est.

Scrinium Coluim-cille, et reliquiaria ejus generaliter, advecta sunt ad Hiberniam in refugium ab Alienigenis (315).

880. Feradhach mac Cormaic, abbas Iae, pausavit.

XXIV.—Flann. *Sed.* 880–891. *Ob.* April 24.

Son of Maelduin, of the race of Conall Gulban. His pedigree is given in the Naemhseanchas, but it is evidently deficient in some generations, for it makes him twelfth in descent from Conall Gulban, while Adamnan, who died nearly two centuries before, was eighth. Colgan latinizes his name by Florentius, and states his festival to be April 24 (Tr. Th. p. 481 *a*, *n.* 24).

882. Muirchertach mac Neill, abbas de Daire-Calgaich, et aliarum civitatum, pausat (160).

891. Flann mac Maeleduin, abbas Iae, in pace quievit.

XXV.—Maelbrighde. *Coarb* 891–927. *Ob.* Febr. 22.

Son of Tornan, of the race of Conall Gulban, from whom, according to the pedigree preserved in the Naemhseanchas, he was thirteenth in descent. He is commemorated in the Calendars of Marian and of Donegal at Feb. 22, at which day the latter authority states that the mother of Maelbrighde was Saerlath, daughter of Cuilebadh, son of Baethghaile. This is copied from the Tract *De Matribus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, commonly attributed to Ængus the Culdee. But the date of that writer is circ. 800, whereas this, his alleged composition, refers to a man who died in 927. Maelbrighde was not only abbot of Hy, but of Armagh and Raphoe, and his celebrity must have been considerable to elicit the following eulogium from the Four Masters: "St. Maelbrighde, son of Tornan, coarb of Patrick, Columcille, and Adamnan, head of the piety of all Ireland and of the greater part of Europe, died in a good old age, on the 22nd of February." He had been elected abbot of Armagh on the death of Maelcobha, in 888. His penultimate predecessor held the abbacy of Hy with that of Kildare: this abbot holds it with that of Armagh and Raphoe; an additional evidence of the declension of Hy. See Colgan's Acta SS. p. 386.

894. Gairig mac Dunghaile, rex Pictorum, moritur (O'Flaherty).

900. Domhnall mac Constantin, rex Alban, moritur.

904. Violatio Cenannse (278) a Flann mac Maelsechnaill contra Donnchadh filium suum, et alii decollati sunt circa oratorium.

Imhar Ua hImair occisus est a viris Fortrenn, et magna strages circa eum.

909. Diarmait, princeps de Daire-Calgaigh, in pace quievit (160).

913. Maelmuire[h], filia Cinaedha mic Ailpin, moritur.

Maelbrighde mac Tornain ivit in Momoniam ad liberandum peregrinum Britonem.

918. Prælium de Tinemore inter Fortrennos et Lochlannos (332).

[h] *Maelmuire.*—She was queen of Aedh Finnliath, monarch of Ireland, from 863 to 879, and was mother of Niall Glundubh, king of Ireland, and ancestor of the O'Neills.

920. Ecclesia lapidea de Cenannus confracta est a Gentilibus, et plurimi martyres ibi facti sunt (278).

921. Cinaedh mac Domhnaill, princeps de Daire-Calgaigh, et de Druim-tuama, caput consilii Conalleorum in Septentrione, obiit (238).

923. Maelpadraic mac Morain, princeps de Druimcliabh (279) et de Airdsratha [Ardstraw], mortuus est.

927. Maelbrighde mac Tornain, comharba Patricii et Columbæ-cille, felici senectute quievit.

XXVI.—Dubhthach. *Coarb* 927–938. *Ob.* Oct. 7.

Son of Duban, of the race of Conall Gulban, from whom, according to the pedigree in the Naemhseanchus, he was fourteenth in descent, and in the same line as his predecessor, Maelbrighde. He was abbot of Raphoe as well as of Hy, and is styled by the Four Masters "Coarb of Columcille both in Erin and Alba."

929. Caencomhrac[1] mac Maeluidhir, abbas et episcopus de Daire-Calgaigh, et procurator Legis Adamnani, obiit (F. M. 927).

932. Maenghal mac Becain, abbas de Druimcliabh (279).

933. Seachnusach, sacerdos de Dairmagh, obiit (276).

937. Aengus mac Muircertaigh, sapiens, anchoreta, et abbas electus Iae, obiit.
Adalstan, rex Saxonum, magna victoria [apud Brunanburg] ditatus est.

938. Dubhthach, comharba Coluim-cille et Adomnain, in pace quievit.

XXVII.—Robhartach. *Coarb* 938–954.

He is styled "Coarb of Columcille and Adamnan," so that Raphoe may be considered as having been included in his jurisdiction. During his presidency, the obit of an abbot of Hy is recorded. We find another Robhartach at No. xxxix.

939. Finechta mac Ceallaigh, comharba de Daire, in Christo quievit.

941. Muircertach, rex Hiberniæ, ivit cum classe ad Innse Gall, et prædam magnam reportavit (F. M. 939).

946. Strat Clud (44) vastata est a Saxonibus (Annal. Cambr.).

947. Caencomhrac, abbas Iae, obiit (F. M. 945).

[1] *Caencomhrac.*—Commemorated in the Calendar at Sept. 6th. He was *monastic* bishop of Derry, but not *diocesan*, for the place did not become a bishop's see till the twelfth or thirteenth century. The expression maop cana Ꝑoamnain signifies 'steward of the tribute of Adamnan,' that is, receiver of certain dues payable to a portion of the Columbian order. It is incorrectly rendered by Colgan, "conservator Canonum S. Adamnani" (Tr. Th. p. 503 *b*); and "keeper of the canons" (Ord. Mem. Templem. p. 27). Another ecclesiastic of the name was abbot of Hy in 947. Colgan confounds the two by referring them both to a single commemoration in the Calendar, at Sept. 6 (Tr. Th. pp. 500 *b*, 503 *b*).

950. Cleircen mac Conallain, aircinnech de Daire-Chalgaigh, obiit (160).
Scotine, aircinnech de Dairmagh, obiit (276).
951. Gothfrith mac Sitriuc, cum Alienigenis Atha-cliath, expilat Cenannus (278).
952. Adhlann mac Egnigh mic Dalaigh, comharba Daire Choluim-cille, obiit (*Tab.*).
Flann Ua Becain, aircinnech de Druimcliabh, obiit (279).
Custantin mac Aeda, rex Alban, mortuus est.
Prælium contra viros Alban, et Britones, et Saxones, gestum ab Alienigenis.
954. Maelcolaim mac Domhnaill, rex Alban, occisus est.
Robhartach, comharba Coluimcille et Adomnain, in Christo pausavit.

XXVIII.—Dubhduin. *Coarb* 954–959.

Surnamed *Ua Stefain*. He was of the Cinel Fergusa, a branch of the Cinel-Eogbain (Book of Lecan, fol. 64). The Four Masters enter his obit at 957, and repeat it at 958.

959. Oengus Ua Lapain, episcopus de Rath-both, obiit (280).
Dubhduin, comharba Coluimcille, obiit.

XXIX.—Dubhscuile. *Coarb* 959–964.

Son of Cinaedh or Kenneth. Nothing more is known of his history. Probably his official seat was at Kells.

963. Fothadh[k] mac Brain, scriba, et episcopus Insularum Alban, obiit (365).
964. Dubhscuile mac Cinaedha, comharba Coluimcille, quievit.

XXX.—Mughron. *Coarb* 964–980.

The Annals of Ulster designate him "Successor of Columcille both in Ireland and Alba." The Four Masters style him "Abbot of Ia, scribe and bishop; the most learned of the three Divisions" [na cCri Randa], that is, as Dr. O'Donovan explains it, of Ireland, Man, and Alba. During his presidency, Fiachra Ua hArtagain, aircinnech of Ia, died. This is the only instance where we find the term airchinnech used in connection with Hy, and the Four Masters, in the present case, render it by "abbot." During this period there was also a bishop at Hy.

965. Prælium inter viros Alban in Moncitir[l], ubi multi occisi sunt, cum Donnchadh abbate de Duincaillenn (298).

[k] *Fothadh.*—This entry is supplied by the Four Masters only. The Pictish Chron. has "Fothach episcopus pausavit." In the Supplement to Fordun is an account of the bishops of Kilreymonth, or St. Andrews, where we find the following: "Primus, ut reperi, fuit Fothad, qui ab Indulfo rege expulsus fuit, et post expulsionem ab episcopatu vixit octo annis. De quo sic reperi in circumferentia textus argentei evangeliorum, adhuc in Sancto Andrea servati, insculptum.

"Hanc Evangelii thecam construxit aviti
Fothad, qui primus Scotis episcopus est."
—Scotichr. vi. 24.

The above represents Fothadh as living in 909 (Pinkert. Enq. vol. ii. p. 270; Chalmers, Caled. i. p. 429; Innes, Hist. p. 158). See an. 1093 *infra*.

966. Finghin, anachoreta, et episcopus Iae, obiit (F. M. 964).
967. Dubh mac Maolcolaim, rex Alban, occisus est ab Albanensibus suis.
Ailill mac Maenaigh, episcopus de Sord (279) et Lusca, obiit.
968. Connmhac mac Aindirraidh, comharba Ultain, et sacerdos de Cenannus, obiit (278).
969. Cinaedh Ua Cathmail, aircinnech de Daire-Calgaigh, obiit (160).
Oengus Ua Robhartaigh, anacoreta de Daire-Calgaigh, obiit (160).
Maelfinnen mac Uchtain, episcopus de Cenannus, obiit (278).
Cenannus spoliatur a Sitriucc mac Amlaibh, et a Murchadh rege Lageniæ.
970. Cenannus spoliatur ab Amlaibh Cuaran, cum Alienigenis et Lageniensibus.
971. Culen mac Illuilb, rex Albain, occisus est a Britonibus in prælio aperto.
973. Maelmuire, aircinnech de Dairmagh, demersus est in Easruaidh (276).
975. Fogartach, abbas de Daire, mortuus est (160).
Ferdalach, aircinnech de Rechra, a Gentilibus occisus est (280).
Domhnall mac Eoghain, rex Britanniæ, in peregrinatione.
976. Scrinium Coluimcille spoliatum est a Donaldo mac Murcadha (316).
Cellach mac Findgaine, Cellach mac Bairedha, Donncadh mac Morgaind, tres Mormaer [i. e. Comites] Alban occisi sunt (Tigh.).
977. Amlaim mac Ailuilb, rex Alban, occisus est a Cinaedh mac nDomhnaill.
978. Fiachra Ua hArtagain, aircinnech Iae, quievit.
980. Mughron, comharba Coluimcille inter Ere et Alba, vitam felicem finivit.

XXXI.—Maelciarain. *Coarb* 980–986.

The family of Ua Maighne (now pronounced *O'Mooney*), to which he belonged, were of the Cinel Conaill, and hereditary tenants of Inishkeel in Donegal. According to the Four Masters, this coarb was put to death in Hy by the Danes of Dublin.

980. Amlabh mac Sitriuca, supremus rex Alienigenarum Atha-cliath, ivit ad Hy in pœnitentiam. (Tigh.; F. M. 979.)
984. Uissine Ua Lapain, aircinnech de Daire-Calgaigh (160).
986. Dani ivere in fines Dalriatai[m] cum tribus navibus, ubi cxl. eorum suspensi, et ceteri transfixi.

[l] *Moneitir.*—Called Drum-Crup in the Chron. Pictorum: Bellum "inter Niger [Duff] et Caniculum [Cuilen] super Dorsum Crup, in quo Niger habuit victoriam: ubi cecidit Dunchad abbas Duncalden, et Dubdou satrapas Athochlach" [Atholiæ] (Pinkert. Enq. vol. i. p. 497). The name Moneitir occurs again at 1005, where, instead of it, the Scotch authorities have *Moighavaird*, *Campus Bardorum*. See note there.

[m] *Fines Dalriatai.*—Airer Dalriatai, the same as Airer Gaeiðeal, now contracted to *Argyle*. See Four Mast. 1247. Airer signifies 'district:' thus, in the An. Ult. 865, we find airir in Fodla, 'fines Septentrionis;' and at 912,

Hy Coluimcille vastata est a Danis nocte Nativitatis Dominicæ. Occiderunt abbatem[n] et xv. religiosorum ecclesiæ.

Maelciarain Ua Maighne, comharba Coluimcille, occisus est ab Alienigenis Atha-cliath.

XXXII.—Dunnchadh. *Coarb* 986–989.

Surnamed *Ua Robhacain.* The Four Masters style him "Coarb of Columcille and Adamnan," so that Raphoe was included in his jurisdiction.

987. Prælium Manann a filio Aralt et a Danis, ubi mille occisi sunt.
Strages magna Danorum qui vastaverunt Hy, quorum occisi fuere ccclx.

989. Gofraith mac Arailt, rex de Innsi-Gall[o], occisus est in Dalriada.
Dunnchadh Ua Robhacain, comharba Coluimcille et Adamnain, mortuus est.

XXXIII.—Dubhdaleithe. *Coarb* 989–998. *Ob.* Jun. 2.

Son of Cellach. In 965 he was elected Abbot of Armagh, and in 989 was chosen by the joint suffrages of the Irish and Scotch to the presidency of the Columbian order; or, as Colgan expresses it, "supremus moderator Congregationis Divi Columbæ in Hibernia et Albione" (Tr. Th. p. 503 *b*). It is worthy of observation that during the term of Dubhdaleithe's presidency at Armagh, five years before his death, another individual, Muirecan of Bodoney, is represented as coarb of Patrick, and enjoying the privileges of that office. See Nos. xi. xii. *supra.*

989. Dubhdaleithe, hæres Patricii, accepit hæreditatem Coluimcille consilio virorum Hiberniæ et Alban.

990. Daire-Calgaigh direpta fuit a Danis (160).

992. Dunchadh Ua hUchtain, lector de Cenannus, obiit (278).

994. Sord Coluimcille combusta a Maelsechliann (279).

995. Cinaedh mac Maelcholaim, rex Alban, occisus est per dolum.

997. Cenannus direpta fuit ab Alienigenis (278).
Maelcholuim mac Domhnaill, rex Britanniæ septentrionalis, mortuus est.
Prælium inter Albanenses, in quo occisi sunt Custantin mac Cuilindain, rex Alban, et multi alii. (Tigh.)

998. Dubhdaleithe, comharba Patricii et Coluimcille, lxxxiij. anno etatis sue, vitam in quinta [*recte* quarta] Non. Junii finivit.

airiur Saxan, 'fines Saxonum.' "*Arregathel* dicitur quasi Margo Scottorum seu Hibernensium." —De Situ Albaniæ. "Argail, quod sonat Latine Margo Scottorum."—Ranulph. Cestrens. ex Marian. Scot. ap. Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. xv. (Wks. vol. vi. p. 148). In 1251 we find the name in the same extended form of *Erregeithel* (Orig. Par. ii. pp. 91, 109). In *Arecluta*, 'regio Clottæ,' the name of the territory about Dumbarton, we find the same word entering into composition (44).

[n] *Abbatem.*—The An. Inisf. have, instead, eppcop Iae do marbad doib, 'the *bishop* of Ia was murdered by them,' an. 968.

[o] *Innsi Gall.*—That is, 'Islands of the Strangers,' namely, the Hebrides, afterwards known as *The Isles.* See 854, 941, 1083.

XXXIV.—MUIREDHACH. *Coarb* 998–1007. *Ob.* Dec. 28.

Son of Crichan. He was not only coarb of Columcille and Adamnan, but a bishop, lector of Armagh, and coarb designate of St. Patrick. In 1007 he retired from the presidency of the Columbian order, and became a recluse. He died on Saturday night, the 28th of December, 1011, and was interred with great honour before the altar of the church of Armagh. Under his presidency Maelbrighde Ua Rimhedha was abbot of Hy. The clergy of Armagh appear, at this period, to have exercised considerable influence in the Columbian appointments.

1002. Maenach, ostiarius de Cenannus, obiit.

1005. Aedh Ua Flanacain, aircinnech de Maein Coluimcille, obiit (280).
Maelbrighde Ua Rimhedha, abbas Iae, in Christo quievit.
Raghnall mac Gothfraigh, rex Insularum, obiit.
Prælium inter viros Alban in Moneitir[p], in quo occisus est Cinaedh mac Duibh, rex Alban.

1006. Bellum inter viros Alban et Saxones. Albanenses victi sunt cum magna strage optimatum.

1007. Muiredhach mac Crichain reliquit hæreditatem Coluimcille propter Deum.

XXXV.—FERDOMHNACH. *Coarb* 1007–1008.

On the retirement of Muiredhach, he was elected to the successorship of Columcille, and the appointment was made by the authorities assembled in the great fair of Teltown (194). His local title was *Abbot of Kells*, which seems to have been the highest Columbian dignity at this period. We have no statement of his descent, but it seems to have been from the Cinel Conaill. Robhartach, son of Ferdomhnach, the coarb of Columcille and Adamnan, who died in 1058, was probably his son.

1007. Ferdomnach suffectus in hæreditatem Coluimcille, consilio virorum Hiberniæ, in nundinis de Taillte (194).
Evangelium magnum Coluimcille surreptum noctu ab exedra occidentali ecclesiæ magnæ de Cenannus (328).

1008. Ferdomhnach, comharba de Cenannus, in Christo quievit (278).

XXXVI.—MAELMUIRE. *Coarb* 1008–1009.

Surnamed *Ua hUchtain*. The family of which he was a member was at this time the principal one connected with the church of Kells. See under the years 969, 992, 1034, 1040. There was a Maelmuire Ua hUchtain, coarb of Coluimcille, who died in 1040, and whom, in the absence of the express name of any other successor in the interim, one might feel disposed to identify with this ecclesiastic, but that the death of the latter is recorded at 1009.

1009. Maelmuire Ua hUchtain, comharba de Cenannus, mortuus est.

[p] *Moneitir.*—See 965, *supra*. The Chron. Regum has "Girg Mac Kinath Mac Duff 8 annis. Interfectus a filio Kinet in *Moeghanard*, sepultus in Iona insula." The Chron. Elegiacum renders the name

XXXVII.—MAELEOIN. *Coarb* 1009–1025.

Surnamed *Ua Torain*, possibly a descendant of Tornan, the father of Maelbrighde in No. xxv. The family of O'Tornan (now called *Dornan*) were the herenachs of Drumhome (238), in the county of Donegal. It is not expressly stated that this individual was coarb of Columcille, and the introduction of his name in this catalogue is somewhat conjectural. Probabilities are, however, in its favour. See the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore, p. 28.

1011. Dunadhach, ecclesiæ Coluimcille in Ardmacha, in Christo dormivit (284).
Muiredhach Ua Crichain, comharba Coluimcille et Adamnain, lector Ardmacha, et comharba Patricii futurus, anno ætatis lxxiv. quinto Kal. Jan., nocte sabbati, quievit in Domino.
Dubhthach mac Iarnain, aircinnech de Dairmagh (276).
1014. Domhnall mac Eimhin mic Cainnigh, Mormaor de Mar in Alba, et Muiredhach, Mormaor de Levinia, ab una parte: et Sichfrith mac Lodair, Iarla de Innsi hOrc, ab altera, occubuere in prælio de Cluain-tarbh.
1015. Colum Ua Flanagain, abbas de Macin Colum-cille, obiit (280).
1016. Cenannus igne consumpta est (278).
1017. Giollachrist Ua Lorcain, dominus de Caille Follamhain, occisus in Cenannus.
1019. Cenannus expilata a Sitriucc mac Amlaibh, cum Gallis de Ath-cliath.
Ecclesia lapidea de Dairmagh expugnata a Muircertach Ua Carraigh.
1020. Sord Coluimcille, tertia parte, cremata est (279).
1022. Flann Ua Tacain, aircinnech de Dairmagh, sapiens præcipuus, obiit (276).
Maelcobha Ua Gallchubhair, comharba de Scrin-Adhamnain[r], obiit.
Comharba Coluimcille interfuit exequiis regis Maelsechlainn, Sep. 2.
1023. Maelmuire Ua Cainen, sapiens, et episcopus de Sord Coluimcille, obiit (279).
1025. Flannobhra, comharba Iae Coluimcille, obiit.
Maeleoin Ua Torain, comharba de Daire Coluimcille, obiit.

XXXVIII.—MAELMUIRE. *Coarb* 1025–1040.

Surnamed *Ua hUchtain*. The penultimate predecessor was of the same family and name. Macnia Ua hUchtain, the lector of Kells, who was drowned in 1034, was also his kinsman. In that year Hy lost some of its surviving heirlooms (321). The Four Masters, in recording Maelmuire's obit, state that he was "comharba of Columcille and Adamnan." During his presidency, certain grants were made to Kells, recorded in the fourth of the Charters contained in the Book of Kells (Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 136–140).

1026. Maelruanaidh Ua Maeldoraidh[s] ivit in peregrinationem ad Hy Coluimcille.

Bardorum Campus [Maġ-na-m-baṙḃ]. Fordun calls it *Achnebard* (Scotichr. iv. 41). See Pinkert. Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 189. Chalmers confidently says that this place is the modern Monivaird, a parish of Upper Strathern in Perthshire (Caledon. i. p. 397).

[r] *Scrin-Adhamnain.*—Now Skreen, in the county of Sligo. The O'Gallaghers were a Tirconnellian family, but the Columbian connexion brought them to this parish. See *Introduction.*

[s] *Ua Maeldoraidh.*—Lord of the Cinel-Conaill.

1027. Scrin Coluimcille expilata a Roen, et præda magna boum abacta (282).
Duncaillenn in Alba tota combusta est (298).
1028. Giollapatraic, aircinnech de Sord, et Cormac sacerdos de Cenannus, obiere.
1029. Aenghus Ua hAenghusa, aircinnech de Druimcliabh, combustus (279).
Maelbrighde Ua Brolchan, præcipuus artifex Hiberniæ, mortuus est.
Maelcoluim mac Maelbrighde mic Ruaidhri, rex Alban, mortuus est.
1030. Donnchadh, dominus de Cairbre, occisus in domo de Scrin Adhamnain.
1031. Conchobhar Ua Maeleachlainn expilavit et combussit Sord (279).
1032. Giollacomgan Mac Maelbrighde, mormaer de Murebe[t], et l. homines, combusti.
1033. Mac Mic Boete mic Cinaedha occisus a Maelcoluim filio Cinaedha.
1034. Maelcolaim mac Cinaedha, rex Alban, obiit.
Suibhne mac Cinaedha, rex Gall-Gaedhil, mortuus est.
Macnia Ua hUchtain, lector de Cenannus, demersus dum veniret ex Alba (321).
1035. Sord Coluimcille direpta et combusta a Conchobhair Ua Maeleachlainn (279).
1037. Scrin Coluimcille direpta ab Alienigenis de Athcliath (282, 316).
1038. Ailill Ua Cair, lector de Dairmagh, obiit (276).
Reachru[u] expilata ab Alienigenis (164, 280).
1040. Maelmaire Ua hUchtain, comharba Coluimcille, obiit.

XXXIX.—Robhartach. *Coarb* 1040–1057.

Son of Ferdomnach, probably of No. xxxv., for the successorship of Columcille, like that of St. Patrick, was becoming hereditary. Kells appears to be still the official seat of the coarb of Columcille. The Four Masters, at 1057, style this Robhartach "comharba of Columcille and Adamnan."

1040. Donchadh mac Crinain, rex Alban, a suis occisus est.
Dairmagh, et Maein Coluimcille, expilatæ a Diarmaid mac Mailnambo (276, 280).
Cenannus combusta (278).
1041. Soerghus, lector et aircinnech de Torach, obiit (279).
1042. Eochagan, lector de Sord, et scriba præclarus, obiit.
1045. Maelmartan Finn, lector de Cenannus, obiit.
Prælium Albanensium, ubi Cronan, abbas de Duincaillenn, occisus est (298).
Strages Ulidiorum in Rechra, a Gallis de Ath-cliath (164, 280).
1047. Cethernach, episcopus de Teach-Collain[v], obiit in peregrinatione in Hy.
Cuduiligh mac Gaithine, vice-herenachus de Cenannus, obiit.
1048. Aedh mac Maolain Ua Nuadhait, aircinnech de Sord, occisus.

[t] *Murebe.*—The earldom of Moray. See Ann. 1085, 1116, *infra*. It is written *Moreb* and *Murref*, and Latinized *Moravia* in Scotch records.

[u] *Reachru.*—The *casus rectus* of the name, which rarely occurs, is found in the F. Mast. at this year.

[v] *Teach-Collain.*—Now Stackallan, in Meath.

1050. Maclan, lector de Cenannus, sapiens præclarus, obiit.
1053. Murchadh Ua Beollain[w], aircinnech de Druimcliabh, obiit (279).
1054. Prælium inter Albanach et Saxones, ubi 3000 de Albanach occisi sunt.
1055. Maelduin mac Gillaodhran[x], episcopus Alban, gloria cleri Gaedhil, quievit.
1057. Robhartach mac Ferdomhnaigh, comharba Coluimcille, in Domino dormivit.

XL.—Giollacrist. *Coarb* 1057–1062.

Surnamed *Ua Maeldoraidh*. The family to which he belonged was the senior line of the race of Conall Gulban, and enjoyed the lordship of Cinell-Conaill before the O'Donnells rose into power. See the entry at the year 1026, *supra*. The individual who figures at 1070, *infra*, was probably the son of the present coarb.

1058. Scrin Coluimcille direpta fuit per viros de Teathbha.
Lulach mac Gillacomgain, rex Alban, occisus a Maelcolaim mac Dunchadha.
Macbeathadh[y] mac Finnlaich, rex Alban, occisus a Maelcoluim mac Donchadha.
Classis Alienigenorum de Innsi Orcc et Innsi Gall ivit contra Saxones.
1059. Lagenienses fusi apud Dairmagh Coluimcille.
1060. Maelciarain Ua Robhacain, aircinnech de Sord Coluimcille, obiit.
Cenannus, cum ecclesia sua lapidea, igne consumpta.
1061. Muiredhach Ua Maelcoluim, aircinnech de Doire, obiit.
Ciaran, lector de Cenannus, sapiens præclarus, obiit.
1062. Giollacrist Ua Maeldoraidh, comharba Coluimcille inter Ere et Alba, obiit.

XLI.—Domhnall. *Coarb* 1062–1098.

Surnamed *Ua Robhartaigh*. The family of which he was a member were a branch of the Cinel Conaill, and, in after times, herenachs of Tory island (279). The name was probably derived from Robhartach, the coarb of Columcille, who died in 954. It is still common in Donegal in the form *O'Roarty*, and in Leinster, of *O'Rafferty* (320). The family of Mac Robhartaigh

[w] *Ua Beollain*.—This family continued to enjoy the herenachy of Drumcliff till the sixteenth century. See Four Mast. 1222, 1225, 1254, 1268, 1362, 1423, 1503. At 1252 Maelmaedhog Ua Beollain is styled "coarb of Columcille in Druimcliabh." The name existed also in Scotland: "This surname Obeolan was the surnames of the Earls of Ross, till Farquar, born in Ross, was created earl by king Alexander" (Collectan. de Reb. Alban. p. 304). It seems to have belonged to the herenachs of St. Maelrubha in Applecross.

[x] *Gillaodhran*.—This is according to Tighernach: Maelduin mac Gilla Odhran epscop Alban ocus ordan Gaedel o cleircib in Christo quieuit, 'Maelduin, son of Gilla-Odhran, bishop of Alba, and the glory of the clergy of the Gaedhil, rested in Christ.' There is no parallel entry in the Annals of Ulster, but the Four Masters have an obit similar to that just cited, except that they call the bishop 'son of *Gilleandreas*.' This agrees with the *Maldwinus filius Gillandris* whom Fordun makes eighth bishop of St. Andrew's (Scotichr. vi. 24). Ruddiman's dates, 1034–1061, appear incorrect (Keith, Bishops, p. 7). See Fothadh, at 1093, *infra*.

[y] *Macbeathadh*.—The famous Macbeth. See Irish Nennius, App. pp. 78–90.

were of the same line. They were herenachs of Ballymagrorty, in the parishes of Drumhome and Templemore (284, 285), and their name still exists in the neighbourhood in the form *M'Grotty*. They were also keepers of the Cathach of Columcille (320). The present individual was abbot of Kells when the case of the Cathach was made, and his name appears in the inscription upon it, in the form *Domnall mac Robartaig* (319). Mention is also made of him in the charters of Kells (320). Maelmaire Ua Robhartaigh was cinn an Ꞇiqiꞇ Cenannꞅa, 'Head of the Hermitage of Kells,' circ. 1135 (Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 128). During the presidency of Domhnall, Cormac Mac Rechtogain was vice-herenach of Kells (*ib.* p. 130). In 1190, a member of the family was prior of Durrow.

1062. Maelruanaidh Ua Daighre[1], confessarius præcipuus, obiit.

1065. Dubthach Albanach[a], præcipuus confessarius Hiberniæ et Alban, in Ardmacha quievit.

1066. Dunchadh Ua Daimhein, comharba de Doire, obiit.

1069. Sord Colaimcille ab igne dissipata est.

1070. Mac mic Baethen, abbas Iae, occisus a Mac-ind-abbaid Ua Maeldoraidh[b].
Mac Gorman, lector de Cenannus, et sapiens præclarus Hiberniæ, obiit.

1072. Franci profecti sunt ad Albain, et abstulerunt regem secum obsidem.

1073. Cenannus, cum ecclesiis suis, combusta.

[1] *Ua Daighre.*—Pronounced *O'Deery*. See Ann. 1180, 1205, 1218, *infra*. The herenachy of Derry became hereditary in this family. See Four Mast. 1180, 1188, 1218, 1233. Maelisa Ua Daighre was bishop of Tirconnell in 1203. Saerbrehagh Ua Daighre was herenagh of Donaghmore in 1205. Donogh O'Derry was a juror at the Derry Inquisition of 1609, when it was found that "O'Derry was the herenach of the abbot of Collumkill within the dioces of Rapoe."—Ulst. Inquis. App. iv.

[a] *Albanach.*—That is, *Albanicus*. The name Dubhthach is pronounced *Duffy*, but in Scotland it is Gallicised into the form *Duthace*. The Scotch Calendar has a saint of that name, Bishop and Confessor, at March 8, whose date is placed by Camerarius (not the Brev. of Aberdeen, at 1249, as Keith asserts, Bps. p. 186) at 1253, and whose translation took place, according to the same writer, on the 19th of June (De Scotor. Fortitud. pp. 112, 113, 159). This saint, who is styled *Bishop of Ross* by Scotch writers, was patron of Tain in Rosshire, which from him is locally called *Sgire Duich* (Orig. Paroch. ii. p. 416). His name is also connected with Dornoch, the episcopal seat of Caithness (*ib.* p. 597; Brev. Aberd. Propr. SS. Pt. Hyem. fol. 66 *a a*). Some of his relics were preserved at Aberdeen (Regist. Episc. Aberdon. vol. ii. pp. 160, 167). The date assigned to St. Duthac, like that of many of the Scotch saints, seems too conjectural, and almost irreconcileable with the circumstance of his early life related in the Breviary of Aberdeen: "Divina instinctus gracia navigio ad hyberniam transfretavit. In quo utriusque veteris et novi testamenti precepta et leges accuratissime didicit" (Brev. Aberd. *ut supr.* fol. 65 *b a*). This would harmonize with Ireland's history in the 11th century, and even until 1169 (*vide infra*), but is hardly consistent with the state of the country, circ. 1220.

[b] *Ua Maeldoraidh.*—His name, which is unintelligible in O'Conor's text of the Annals of Ulster, is very plain in the Dublin MS., mac ind Abbaid, 'son of the abbot.' The Four Masters, to avoid a supposed ecclesiastical libel (though surely they could hardly expect to cancel all the *Mac n-Abs*, *Mac-an-Aspics*, *Mac-an-taggarts*, *Mac Phersons*, and *Mac Vicars*, of society), have omitted his name. There can be little doubt that this individual was son of Giollacrist Ua Maeldoraidh of No. XL. *supra*.

1076. Murchadh filius Flainn Ua Maeleachlainn dolose occisus est in campanili de Cenannus[c], ab Amlaibh mac mic Maolain, domino de Gailenga.
1077. Muiredhach Ua Nuadhat, sapiens senior de Dairmagh, obiit.
1083. Somhairle mac Giollabrighde, rex Innse-Gall, obiit (F. M.).
1085. Maelsnecta mac Lulaigh, rex de Muireb, suam vitam feliciter finivit.
Domhnall mac Maelcolaim, rex Alban, suam vitam infeliciter finivit.
1086. Maeliosa Ua Brolchain, sapiens senior Hiberniæ, obiit, xvi. die Januarii.
1090. Reliquiaria quædam Colaimcille advecta a Tirconaill ad Cenannus (322).
1093. Maelcolaim mac Dunchadha, supremus rex Alban, et Edbard filius ejus, occisi a Francis, ad Inbher Alda: et Margareta uxor ejus mærore consumpta est.
Fothudh[d], archiepiscopus Alban, in Christo quievit.
1094. Donnchadh filius Maelcolaim, rex Alban, occisus a fratribus suis, Domhnall et Etmond, per dolum. Filius Domhnaill regnum Alban postea recepit.
1095. Aedh filius Maeliosa Ua Brolchain, præcipuus lector, obiit.
Cenannus cum templis, et Dairmagh cum libris, crematæ sunt.
Goffraig Meranach, rex Atha-cliath et Innse Gall, mortuus est.
1096. Eoghan Ua Cearnaigh, aircinnech de Doire, obiit, die xv. Decembris.
1097. Maelbrighde Mac-an-tsaeir Ua Brolchain (an. 1029), episcopus de Cilldara, obiit.
Magnus, rex Norvegiæ, classem suam appulit ad Insulam Sanctam[e].
1098. Domhnall Ua Robhartaigh, comharba Coluimcille, in pace dormivit.

XLII.—Ferdomhnach. *Coarb* 1098–1114.

Surnamed *Ua Clucain*. He was abbot of Kells, and the third of the Kells Charters records a transaction of his incumbency. The officials under him were Oengus Ua Domhnallain, the anmchara or confessarius, who was also Coarb of the Disert of Columcille at Kells (322, ob. 1109); O'Breslan, priest; Oisin Mac Eachtghail, ostiarius of Kells (Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc. pp. 132, 136). The family of O'Clucain seems to have been one of influence at Kells, for another member of it was abbot at 1154, and a third, lector, during his incumbency.

[c] *Campanili.*—The Round Tower of Kells, about 90 feet high in its present state, was probably erected in 807–814, when Kells rose into importance as the chief Columbian monastery. See three drawings of its upper windows in Petrie's Round Towers, p. 414. The present entry is one of many in the Irish Annals which indicate that these remarkable structures were occasionally used as places of refuge, or defence.

[d] *Fothadh.*—This seems to be the *Fothadh secundus*, whom Fordun represents as tenth bishop of St. Andrew's (Scotichr. vi. 24). See Keith's Bishops, p. 7 (Edinb. 1824), and An. 963, *supra*.

[e] *Insulam Sanctam.*—Snorro calls Hy *Eyna Helgo*, and his narrative of king Magnus Barelegs' visit to it is thus rendered by Johnstone: "Magnus Rex classem suam appulit ad Insulam Sanctam, ubi omnibus hominibus, necnon omnium incolarum bonis pacem concessit et securitatem. Perhibent eum templum Kolumbæ minus aperuisse, ingressumque non esse Regem, sed obserata mox janua, edixisse ne quis adeo esset audax, ut in ædem istam sacram introiret; cui mandato postea obtemperatum fuit." (Antiqq. Celto-Scandicæ, p. 232.)

1099. Donnchadh mac Mic Maenaigh, abbas Iae, obiit.
Cenannus igne dissipata est (278).
1102. Sord Coluimcille combusta est.
1103. Ua Cingeadh, lector de Dairmagh, obiit (276).
1106. Etgair, rex Alban, mortuus est.
Cathbarr Ua Domhnaill, dominus de Cinel Luighdech, obiit (320).
1109. Aengus Ua Domhnallain, præcipuus confessarius, obiit in Cenannus (322).
1110. Synodus de Rathbreasail Hyberniam in diœceses distribuit (Inisf. 1094).
1111. Cenannus igne consumpta est (278).
Domhnall mac Taidg regnum de Innsi Gall vi obtinuit (Inisf. 1094).
1112. Conghalach mac Conchaille, aircinnech de Daire, anno æt. suæ xciv. quievit.
1114. Ferdomhnach Ua Clucain, comharba de Cenannus, in pace quievit.

XLIII.—Maelbrighde. *Coarb* 1114–1117.

Surnamed *Mac Ronain.* In the seventh charter of Kells is the name of a coarb of Columcille, which is partly illegible, but the portion which is distinct, namely, *Maelbrig . . . nan*, seems referable to this abbot (Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 148). Whether owing to the decline of Kells, or the growing influence of Derry, or what is more probable, the commencement of diocesan episcopacy in Ireland, the title of *Coarb of Columcille* is intermitted in the Annals at this period, and is afterwards resumed, more as an honorary than a real dignity. It is continued, indeed, in the Charters of Kells, to the abbots of that church, but when next it appears in the Annals, it is transferred to Derry, which church seems to have derived an impulse at this period from its connexion with Armagh (see An. 1122, 1137), but more especially from the circumstance that the southern Hy Neill of Meath, under whose patronage, during the long-continued period that they were supreme, the chief monastery of their territory proportionately flourished, had now declined in power, and the Cinel Eoghain, the chief branch of the northern Hy Neill, now represented by the Mac Lochlainns, and afterwards by the O'Neills, were rising into power, whose various clanns, scattered over Tyrone, exercised their influence in Armagh, while their kinsmen of Inis-Eoghain, having Derry in their territory, in a great measure controlled its appointments also.

1116. Ladmun mac Domhnaill, nepos regis Alban, occisus a viris de Moriab (an. 1032).
1117. Maelbrighde mac Ronain, comharba de Cenannus, cum familia de Cenannus, occisus ab Aedh Ua Ruairc et Ui Briuin.

XLIV.—Conang. *Coarb* 1117–1128.

Surnamed *Ua Beigleighinn.* This name is not recorded elsewhere in the Annals, and nothing more is known of the individual than the entry of his obit in the Four Masters.

1118. Maria, regina Saxonum, filia Maelcolaim regis Alban, mortua est.
1121. Domhnall filius Ardgair Mac Lochlainn, rex Hiberniæ, obiit in Doire.
1122. Maelcoluim Ua Brolchain, episcopus Ardmachæ, obiit in Deserto Derensi (366).

1123. Alexander, rex Alban, fundavit monasterium in insula Æmonia (298).
1124. Alexander mac Maelcolaim, rex Alban, in bona penitentia mortuus est.
1126. Finn Ua Conaingen, aircinnech de Doire, mortuus est.
1127. Maelmaire Ua Godain, excelsus sacerdos, et sapiens senior de Cenannus, obiit.
Scrinium Coluimcille abreptum fuit ab Alienigenis Atha-cliath: post mensem vero, domui suæ reportatum est (316).
1128. Conang Ua Beiccleighinn, abbas de Cenannus, obiit.

XLV.—Giolla-Adhamnain. *Coarb* 1128–*circ.* 1138.

Surnamed *Ua Coirthen*. This name does not occur in the Annals, and it is introduced in this place on the authority of the fifth Charter of Kells, which, though undated, is referable to this period. It makes mention of Giolla-Adomnan Ua Coirthen, coarb of Columcille; Maelmartin Ua Brestlen, priest of Kells; Guaire Ua Clucain, lector of Kells; Oengus Mac Gillabain, herenach of the hospital; Muiredhach, son of Mac Rechtacan, vice-herenach; and Oengus Ua Gamhna, chief of the Scologes or farmers (Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 140).

1129. Giollacolmain Ua Cellaigh, excelsus sacerdos de Dairmagh, obiit (276).
Domus Coluimcille apud Cill-mic-Nenain expugnata est (192, 320).
1130. Sord Coluimcille combusta est, cum templis et reliquiariis (279).
Bellum inter Albanach, et viros de Moreb, ubi 4000 virorum de Moreb occisi, cum Aengus filio filiæ Luluigh: mille Albanach occisi in recessu.
1134. Bebinn[f], filia Mic Conchaille, ban-aircinnech de Doire, obiit 22 Decembris.
1135. Doire Coluimcille, cum templis suis, combusta est die Martii xxx.
Cenannus combusta est.
1136. Mac Ciarain, aircinnech de Sord, occisus a viris de Fearnmagh.
1137. Gilla-mac-Liag filius Ruaidhri, aircinnech de Doire, post xvi. annos in abbatia transactos, electus in abbatem de Ardmacha vice Neill filii Aidi.
1138. Sord Coluimcille combusta est.

XLVI.—Muiredhach. *Coarb circ.* 1138–1150.

Surnamed *Ua Clucain*, of the same family as his predecessor, No xlii. During his presidency the Disert of Kells received the endowment recorded in the first Charter of Kells

[f] *Bebinn.*—She seems to have been daughter of Conghalach mac Conchaille, who died in 1112. The editor of Ord. Memoir of Templemore suggests that she was abbess of a nunnery (p. 25); but in the absence of any positive evidence that such an institution existed in Derry at this date, it is more reasonable to suppose that this female had become, by right of inheritance, or other claim, possessed of the church lands of Derry. At 1078 we find the curious entry in the Annals of Ulster (omitted as libellous by the Four Masters), "Duibheasa, daughter of Amhalgaidh, coarb of Patrick, and wife of the king of Orior, died." Ailbhe, daughter of the Abbot [ingen inb abbaid, not Inbabap, as in O'Conor], queen of the same territory, who died in 1077, is described as *coarb* of Moninna. Gormlaith, daughter of Murchadh, *coarb* of Bridget, died in 1112. The family of Mac Conchaille were a branch of the Cinel Binnigh, a section of the Cinel-Eoghain. See Colton's Visitation, p. 74.

(366). The grant was made by Muiredhach Ua Clucain, abbot of Kells; Conaing Ua Breslen, the priest; Guaire Ua Clucain, the lector; and Aedh, son of Mac Rechtogan, the vice-herenach. It was made "to God, and to Columcille, and to Bishop O'Ceallaigh, the senior of all the men of Meath, and to Maelmaire Ua Robarthaigh, head of the Disert" (Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 128). During his, and the four preceding incumbencies, Kells appears to have been losing ground in its Columbian associations, until 1150, when Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain was elected abbot of Derry, and was acknowledged the coarb of Columcille.

1139. Maelbrighde Ua Brolchain, episcopus de Ardmacha, obiit Jan. xxix.

1140. Eochaidh Ua Cellaigh, excelsus senior virorum de Midhe, episcopus Hiberniæ præclarissimus, obiit, provecta ætate, in Dairmagh Coluimcille.

1142. Filius Ferghail Ua Mailemuaidh, dominus de Farceall, occisus in Dairmagh.
Ottir filius Mac Oittir, de Innsi Gall, recepit principatum de Ath-cliath.

1143. Cenannus combusta est.

1146. Procella die Dec. iii. sexaginta arbores in Daire Coluimcille prostravit, atque suffocavit et occidit multos in ecclesia.

1147. Erchelaidh, abbas de Daire, obiit (Lib. Lec. fol. 193).

1148. Maelciarain Mac Mengain, excelsus sacerdos ecclesiæ Cathedræ Coluimcille in Cenannus, obiit.

1149. Daire Coluimcille combusta est.

1150. Maeliosa Ua Branain, aircinnech de Doire Coluimcille, obiit.
Cenannus et Sord Coluimcille combustæ sunt.

XLVII.—Flaithbertach. *Coarb* 1150–1175.

Surnamed *Ua Brolchain.* The family of Ua Brolchain were descended from Suibhne Meann, who was king of Ireland in 615, and belonged to the *Cinel Feradhaich*, a clan so called from Feradhach, grandfather of that Suibhne Meann, and fourth in descent from Eoghan, the founder of the Cinel-Eoghain race. The Cinel Feradhaich are now territorially represented by the barony of Clogher, in the south of the county of Tyrone. The first of the O'Brolchan family who is mentioned in the Annals was Maelbrighde Ua Brolchan, styled ꝑꝓꝫ ꝑaep Ꝑenn ['chief mason of Ireland'—*Old Vers.*], whose obit is entered in the Ann. Ult. at 1029. From him probably the masonic art of the family was derived, which was cultivated by Flaherty, and practised by Donnell, with such success. The next was Maeliosa, the lector whose obit is entered above at 1086. He spent a part of his early life at Both-chonais[s] in Inishowen, in the

s *Both-chonais.*—This ancient church of which mention is made in the Four Masters at 850, 987, and 1049, was founded about the year 600 by St. Comgall, great-grandson of Eoghan, the head of Cinel-Eoghain. Its situation was well known to Colgan, who describes it as in Inishowen, and says, "hodie locus prophanatus est" (Act. SS. p. 108 *b*, n. 5); but in modern times it has eluded the diligent search of many inquirers. The present writer, finding in the Calendar of Donegal, at Sep. 4, the entry Comgall mac Ꝑaoḋaḋ o boiꞇ Conaiꝓ, a nꞡleann Ḋaoile an Inꝓ Ꝑoꞡain, 'Comgall, son of Eochaidh, of Both-Chonais, in Gleann-Daoile, in Inis-Eoghain,' and knowing that Gleann-Daoile, i. e. 'Glen of the Daoil,' now *Gleneely*, through which the Culdaff river, formerly the

neighbourhood of which some of his writings were preserved in Colgan's time; and afterwards he founded a church seemingly at Lismore, called the Dercdac Maeliosa, 'Oratory of Maeliosa,' which was burned in 1116. He died on the 16th of January, justly celebrated for his learning (Colgan, Acta SS. p. 108). His son, Aedh, succeeded him in the calling of professor, and died in 1095. Two years afterwards a son of Maelbrighde, surnamed Mac-an-tsaeir, who was bishop of Kildare, died. Maelcolaim Ua Brolchain, bishop of Armagh, died in 1122; and Maelbrighde Ua Brolchain, also bishop of Armagh, died, Jan. 29, 1139. The latter was probably father of the coarb Flaithbertach, whom the Annals of Ulster, at 1164, call Flaiḃbertach mac in erpuic hui Brolcain, 'Flaithbertach, son of the bishop Ua Brolchan,' a lineage by no means in accordance with the delicacy of the Four Masters, and which, when copying the entry, they divest of its objectionable character, in simply calling him Flaiḃbertach Ua Brolcáin. Domhnall Ua Brolchain was prior of Derry, and died Apr. 27, 1202. His name is inscribed on one of the capitals in the cathedral of Hy, in the form *Donaldus Obrolcan* (*vid.* 1202, *infra*). Finn Ua Brolchan was steward of O'Donnell in 1213; and Flann Ua Brolchain was cearb of Columcille in 1219. In 1548 died sir John Obrolchan, rector of Kildalton, in Islay (Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 269). The name was afterwards written *O'Brollaghan*, and is now corrupted, in Ulster, to *Bradley*. Through the influence of Gilla-mac-Liag or Gelasius, the abbot of Armagh, who had himself been previously abbot of Derry (an. 1137), Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain was raised to the dignity of bishop in 1158, as is thus recorded by the Four Masters: "A synod of the clergy of Ireland was convened at Bri-mic-Taidhg, in Meath, where there were present 25 bishops, with the Legate of the coarb of Peter, to ordain rules and good morals. It was on this occasion that the clergy of Ireland, with the coarb of Patrick, ordered a chair, like every other bishop's, for the coarb of Columcille, Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain, and the arch-abbacy of the churches of Ireland in general." He was a zealous advancer of the welfare of Derry, and during his incumbency many important additions were made to its ecclesiastical buildings; to procure funds for which, the abbot had, during the years 1150, 1151, 1153, 1161, visited, and obtained contributions from various territories in Ulster and Ossory. After a long life spent in the energetic discharge of his duties, he died in 1175, at which year his obit is thus recorded by the Four Masters: "Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain, coarb of Columcille, a tower of wisdom and hospitality, a man on whom, on account of his goodness and wisdom, the clergy of Ireland had bestowed a bishop's chair, and to whom the abbacy of Hy [comorbur Iae] had been offered (an. 1164), died in righteousness, after exemplary sickness, in the Duibhregles of Columcille: and Gilla-mac-Liag Ua Branain was appointed to his place in the abbacy."

1150. Comharba Coluimcille visitavit Cinel Eoghain, et accepit tributum.

1151. Comharba Coluimcille visitans Siol Cathusaigh, accepit tributum.

1152. Synodus habita apud Cenannus, die vi. Martii, cui Paparo Cardinalis interfuit. Ferghal Ua Ferculbhais, lector ecclesiæ Coluimcille in Ardmacha, obiit.

Daoil, winds its tortuous course, was a well-defined valley in the parish of Culdaff, proceeded to the place, Aug. 2. 1853, and, in the townland of Carrowmore, on the left hand side of the road from Moville to Carn, about three miles from the latter village, found the desired site, bearing abundant evidence in its crosses, and other remains, of ancient, though locally forgotten, importance. The place on the Ord. Map of Donegal, sheet 11, marked *Old Grave Yard*, and *Stone Crosses*, is *Both-Chonais*.

Scrin-Coluimcille direpta fuit ab Ui Briuin (282).

1153. Colman Ua Breislein[h], excelsus sacerdos de Cenannus, obiit.
Comharba Coluimcille visitavit Dal-Cairbre, et Ui-Eathach Uladh.
Muirchadh Ua Maeleachlainn, rex Midhe, obiit in Dairmagh.
David mac Maelcoluim, rex Alban et Bretain, quievit.

1154. Muiredhach Ua Clucain, abbas de Cenannus, obiit.
Dairmagh Coluimcille combusta est.

1154. Muircertach Mac Neill conduxit classem de Gallgaeidhil, Arann, Cinntire, Manann, et oris Alban passim, cui præfuit Mac Scelling.

1155. Dairmagh bis in uno mense combusta hoc anno.
Maelsechlann, rex Midiæ, obiit apud Dairmagh Coluimcille.

1156. Cenannus combusta et domus et templa, a cruce Doras Urdoimh ad Sifoc.

1158. Synodus de Bri-mic-Taidhg decrevit cathedram episcopalem Flaithbertacho Ua Brolchain, comharba Coluimcille, conferendam esse.

1161. Ecclesiæ Coluimcille in Media et Lagenia, in synodo apud Ath-na-Dairbrighe, a Flaithbertach Ua Brolchan habita, immunes effectæ sunt.
Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain visitavit Ossoriam, et accepit tributum.

1162. Cathasach Mac Comhaltain, lector de Daire Coluimcille, obiit.
Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain edificia ecclesiæ de Doire vicina abstulit.

1163. Comharba et familia Coluimcille fornacem calcariam in Daire construxere.
Cenannus violata a Muircertach Ua Lochlainn.

1164. Abbatia de Hy oblata Flaithbertacho Ua Brolcain a Magnatibus Insularum[i].

[h] *Ua Breislein.*—The family of Ua Breslein were chiefs of Fanad, a district in the north of Donegal. See Four Mast. 1182, 1186, 1213, 1251, 1261. The name Ua Breislein appears on various occasions connected with the office of Priest at Kells. See Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc. pp. 128, 132, 140.

Insularum.—The Four Masters, at 1175, when recounting the honours of Flaherty O'Brolchan, allude to this offer, but they omit the mention of it in the proper year. The Annals of Ulster, however, have preserved an interesting record of the event, which is here given in full: 1164, Maiṫi muinṫeri la .i. in ṗacaṙṫ moṙ Augurṫin, acur in ḟer-leiġinn .i. Dubṙiḋe, acur in biṙeṙṫaḋ .i. Mac Ġillaḃuiḋ, acur cenn na Ceile-nDe .i. Mac Ṗoṙcellaiġ, acur maiṫi muinnṫeri la aṙoena, do ṫiaḋṫain aṙ cenn comaṙba Coluim-cille .i. Laiṫbeṙṫaiḋ hui bṙolcain do ġabail abbaine la a comaiṙli Somaiṙliḋ acur ḟer Aṙeṙ Ġaiḋel acur Innṙi Ġall, coṙo aṙṫaei comaṙba Ṗaṫṙaic acur ri Eṙenn .i. Ua Loċlainn acur maiṫi cenel Eoġain e. 'The chiefs of the family of Ia, viz., Augustin, the great priest (365), and Dubhsidhe the lector (365), and Mac Gilladuff, president of the Desert (366), and Mac Forcellaigh, head of the Culdees (368), and the chiefs of the family of Ia in general, came to meet the coarb of Columcille, namely, Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain [to invite him] to accept of the abbacy of Ia, by the advice of Somhairle and the men of Argyle, and of Innse Gall; but the Coarb of Patrick, the King of Ireland, namely, Ua Lochlainn, and the chiefs of the Cinel-Eoghain, prevented it.' The Abbot of Armagh was Gilla mac Liag, otherwise Gelasius; and the titular king was Muirceartach, who was slain in 1166.

Somharlid[k] mac Gille-Adhamnain, et filius ejus, occisi cum viris Aerer-Gaedhel et Cinntire, et viris Innsi Gall, et Alienigenis de Athcliath simul.

Ecclesia Magna[l] de Doire a Flaithbertach mac an Espuic Ua Brolchain constructa.

1166. Ardmacha combusta a cruce Coluimcille ad crucem episcopi Eoghain.

Doire Coluimcille, cum Dubhregles, combusta.

Sord Coluimcille combusta.

Comharba Coluimcille cum Evangelio S. Martini pactioni cuidam interfuit.

1169. Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, rex Hiberniæ, concessit Lectoribus Ardmachæ in perpetuum pensionem annuam decem vaccarum, ad studia juventutis Hibernicæ et Albanicæ promovenda.

1170. Cenannus combusta a Mac Murchada et equitibus ejus.

1173. Muiredhach Ua Cobthaich, episcopus de Daire et Rathboth, obiit in Dubhregles Coluimcille, decima die Februarii.

Giolla-mac-Liacc, comharba Patricii, obiit xxvii. die Martii.

1174. Maelpatraicc[m] Ua Banain, episcopus de Condere, obiit in Hi Coluimcille.

1175. Flaithbertach, comharba Coluimcille, obiit in Dubhregles Coluimcille.

XLVIII.—Giolla-mac-Liag. *Coarb* 1175–1198.

Surnamed *Ua Branain*. A member of his family was herenach of Derry in 1150, and became abbot in 1219. The family of Ua Branain, now commonly called *Brannan*, belonged to the Cinel Tighernaigh, a branch of the powerful Cinel Eoghain race. The present abbot resigned in 1198. The name Gilla-mac-Liag, in the case of a predecessor, is latinized *Gelasius*.

1176. Cenannus spoliata ab Alienigenis et Ui Briuin.

1177. Donchadh Ua Cairellain dona, ecclesiæ et familiæ Coluimcille obtulit.

1178. Procella cxx. arbores in Doire Coluimcille prostravit.

1180. Macraith Ua Daighre, aircinnech de Daire, obiit (an. 1062).

[k] *Somharlid.*—The Chronicle of Man, at 1164, relates: "Sumerlidus collegit classem clx. navium, et applicuit apud Rinfriu, volens totam Scotiam sibi subjugare. Sed, ultione divina, a paucis superatus, cum filio suo et innumerabili populo ibidem occisus est." (Antiqq. Celto-Normann., p. 20.)

[l] *Ecclesia Magna.*—That is, Teampull mor, from which the city of Derry receives its parochial name of *Templemore*. "The Great-church of Doire, which is 80 feet long, was erected by the coarb of Columcille, Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain, the clergy of Coluimcille, and Muirchertach Ua Lochlainn, king of Ireland: and they completed its erection in the space of forty days."—*Four Mast.* This was the cathedral church as distinguished from the *Dubh-regles*, or ancient abbey church. See Ord. Mem. of Templemore, p. 22.

[m] *Maelpatraicc.*—The little rude slab, in the Reilig Orain at Hy, bearing an incised cross, with the inscription, OR DO MAILPATARIC, 'A prayer for Maelpatrick,' may be commemorative of him. In the interval between July, 1852, and July, 1853, when the writer visited Hy, part of the slab (which is of red sand-stone), bearing the last part of the inscription, had exfoliated and disappeared. This inscription, as well as the other Irish one in the Reilig Orain, has been a fruitful source of speculation to native antiquaries. See Ulster

Raghnall Ua Caireallain occisus a Cenel Moain in medio de Daire.
Aindiles Ua Dochartaigh obiit in Daire Coluimcille.

1182. Evangelium S. Martini, captum in prælio de Dunbo, ab Anglicis ablatum est.

1185. Amlaibh Ua Cobthaich, filius episcopi Muiredhachi (an. 1173), et ipse episcopus de Ardmacha et Cenel Feradhaigh, obiit.
Maoliosa Ua Muireadhaigh, lector de Daire Coluimcille, provecta ætate obiit.

1187. Godredus, rex Manniæ, sepultus in insula Hy (Chron. Man.).

1188. Amlaoibh Ua Daighre ivit in peregrinationem ad Hy, et ibi quievit (an. 1062).

1189. Maolcainnigh Ua Fercomais, lector de Daire, dimersus est.

1190. Diarmait Ua Robhartaigh, abbas de Dairmagh, obiit.

1192. Janua refectorii de Duibhregles Coluimcille constructa est.

1198. Giolla-mac-Liag Ua Branain abbatiam de Daire resignavit.

XLIX.—Giollacrist. *Coarb* 1198–*circ.* 1202.

Surnamed *Ua Cernaigh*, a name now commonly known under the form *O'Kearney*. See An. 1096, *supra*. The Four Masters state, at 1198, that he "was elected coarb of Columcille by the unanimous suffrages of the clergy and laity of the north of Ireland." The Annals of Ulster at 1210, and of the Four Masters at 1209, in recording his obit, style him "Coarb of Condere," implying that previously to that date he had become abbot of Connor.

1199. Sanctus Mauritius Ua Baetain[n], in Hy Coluimcille, in pace quievit.

1202. Maelcoluim Ua Bronain, aircinnech de Torach, obiit (279).
Domhnall Ua Brolchain[o], prior, et excelsus senior, obiit die Aprilis xxvii.
Maelfinin Mac Colmain, electus in prioratum de Daire, obiit eodem anno.

1203. Daire Coluimcille combusta a cœmeterio Martini ad fontem Adamnani.

Journ. of Archæol. vol. i. p. 84. Concerning this bishop, see Reeves's Ecclesiastical Antiqq. p. 243.

[n] *Ua Baetain.*—There is something peculiar in the title given to this individual. Baetan, Baithan, Buadan, Baetog, Baedog, Buadog, are all varieties of the same name, and *Baetog* prefixed by *da* the title of endearment, and, compounded with *Cluain*, makes Cluain-da-Bhaotog, now Clondavaddog, the name of a parish in Fanad, in the north of Donegal. In the Inquis. of 1609, the patron of this parish is called *O'Woddog*. As patron saint of Culdaff he is called *Buadan*. See Calend. Dungall. Jul. 22.

[o] *Domhnall Ua Brolchain.*—On the capital of the S. E. column, under the tower, near the angle of the south transept and choir of the cathedral in Hy, are the remains of the inscription, ✠ DONALDVS OBROLCHAN FECIT HOC OPVS, in Lombardic letters. It was perfect July 29, 1844, when the writer's accomplished friend, J. Huband Smith, visited the island; from whom an accurate copy has been obtained. And Mr. Graham, in 1850, says: "Two years ago the inscription was quite perfect, but since that time the corner of the capital has been knocked off, and some of the letters obliterated" (Iona, p. 23). The writer examined it in 1853, and found only DONALDVSO . . . . . ECIT HOC OPVS. The inscription runs along the face of two sides of the principal abacus, so that the fracture of an angle removes the middle part of the legend. As the column is clustered, there is an appendage to the abacus, on the face of which the two last words are continued at a right angle.

Monasterium, constructum a Cellach in medio insulæ Hy, a clero septentrionalis Hiberniæ prosternitur: et Amhalgaidh Ua Ferghail in abbatem eligitur[p].

Scrin Coluimcille, in Tir-Eoghain, direpta a Diarmait Ua Lochlainn (282).

1206. Domhnall Ua Muiredhach, præcipuus lector de Daire, obiit.

1209. Giollacrist Ua Cearnaigh, comharba de Condere, obiit.

1213. Ainmire Ua Cobthaigh, abbas de Regles Coluimcille, obiit.

Daire direpta a Thoma mac Uchtry, et Ruaidhri mac Raghnall.

1215. Princeps de Cinel Fergusa occisus a Muiredhach, Mormaer Leamhna.

1218. Maeliosa Ua Daighre, aircinnech de Daire xl. annis, xviii. Dec. obiit.

1219. Fonachtan Ua Branain, comharba Coluimcille, obiit, et Flann Ua Brolchain in ejus locum suffectus est.

Fordun relates that I-Columkill was the burial-place of all the kings of Pictland and Scotland until the time of Malcolm, the husband of St. Margaret (i. 6, ii. 10). The Registry of St. Andrew's goes farther, and makes it not only the place of his interment, but the resting-place of Duncan's bones. The church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline[q], however, was the true recipient of the mortal remains both of Malcolm and his wife, and thenceforward Hy ceased to be a royal cemetery. But Queen Margaret, previously to 1093, had erected in Hy a monument of her piety, and the chapel in the Reilig Oran, the oldest edifice in the island, probably dates its origin from the exhibition of her liberality recorded by Ordericus Vitalis:—"Inter cetera bona quæ nobilis hera fecerat, Huense Cœnobium, quod servus Christi Columba tempore Brudei Regis Pictorum filii Meilocon, construxerat, sed tempestate præliorum cum longa vetustate dirutum fuerat, fidelis Regina reædificavit, datisque sumptibus idoneis ad opus Domini Monachis reparavit"[r]. It was only four years after her death when Magnus, king of Norway, "opened the smaller church of Kollum-Killa," probably a chapel built over St. Columba's reputed tomb[s], on the occasion of his visiting the Holy Island. The seizure of the Western Isles by this warrior, in the following year, caused the annexation of the Isles to the bishopric of Man, and the subjection of the united dioceses to the metropolitan of Trondhjem, which in a great measure severed the island of Hy from its old associations, so that, with the exception of an abbot's obit at 1099, it is unnoticed for above half a century in the Irish Annals. In the meantime,

[p] *Eligitur.*—See the entry in full, p. 412, *infra.*

[q] *Dunfermline.*—Fordun, Scotichr. v. 25; Vita S. Margaretæ, c. 32 (Pinkert. Vit. Antiq. p. 354).

[r] *Reparavit.*—Orderici Vitalis, Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. (Du Chesne, Hist. Normann. Script. p. 702, Par. 1619). See Innes, Civ. Ec. Hist. p. 217.

[s] *Tomb.*—Magnus seems to have had a fancy for such investigations:—"Volens explorare incorruptionem S. Olavi regis et martyris, præcepit ut ejus mausolæum sibi aperiretur. Episcopo autem et Clero resistente, ipse Rex audacter accessit, et vi regia aperiri sibi scrinium fecit."—Chron. Mann. 1098 (Johnstone, Antiqq. Celto-Normann. p. 10). See Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. i. p. 82.

Somerlid, the *Regulus de Herer-Gaedel*[t], married a daughter of king Olave[u], the successor of Magnus, who brought him four sons, one of whom, Dubhgall, was thrust into the sovereignty of the Isles in 1154. Consequently, a war ensued, and in 1156 the strife was terminated by the cession to Somerlid and his sons of the southern isles[v], including Hy, a measure which naturally terminated the Norwegian ascendancy, and restored the supremacy of the Celtic influence around. As a result, the abbacy of Hy was offered, in 1164, at the instance of the king, and with the unanimous consent of the church officials, to Flaherty O'Brolchan, the energetic abbot of Derry, who, in addition to his dignity of Coarb of Columcille, had received, in 1158, the *now* important qualification of episcopal orders. Domestic influence prevented the offer from being accepted; but the Irish element, already indicated by the names of the ecclesiastical functionaries, in 1164, seems to have rapidly increased, and to the period of its development we may possibly refer the erection of the central portion of the Cathedral. Bishop O'Brolchain was busily employed, towards the close of the twelfth century, in re-edifying the ecclesiastical buildings of Derry; and to a kinsman of his is probably attributable the commencement of the most important structure now existing in Hy. The unusual record on the capital[w] of the tower column, DONALDVS OBROLCHAN FECIT HOC OPVS, and the coincidence of that record with the obit of *Domhnall Ua Brolchain* in the Annals of Ulster at 1203, and of the Four Masters at 1202, the same name in its Irish form, are sufficient, if not to satisfy the mind, at least to afford material for reasonable conjecture, as to the builder. In 1203, Michael[x], bishop of the Isles, died at Fountain Abbey, and was succeeded, according to the Chronicle of Man, by *Nicholas*, whom Torfæus calls *Kolus*[y], observing that, for the forty years preceding, the Hæbudæ were without an actual bishop; that is, that the office, as regarded the Isles, was nothing more than titular. But 40 years, subtracted from 1203, bring us back precisely to the date at which Somerlid and the clergy of Hy solicited the services of St. Columba's coarb in Derry. This Nicholas or Kolus may have made an effort to establish his authority in

[t] *Herer-Gaedel.*—Chron. Mann. 1102. The name is a form of Airer-Gaeiḋil, now Argyle, see note [m], p. 395, *supra*. *Somerled* is interpreted by Johnstone, 'Summer soldier,' as *Wettrled* meant 'Winter soldier' (Anecdotes of Olave, p. 31). It became a favourite Christian name in the Mac Donnel family, and was in the sixteenth century written *Sorley*. The Chron. Pict., under Indulfus, 953-961, says, "Classi *Somarlidiorum* occisi sunt in Buchan," which Pinkerton explains *Summer-people* (Enq. vol. i. p. 496, ii. p. 186). See ann. 1083, 1164.

[u] *Olave.*—Chron. Mann. 1102.

[v] *Isles.*—Chron. Mann. 1154, 1156 (pp. 16, 17).

[w] *Capital.*—This is the most ornamented with grotesque reliefs of any in the building. Those figured in Graham's Iona, plates xli. 2, xlii. 1, belong to it. It has, besides, a monstrous animal with two bodies meeting in one head, a pair of griffins with entwined tails, a group of strange animals, also with tails entwined, and at the junction, a grotesque head. Could these designs, so characteristic of the Irish school, be the HOC OPVS of Obrolchan?

[x] *Michael.*—"An. MCCIII. Obiit Michael episcopus Insularum apud Fontanas, cui successit Nicholaus in episcopatum."—*Chron. Mann.* (p. 24).

[y] *Kolus.*—"Constitutus tunc Kolus Hæbudarum

Hy, and he may have been the *Cellach*, of whom the Irish Annals make mention in a most interesting record of 1203, the year of Nicholas's accession to the see of the Isles; which Nicholas, whether identical with Cellach or not, certainly seems to have had some connexion with Ireland, for when he died he was buried at Bangor in Ulster[z].

A. C. 1203. Mainirtir do denam lá Ceallach ar lár cnoi la, gan nach dligeó, tar ráruccaó muinteri la fodéin, acur no mill an baile co mór. Cleirig an tuairceirt do tionol co haoín ionaó do dul go hI .i. Florent ua Cerbaillán eprcop Tíre hEogain, Maoliora ua Dorig eprcop Tíre Conaill, acur abb necclera Póil acur Peadair in Ardmaca, Amalgaid ua Fergail abb necclera Doire, acur Ainmire ua Cobtaig, acur dronz mór do muinter Doire, acur rochaide do cléircib an tuairceirt genmotaitrside. Tiagaid iarom co hI, acur rcaoiltear leó an mainirtir remepertmar do réir dligeó na heccailri, acur no hóirdneó an tAmalgaid nemrdíte in abdaine la tria toga Gall acur Gaoideal.

"A monastery was erected by Cellach, without any legal right, and in despite of the family of Hy, in the middle of Cro-Hy[a], and he did considerable damage to the town. The clergy of the North assembled[b] together to pass over into Hy, namely, Florence O'Carolan, bishop of Tyrone[c]; Maelisa O'Deery, bishop of Tirconnell[d], and abbot of the abbey-church of Paul and Peter at Armagh; Awley O'Ferghail[e], abbot of the abbey-church of Derry, with Ainmire O'Coffey[f], many of the family of Derry, and a great number of the northern clergy beside. They passed over into Hy, and, in accordance with the law of the Church, they subsequently pulled down the monastery: and the aforesaid Awley was elected abbot of Hy by the suffrages of Foreigners and Gaeidhel."

episcopus, postquam Nemare aliis Renarbo, prædecessore mortuo, quadraginta annos episcopo caruissent." —Torffæus, Orcades, i. 40 (p. 154, edd. Havniæ, 1697 and 1715).

[z] *Bangor in Ulster.*—An. MCCXVII. "Obiit Nicolaus, episcopus Insularum, et sepultus est in Ultonia in domo de Benchor."—*Chron. Mann.* (p. 25).

[a] *Hy.*—See *Gleann an-Teampull* in the addit. note P, p. 417. The meaning of cro is uncertain. There was a *Cro-Ciarain*, and a *Cro-Coemghin* in Glendalough (F. Mast. 1163), in which compounds the word is interpreted *house*.

[b] *Assembled.*—The original, in the An. Ult. (1204), gives a military air to the procedure: Slogaó dona cleircib Erenn, 'A hosting by the clergy of Erin.'

[c] *Tyrone.*—A territory formerly larger than the county now so called, for it included the present county of Londonderry and the peninsula of Inishowen, now in the county of Donegal. Inishowen and Tyrone derive their names from Eoghan, son of Niall. Derry stands geographically in Inishowen.

[d] *Tirconnell.*—Now Donegal, i. e. Raphoe.

[e] *O'Ferghail.*—Or O'Firghil, now O'Freel. The family were herenachs of St. Columb's church of Kilmacrenan. See their descent in the Genealogical Table opposite p. 342, *supra*, and the observations at p. 281. The winding up of the Irish history of Hy is very remarkable: Columba founded the primitive abbey, Donnall O'Brolchan, an Irishman, designs its stately successor; Columba was the first abbot, Awley O'Freel, lineally descended from Eoghan, the saint's only brother, was the last.

[f] *Ainmire O' Coffey.*—His kinsman, Muiredhach Ua Cobthaich, bishop of Derry and Raphoe, died in

The passage here cited is the parting mention of Hy in the Irish Annals, and as it closes a long list of notices, running through nearly seven centuries, it leaves the island as it found it, in the hands of Irish ecclesiastics, an important outpost of the Irish Church, a centre of union between provinces whose people were of one blood, and who were enrolled under one name in the list of nations, till the accident of time limited to one the common name of both, and the accident of place created separate, and sometimes rival interests.

P.

Topographia Hyensis.

THE island of Hy, vulgarly called Iona[a], lies off the Ross of Mull on the south-west, being separated from it by a channel about an English mile broad[b], called by

1173; and Amhlaibh, bishop of Armagh, and son of the former, died in 1185. This Ainmire became abbot of Derry when Awley O'Freel was promoted to Hy, and he died in 1213.

[a] *Iona.*—The simplicity of the original name is indicated in the old legend referred to at p. 53, *supra;* and the ancient forms in which it is found are treated of in pp. 258-262. The conjecture expressed at p. 261, that Colgan had, on his own authority, printed *Iona* instead of *Ioua* in the shorter Latin lives, is confirmed by a recent examination of the Codex Salmanticensis, which the present writer was enabled to make. It contains the original of *Vita Secunda* in Colgan's collection, and invariably exhibits the name *ioua.* So that what Abp. Ussher observes concerning Canisius and Messingham, "ab Adamnani editoribus passim IOVA mendose exarata legitur" (Wks. vol. vi. p. 239) is not borne out. The etymological ordeal that this *corrupt* word, *Iona*, has gone through, certainly has not tended to reduce it to its original integrity. Fordun, reading Adamnan's adjective *ioua* as *iona*, and full of Adamnan's Scripture equivalent for Columba (5), impersonates the island, "insula I. vel *Iona* Hebraice, quod Latine *Columba*" (261), and thus introduces the Hebrew element into Scottish topography. Yet this appeared very reasonable to Keith (Bps. p. 294, ed. 1824), and Pennant (Tour, vol. iii. p. 243, ed. 1774), the former of whom, however, gives a Greek set-off, in making Sodor a localized *Soter.* A learned Briton, on the other hand, tells us of "*Hu* vel *Hui*, atque altero etiam nomine *Iona*, composito scilicet vocabulo de Ibernorum *I* atque Pictorum *Onas*, quorum utrumque *Insulam* significat" (Baxter, Glossar. Antiqq. Brit. voce *Sodorinas*). Would that we possessed his *Pictish* Dictionary! Celtic etymology, again, takes a more fanciful flight: the natives told Martin the Voyager, circ. 1700, of their tradition "that one of the Clergy-Men who accompanied *Columbus* in his Voyage thither, having at a good distance espied the *Isle*, and cry'd joyfully to *Columbus* in the *Irish* language, *Chi mi i*, i. e. I see her; meaning thereby, the Countrey of which they had been in quest. That *Columbus* then answer'd, it shall be from henceforth called *Y*" (West. Islds. p. 256). The Rev. Dugal Campbell tells us "Bede calls it Hii, but the proper name is I, which in the Gaelic signifies an island." So far he is nearly right, but he goes on, "Bede's *mistake* proceeded from his ignorance of the Gaelic. In monkish writers, it is called Iona, which siguifies the Island of Waves, and he adds in the note, "Iona is, in Gaelic, spelt I-thonn; but as the *th* is not sounded, Latin writers spell it Iona. The name is very characteristic of it in times of storm" (Old Stat. Acct. vol. xiv. p. 198). His successor, the Rev. Donald Campbell, assents to this etymology as good, so that the Tourist's Guide could do no less than

Adamnan *fretum Iouæ insulæ* (54, *conf.* 28, 55, 61, 82), in after times named the *Bay of Finfort*[c], and now commonly known as the *Sound of Iona.* The island lies N. E. and S. W., is about three miles long, and varies in breadth from a mile to a mile and a half. The earliest reference to its extent is in Bede, who, according to the vague mode of calculation current in his day, says: "Neque enim magna est, sed quasi *familiarum*[d] *quinque*, juxta æstimationem Anglorum" (H. E. iii. 4); that is, v. hýðæ, 'five hides of land,' as his Saxon interpreter, and the Saxon Chronicle (An. 565), express it. Fordun (Scotichr. ii. 1), and others[e] after him, represent the length as two miles. The superficial extent is estimated[f] at 2000 imperial acres, 600 of which are under cultivation, and the remainder, hill pasture, morass, and rocks. The surface is very uneven, and for the most part consists of small green patches, alternating with rocky projections, which in the northern half of the island are more high and craggy, being intersected with deep ravines, but in the southern half, where the general level is higher, are more continous, and present to the eye an undulating expanse of a gray, barren waste. The object which first marks the island in the distance is Dunii, its highest ground, a round hill, in the northern part, which has an elevation of 330 feet. There are several other eminences, but none of them attain to 200 feet. The population[g], between the years 1782 and 1842, increased from 277 to 500; but the conse-

send his pilgrims on their journey with the same story (Anderson's Guide, p. 592, ed. 1850), a rather formidable introduction, however, in squally weather. The author of the Antiquities of Iona, probably wishing to find a counterpart to the Norse *Eyna Helgo*, suggests *Ii-shona*, 'Holy Island' (but ꝑona is *happy*) as the most likely origin of *Iona.* In this he is followed by the writer of "Staffa and Iona Described," who dismisses *I-thon* "as an inappropriate epithet, expressive of no distinctive character, inasmuch as it will be difficult to point out an island in the ocean, which is not an island of waves"! (p. 60, ed. Blackie & Son). The true etymological story is told by Archdeacon Monro, in 1594, in these few words: "The ile Erische callit I-colm-kill, that is, Sanct Colm's ile" (Miscell. Scot. vol. ii. p. 127).

[b] *Broad.*—T. Innes makes the channel *two miles* broad, and concludes "that the distance betwixt these two islands was not so great in S. Columba's time, since we find that passengers used to call over the frith from Mull to Ycolmkill" (Civ. Eccl. Hist. p. 162). But see note at p. 54, *supra.* Innes probably took his distance from Monro's "Narrest this, be twa myles of sea," his *this* being Erray isle.

[c] *Bay of Finfort.*—So called on Blaeu's map. Finfort is the name of the landing-place opposite Port Ronain, on the Mull side. Here is an ancient burying-ground, but without any old tombstones. It was probably, in the first instance, a *corpach*, or resting-place, in foul weather, for bodies on their way to Hy. Archdn. Monro mentions "a guid raid fornent Colmkill, callit *Pollaisse*," but the name is now unknown.

[d] *Familiarum.*—Bede uses the same computation in H. E. iii. 24, *bis*, 25; iv. 3, 13, 16, 23; v. 19. The Irish tract on the *Men of Alba* estimates the early Dalriadic settlements by Ꞇeó, 'houses.'

[e] *Others.*—As, Archdn. Monro (Miscell. Scot. vol. ii. p. 127); Martin (West. Isles, p. 256); T. Innes (Civ. Ec. Hist. p. 162).

[f] *Estimated.*—New Stat. Ac. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 315.

[g] *Population.*—See Old Stat. Acct. vol. xiv. p. 188; New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 338. Pennant reckoned the inhabitants, in 1774, at about 150, whom he characterized as "the most stupid and the most lazy of all the islanders" (iii. p. 243).

quences of the potato blight have, of late, greatly reduced its amount. The people are chiefly collected into a little village on the eastern side, and any dwellings which are detached are in the arable portions of the northern half, for the southern district is uninhabited. Previously to the Reformation, the island formed a distinct parish, the church of which, called Tempull-Ronaig, stood within the precincts of the nunnery. Subsequently it was annexed to the great union of Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen[h], in the adjacent part of Mull, and so continues, except in its *quoad sacra* relations.

The local features of the island alluded to by Adamnan are but few, and incidentally mentioned; they are as follows: *Munitio Magna* (107); *Mons qui monasterio eminus supereminet* (58); *Monticellus monasterio supereminens* (232); *Monticellus qui occidentali supereminet campulo* (218); *Colliculus angelorum* (175, 218); *Cuul-Eilne* (71); *Campulus occidentalis* (71, 142, 217); and *Portus insulæ* (87, 124, 181).

Antiquities of the Island.

I.—Churches.

Archdeacon Monro speaks of "a monastery of mounckes, and ane uther of nuns, with a paroche kirke, and sundrie uther chapells." The Description, 1693, tells of "many chapells;" and another old authority says, "in this island are many other small chapells"[i]. Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell, in 1773, state that St. Oran's chapel and four others were then standing, while three more were remembered. The compiler of the Orig. Paroch. conjectures that the four here spoken of may refer to the four small chapels within the choir of the cathedral (vol. ii. p. 300); but it is unnecessary to have recourse to portions of the principal church.

1. *St. Oran's Chapel*, situate in the principal cemetery, called the Reilig Odhrain. This is the oldest structure remaining in the island, and is referable to the close of the eleventh century. It is a plain oblong, measuring 29 feet 8 by 15.10 in the clear[j]. Has no east window, but, instead, two narrow lights in the side walls near the eastern angles, that in the north 2 feet high, that in the south 3 feet. It is roofless, and the walls are fast decaying. The great object of interest is the Romanesque circular-headed west door, decorated with what is called the beak-head ornament. This building was probably the "*larger* Columcille chapel," and the result of Queen Margaret's liberality.

[h] *Kilviceuen.*—The name Kilfinichan is Cill Finnchain, *Ecclesia Findcani* (66), and Kilviceuen is Cill mic Eogain, *Ecclesia filii Eugenii.* There is no *Mac Eoghain* in the Irish Calendar, but Ernan mac Eoghain, St. Columba's nephew, is entered at Jan. 1. See note at p. 237, *supra.*

[i] *Chapells.*—New Stat. Ac. vii. pt. 2, pp. 314, 315.

[j] *Clear.*—The writer measured it, and so did J. H. Smith in 1844 (Ul. Jour. Archæol. i. p. 831). See Muir's racy note in Ecclesiol. Notes, p. 8.

2. *St. Mary's Church*, commonly called *the Cathedral*, and in Gaelic, *Eaclus Mor*. It is an edifice of the early part of the thirteenth century, consisting of nave, transepts, and choir, with sacristy on north side of choir, and side chapels on the south. The capitals of some of the columns exhibit bas-reliefs similar to many found in Ireland. The inscription on the capital of a column under the tower has been already alluded to. In Graham's Iona are good views of the East and West Fronts (plates 30, 31), and drawings of the bas-reliefs (plates 40–42). Adjoining the Cathedral, on the north, are the ruins of the conventual buildings, of which the portion called the chapter-house is the most ancient and remarkable. Over it is said to have been the library[k]. See the plate in Graham's Iona (No. 38). Near the west entrance, seemingly beside the adjacent angle of the cloister, was a small chamber, called *St. Columb's Tomb*[l].

3. *The Nunnery*, a venerable pile, much dilapidated, but still retaining the evidence of former elegance. See Muir's lucid description (Eccles. Notes, p. 5). There is no record of its foundation, and the first writer who mentions it is Fordun (Scotichr. ii. 10). The Macdonald MS., apparently borrowing from an earlier authority, states that Beatrix, only daughter of Sommerled (*qui ob.* 1164), was prioress of Icollumkill (Collectan. p. 287). This indicates the existence of a nunnery in the island circ. 1200.

4. *Tempul Ronain*, the parish church, first mentioned A. D. 1561, in the Rental[m] of the Bishopric, where is an entry of "the teindis of Ecolmkill callit the personaige of Tempill-Ronaige." Its situation is shown by the following references: "About quarter of a Mile further South [that is, of the Reilig Orain] is the Church *Ronad*, in which several *Prioresses* are buried" (Martin, p. 262). "The Nunnery Church is quite entire; one end of it is arched, and is very beautiful. Here also stands, what was called the parish church. It is yet [A. D. 1795] entire, but tottering" (Old Stat. Ac. xiv. p. 202). What is now considered the parish church is the building, about the size of Oran's chapel, on the N. E. of the Nunnery, inside its enclosure. The patron saint was probably the St. Ronan[n], commemorated at *St. Ronan's* of Ness, in Lewis, and from

[k] *Library.*—Martin, p. 258; Pennant, iii. p. 254.

[l] *Tomb.*—This must be a vulgar error. The saint's grave would hardly be apart from the chief cemetery (317).

[m] *Rental.*—Collectanea de Reb. Alban. p. 3.

[n] *Ronan.*—The Scotch Calendar has two of this name, one at Feb. 7, of whom Adam King says: "S. Ronane bischop in scotland and confess vnder king malduine" (*Catech.*), and who, though not noticed in the Calendar of the Brev. Aberd., is mentioned in the Propr. SS. of Febr. as "Episcopus apud Kilmaronen in Livenax" (Part. Hyem. fol. 54 *b a*). He, and not Marnock, or Conan, (as in Orig. Par. vol. i. pp. 34, 503) is the patron saint of Kilmaronock, on the east of Loch Lomond, in Dumbartonshire. This saint may or may not be the "Ronan, natione quidem Scottus" of Bede (H. E. iii. 25), whom the editor of the Orig. Paroch. makes "a Scotchman" (ii. p. 296), although he had previously laid down that *Scotia* was Ireland (*ib.* p. 285). Camerarius shows what his own authority is worth in such questions, for he identifies the patron of *Insula Ronan* with Bede's Ronan, who was Finan's polemical opponent, circ. 652, and straightway places his death at 778! (Feb. 6, De Scotor. Fortitud. p. 96.) The Irish Cal. has no Ronan at

whom the island of Rona, situate 50 miles N. of the Butt of Lewis, derives its name. Port Ronain also, the principal landing-place in Hy, is named after him.

5. *Cill-Chainnich*, or Church of Cainnech, a small chapel which stood close to the site of the present Parish Church. The foundations were removed some years ago, and a few tombstones are all that remain to mark the cemetery. The patron saint was Cainnech, the intimate friend of Columba (27, 121, 220), from whom also the neighbouring island of Inch Kenzie, formerly a dependent of Hy, derives its name.

6. *Caibeal Muire*, or Mary's Chapel, situate a short distance to the south-east of the cathedral. It is in ruins, the gables having fallen, but it seems to have been of about the same size as St. Oran's chapel. The interior was used for burial in Pennant's time (iii. p. 254), and several tombstones have been found in it, but without any inscription.

7. *Nameless Chapel*, measuring 33 feet by 16, situate near the Chapter House of the Cathedral on the north-east, and marked E in Graham's Ground Plan of the Abbey (Iona, Plate 32).

8. *Gleann-an-Teampull*, 'Glen of the Church,' the name of a remarkable valley commencing in the middle of the island, at the back of Cnocmor, with a level floor, and walled in on either side with a well-defined range of hill, inclining towards the south-west, and opening out on the northern part of the Machar. The name has long been a subject of local speculation as to its origin; but possibly the occurrence recorded in the Irish Annals, at 1203, may both account for the name and, with it, for the total absence of all ecclesiastical remains in the place. "A monastery was erected by Cellach, without any legal right, and in despite of the family of Hy, *in the middle of Cro-Hy*, and did much damage to the town. The clergy of the north of Ireland passed over into Hy, and, in accordance with the law of the Church, *they pulled down the aforesaid monastery*" (412).

II.—Cemeteries.

1. *Reilig Odhrain*, that is, *Sepulchretum Orani*, the ancient burial-place of the monastery. The name is still in common use, but it is very ancient, as it occurs in the gloss on the Feilire of Ængus the Culdee (204). St. Odhran's name was given to it, probably as he was the first interred therein. His relationship to St. Columba is shown in the Table of Abbots (342). Fordun, in one of the anachronisms so frequent in Scotch hagiology, states of Gouran, father of king Aidan, "cujus ad sepeliendum

this day. But the *Ronanus episcopus* of the Calendars in the Aberdeen Brev., and Register, at May 22, is the RONAN FIONN of the same day in the Irish, who is commemorated at Lann Ronain Finn in Iveagh, in the county of Down (Reeves, Eccl. Ant. pp. 313, 378). He was grandson of King Loarn. T. Innes confounds this saint with his namesake of Feb. 6 (Civ. Ec. Hist. p. 161).

corpus ad ecclesiam Sancti Orani delatum est; ubi patris et avi funera quiescunt in Hy insula" (iii. 24), thus dating the religious history of St. Oran and the place from a period long anterior to St. Columba's birth. The oldest tombstones in the cemetery are the two with the Irish inscriptions, OR AR ANMIN EOGAIN, *Oratio super anima Eogani*, ✠ OR DO MAILPATARIC, *Oratio pro Maelpatricio*. Here, it is said, were buried the Scotch kings down to Malcolm Ceann-more; here Ecgfrid, the Northumbrian king, was buried in 684 (187); hither were removed the remains of king Godred in 1188 (Chron. Mann.), and of Haco Ospac in 1228 (*ib.*). Of these kings no monuments remain, and the chief part of the interesting tombstones that are found there belong to the Clanns Finnguine, Gilla-Eoin, and Guaire, since known as the M'Kinnons, M'Leans, and M'Quarries, whose pedigrees, still preserved, attest their noble extraction from the House of Loarn.

2. *Cathedral enclosure.* At the western end, close to St. Martin's Cross on the south are two tombstones, and other sepulchral remains.

3. *Cladh Ronain*, 'Burial-ground of Ronan,' the cemetery attached to the church inside the Nunnery precincts.

4. *Kilchainnich.* Now disused, but the site is marked by some tombstones (417).

5. *Cill-ma-Ghobhannain*, called also *Cill-ma-Neachdain*, a small, unenclosed, triangular space, at the northern extremity of the old green bank to the north of the cathedral. To this Martin refers where he says:—"There is an empty piece of ground between the Church and the Gardens, in which Murderers and Children that died before Baptism were buried" (p. 258). Speaking of the same green bank, Pennant says:—"At the end is a square containing a *cairn*, and surrounded with a stone dyke. This is called a burial-place: it must have been in very early times cotemporary with other *cairns*, perhaps in the days of *Druidism*. For Bishop Pocock mentions that he has seen two stones, 7 feet high, with a third laid across on their tops, an evident *Cromlech*" (iii. 258). There is no structure there now, but there are many stones spread over the space.

6. *Cladh-an-Diseart*, 'Burial-ground of the Desert,' called sometimes *Cladh Iain*, John's burial-ground.' It is situated some distance to the north-east of the Cathedral, in the low ground towards the water-edge, and near it on the south is *Port-an-Diseart*, 'Port of the Desert.' These names seem to determine the site of the *Desert* treated of at p. 366, *supra*. Here Langland's map of the island marks "Burial Place," near which, on the south, are some large stones, indicative of some rude erection.

7. *Cladh-nan-Druineach*, 'Burial-ground of the Druids'[o], at Martyr's Bay, near the Free Church. Anything relating to the Druids has always had great charms for the island folk; hence, this place, now an undistinguishable part of a potato plot, is

[o] *Druids.*—The derivation of the name from *Clachan Ronain* (Orig. Par. ii. 297) is an etymological spasm. Besides, St. Ronan's church was far away beside the Nunnery (416).

thus carefully described:—"An oblong enclosure, bounded by a stone dike, called *Clach nan Druinach*, and supposed to have been the burial-place of the *Druids*, for bones of various size are found there. I have no doubt that *Druidism* was the original religion of this place; yet I suppose this to have been rather the common cemetery of the people of the town, which lies almost close to the *Bay of Martyrs*" (Pennant, iii. p. 245). In 1795, the clergyman of the parish writes:—"A green eminence, close to the sound of I, is to this day called the Druid's burial place (Claodh nan Druineach). A cottager, some years ago, planting potatoes in this spot, and digging earth to cover them, brought up some bones, which the people of the island immediately concluded to be the bones of the Druids" (Old Stat. Acct. xiv. p. 199)!

8. *Cladh-na-Meirghe.* Near Cnoc-na-Meirghe, at the head of Gleann-an-Teampull, where unbaptized children used to be buried.

9. *Nameless cemetery.* At Culbhuirg, on the north-west side of the island, an old burying-ground was exposed some years ago, in which layers of bones were found mingled with charcoal. There was no tradition of its existence, so that it had no name.

III.—Crosses.

Their number was great, indeed, if the anonymous writer of 1693 be deserving of credit:—"In this ile was a great many crosses, to the number of 360, which vas all destroyed by one provinciall assembly, holden on the place a little after the Reformation. Ther fundations is yett etant; and two notable ons, of a considerable height and excellent work, untouched" (New Stat. Act. vii. pt. 2, p. 314). Sacheverell, as cited by Pennant, states that "the synod ordered 60 crosses to be thrown into the sea" (iii. p. 251). It is also alleged that multitudes of them were carried away to different parts of western Scotland, and among them the two beautiful crosses of Inverary[p] and Campbelton[q]. This is all very irrational: it only wants a 5 instead of the cypher,

[p] *Inverary.*—The inscription on its cross is most probably a local record: HEC EST CRUX : NOBILIVM : VIRORVM : VIDELICET DONDCANI MEIC-GYLL|ICHOMGHAN : PATRICI FILII : EIVS : ET MAELMORE : FILII PATRICI : QVI HANC | CRVCEM FIERI FACIEBAT. The surname has hitherto been misrepresented in Scotch books, which make it *M'Eichgyllichomghan* (as in Or. Par. ii. 90), an unmeaning form. The truth is, *Meic* is the genitive of Mac, in apposition with *Dondcani*, and the name *in recto* is Mac Gyllichomgan. It is not uncommon in records: we find Gillacomgan in the Four Mast. at 1130; Gillacomgan, son of Gillabrighde, was *mormaer* of Murebe (Moray) in 1032 (vid. ann. 1032, 1058, in Chron. Hyens.). "John, Lord of the Isles, had a strong party of standing forces, under the command of Hector More *Macillechoan* [*Mac Gillevin?*], for defending Lochaber and the frontiers of the country" (Collectan. p. 297). *M'Ilhone* is probably the modern form. The family of Mac Gillacomgan seems to have been the early possessors of Inverary.

[q] *Campbelton.*—The inscription is: HEC : EST : CRVX : DOMINI : YVARI : M : HEACHYRNA : QVŌDAM : RECTORIS : DE : KYL : REACAN : ET : DOMINI : ANDREA : NATI : EIVS : RECTORIS : DE : KIL : COMAN : QVI : HANC : CRVCEM : FIERI : FACIEBAT : This was never correctly represented till the writer's most trustworthy friend, J. H. Smith, took it in hand, and he has lately placed it on

in the total 360, to complete its absurdity. There probably never were more than two dozen real crosses standing at any one time; and if every tombstone in the cemeteries which ever had a cross of any form inscribed on it were included, the number 360 would not be arrived at. If some were thrown into the sea, why *any* left *standing?* If the rest were deported, who, at that moment, unlocked the shores of Hy, or created an appetite not hitherto felt abroad? Or, if there were no fine crosses previously to 1560 elsewhere, how came Hy to have created an art unknown in other places, or, if known, to monopolize its development? Mr. David Laing justly observes that there are grounds for "believing that the statements so frequently and confidently repeated by later writers, from the time of Sacheverel in 1688, of the number of 360 Stone Crosses having existed in the Island, should be considered as very apocryphal, and their alleged destruction by the Reformers as, at best, a vagne tradition"[r] (Letter to Lord Murray, 1854, p. 12).

1. *St. Martin's Cross*, opposite the west door of the Cathedral, a noble monument,

record in the Proceedings of the R. Irish Acad. vol. vi. p. 390. Arguing from the character, compared with that on Lachlann Mac Fingone's cross-shaft in Hy, which is dated 1489, Mr. Smith refers this cross to the same period; and he has judged rightly, as the following record will prove: "A. D. 1515, James V. presented to the rectory of Kilquhoan [or KILCHOAN], in Ardnamurchane, vacant by the decease of sir ANDREW MAKCACHERNE" (Orig. Par. ii. p. 194). This individual was also rector of Ellenenan, or Elanfinan, now called Sunart (*ib.* p. 198). But Kilchoan is the phonetic form of *Kil-coman* (so called from St. Comghan of Oct. 13, in the Scotch and Irish Calendars), which appears on the cross, and as that cross was erected during the incumbency of a man who died no later than 1515, we may reasonably refer the execution of the work to 1500, only eleven years subsequent to the date assigned in Mr. Smith's judicious conjecture. The surname Mac Heachyrna is commonly written Mac Eachern, and in the county of Antrim has assumed the form *McCagheron;* while, in Clare, the *O'Echtigerns*, who were chiefs of a small territory N.W. of Limerick, are now called *Ahern*. The origin of the name, Eachtigern (*Equorum dominus*, ἱππόδαμος), was very common in Ireland. Thus Eachtighern, son of Flann of Manister (i. e. Monasterboyce), was himself, in 1067, herenach of that monastery, established a family name, and was succeeded by Eoghan Mac Echtigheirn, who died in 1117; and the latter by Feargna Mac Echtigheirn, who died in 1122. In Scotland the family was called *Clann Ectigearna* (Collectan. p. 56). They were freeholders under the Lords of the Isles (*ib.* p. 297), and in the fifteenth century held under them eight marklands in Kilblane, at the S. E. extremity of Cantyre, with the Mayoralty-of-fee of the lordship of Kintire, which were confirmed to Colin in 1499 by James IV., but in 1554 passed away from the family (Orig. Par. ii. 10). In 1605, *John Grown Mac Vic Kechern* was foster-father of Gillecallum Makfeithe of Colonsay, and "officear" of the island. He had two sons, Archibald and Gillecallum (Collectan. p. 203). Colin Makauchern, of 1499, is probably the *Cailin* of the genealogy (*ib.* p. 56). The writer has collected the above details, which he hopes will prove a satisfactory comment on this interesting inscription: at all events, they show that the cross, instead of being an importation from Hy, is probably standing in its original parish (*Kil-ciaran*), and records the name of an old family of an adjoining one.

[r] *Tradition.*—There is, however, nothing in such a tradition inconsistent with the Reformation movement in Scotland.

dykes" (iii. 258). At the end of this is the spot called *Kill ma ghobhanain.* Graham calls this embankment, *the Bishop's Walk* (Iona, p. 4).

2. *Cnoc-na-nAingel,* commonly called *Sithean Mor,* or 'Great Fairy-mount'[s]. This is Adamnan's *Colliculus Angelorum* (175, 218). It is a smooth, green knoll, about 167 paces in circumference at the base. Pennant says of it: "On the right hand, on a small hill, a small circle of stones, and a little *cairn* in the middle, evidently *druidical,* but called the *hill of the angels, Cnoc-nan-aingeal;* from a tradition that the holy man had there a conference with those celestial beings soon after his arrival. Bishop Pocock informed me that the natives were accustomed to bring their horses to this circle at the feast of St. Michael, and to course round it" (iii. p. 258).

3. *Port-an-Churaich* derives its name from a long, low mound, running across the bay, near high-water mark. It has long been an object of curiosity to travellers. Martin says of it:—"The Dock which was dug out of Port *Churich,* is on the shoar, to preserve *Columbus's* Boat called *Curich*" (p. 263). A writer of 1701 observes:—"This harbour is called *Port-a-churrich,* from the ship that Calimkill and his associats came upon from Ireland to that place. The length of the curuchan or ship is obvious to any one who goes to the place, it being marked up att the head of the harbour upon the grass, between two little pillars of stons, set up to show forth ye samain, between which pillars there is three score of foots in length, which was the exact length of the curachan or ship" (New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 316). This bay is exposed to the western swell of the Atlantic, and is very dangerous except in fine weather (*ib.*)

4. Opposite the centre of Martyr's Bay is a mound called by the natives *Eala,* 'the swan' (Graham, p. 3); why, they cannot tell. But the truth is, that they are misled by the sound, for the word really is ealaſrom, 'a coffin'[t], and so applied because funeral parties on landing were formerly in the habit of laying the remains upon this mound, while they thrice performed a *deisiol,* or right-wise circuit, round the spot.

5. *Torr Abb,* a rocky eminence opposite the west entrance of the Cathedral, outside the enclosure. "To the west of the convent is the abbot's mount, overlooking the whole" (Pennant, iii. p. 258). This must be the site of what Martin describes, when, speaking of St. Martin's Cross, he says:—"At a little further distance is *Dun Ni Manich,* i. e. *Monks-Fort,* built of Stone and Lime, in form of a Bastion, pretty high.

[s] *Fairy-mount.*—From ꞇiꞇ, or ꞇiꞇ, 'a fairy.' Colgan, writing on the Irish term *Fir-Sidhe,* or 'fairy,' says:—"Viri Sidhe ab Hibernis spiritus phantastici vocantur, ex eo quod ex amœnis collibus, quasi prodire conspiciantur ad homines infestandos: et hinc vulgus credat eos quasi in quibusdam subterraneis habitaculis intra istos colles habitare, hæc autem habitacula, et aliquando colles ab Hibernis *Sidhe* vel *Siodha* vocantur."—Tr. Th. p. 32 *a,* n. 49; Act. SS. p. 56 *b,* n. 6. See Reeves's Eccl. Antiq. under Rath-sith, p. 68.

[t] *Coffin.*—The Irish word ealaſrom, 'a bier,' is possibly from the Latin *feretrum.* At Port-na-marbh, the mortal remains of those who are conveyed for interment to Hy, are brought ashore, and are deposited on the mound (Ul. Jour. Arch. i. p. 80).

From this Eminence the Monks had a view of all the Families in the *Isle*, and at the same time enjoy'd the free Air" (p. 259). The artificial part does not now exist.

6. At Port-a-curach, on its west side, where the shore is covered with small boulders, are several cairns formed of these stones, for some unknown purpose, possibly sepulchral. They were there in Pennant's time, and the tradition was then that they had been raised as penitential tasks.

VI.—Wells and Lakes.

1. *Tobhar Odhrain*, 'Oran's Well,' a little east of the Free Church manse.
2. *Tobar Cheathain*, near the Cathedral, celebrated in Gaelic verse.
3. *Tobar Maighe Lunge*, 'Well of Magh-Lunga,' near the northern point.
4. *Tobar na h-Aois*, 'Well of the age,' on the top of Dunii.

The *Lochan Mor*, already mentioned, was a sheet of water, partly artificial, covering an area about 400 yards by 200, lying between the mound and the base of Dunii. Pennant, speaking of the mill, says:—"The lake or pool that served it lay behind; is now drained, and is the turbary, the fuel of the natives: it appears to have been once divided, for along the middle runs a raised way, pointing to the hills" (iii. p. 258). This causeway is called *Iomaire-an-tachair*, 'ridge of the way,' and sometimes *the Bishop's Walk*. It is 220 yards long, and about 22 feet wide. The tradition is that this road was planted on both sides, and that "the edges of the pond were all planted" (Old. Stat. Acct. xiv. p. 203). Another little sheet of water is in Staonaig, in the south of the island, and takes its name *Loch Staonaig*, from the district where it is situate.

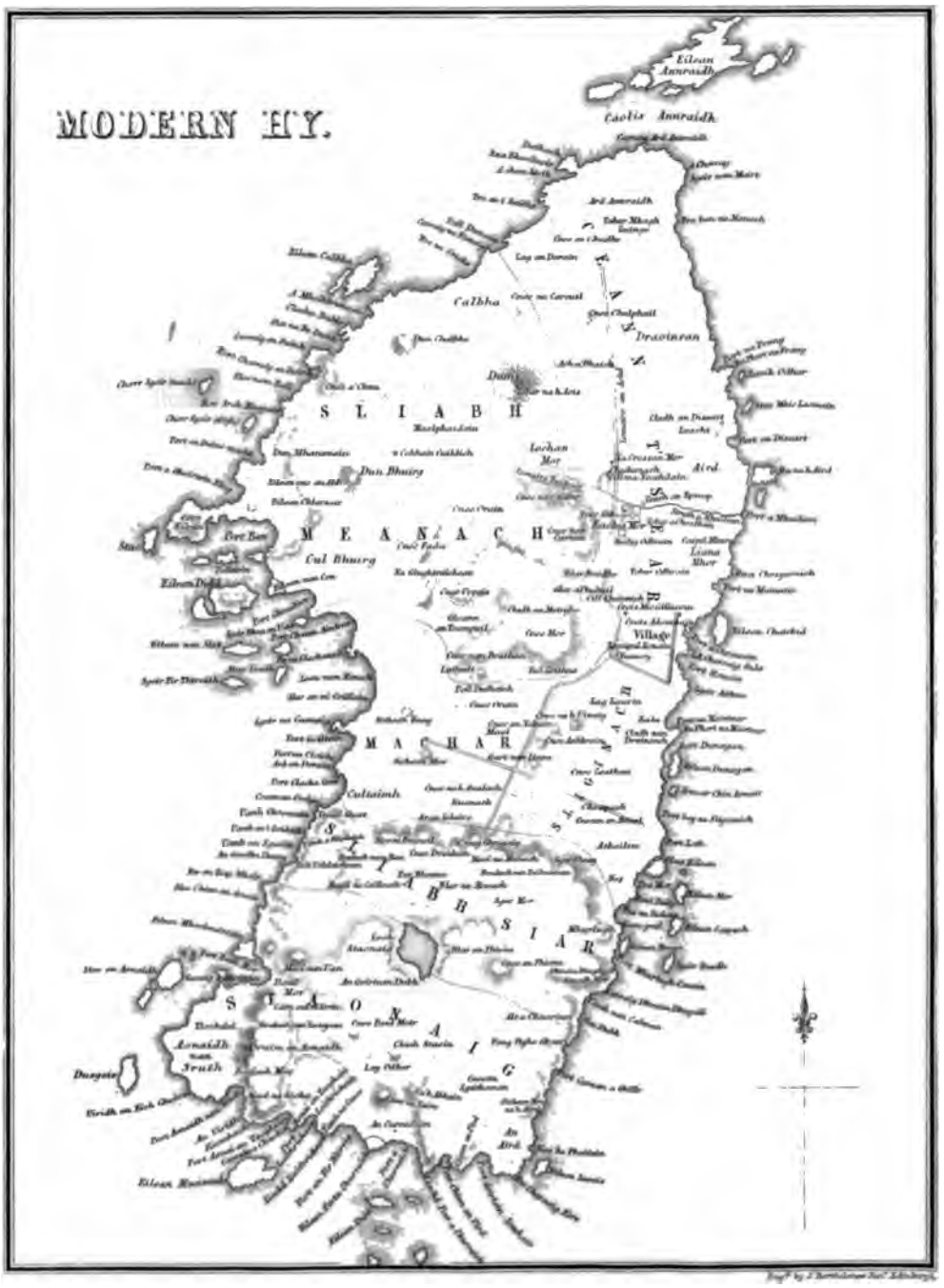
Modern Distribution.

The island is divided into six districts, which have Gaelic names descriptive of their situation or character. Under them all the places enumerated in the alphabetical catalogue which is annexed, are for convenience classed; the figure attached to each name denoting the particular portion to which it belongs. Many of these names are modern, but some, especially those of simpler form, are old. They are written according to local orthography, and are accompanied by the equivalent Irish forms, and their supposed meanings.

I.—Ceann t-Sear, Ceann ꞇ-ꝑoiꝑ, 'East Head,' extending from the village to the northern extremity of the island, and embracing the low land which lies between the sound and the hills, from Dunii southwards. It contains all the ecclesiastical sites.

II.—Sliabh Meanach, Sliaḃ meaḃonach, 'Middle mountain-land'[u], containing

[u] *Mountain-land.*—The word ꝑliaḃ, so commonly applied in Ireland to a single mountain, is rarely found in Scotland in that sense; there it is essentially a 'heathery tract,' and the idea of eleva-



PRESENTED TO THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND THE BANNATYNE CLUB BY W. REEVES D.D

Dunii and the hills in the middle of the northern half, terminating at the south-west of Gleann-an-Tempull.

III.—Sliginach, Sligineach, 'Shelly-ground,' a small tract on the east side, south of the village, terminating a little south of Tra-mor. It contains Martyr's Bay and its neighbourhood.

IV.—Machar, Maċaire, 'the Plain,' a well-marked tract, lying north-west of the last, and traversed by a cart road. This is the original name, for which Adamnan employs a Latin equivalent.

V.—Sliabh Siar, Sliaḃ ṡiar, 'West Mountain-land,' a narrow, rocky tract, rising above the last two on the south, and running across the island.

VI.—Staonaig, Staonag, 'Inclining ground,' written *Stenag* in Langland's map, and so called from the inclination southwards in the various ravines into which it resolves itself. Staonag, derived from ṡtaon, 'oblique,' signifies 'a bending,' or 'inclination.' This tract includes all the southern part of the island, from Loch Staonaig to the sea. A portion of it, forming the south-western corner of the island, called *Aonaidh-nan-sruth*, 'Cliff of the streams,' suddenly dips from the level of the table-land above, and is almost shut out from the rest of the island by a precipitous cliff running southwards from Port-Beul-mor to Port-Aonaidh-nan-sruth.

Explanation of names on Map.

Aird, ...	Aṙd, ...	Height, ...	I., VI.
Alt a choirinn, . .	Alt a' ċaorṙainn, . .	Cliff[a] of the rowan, . . .	V.
Aonaidh an taoghain,	Aonaċ an taġain, . .	Cliff of the marten, . . .	VI.
Aonaidh mor, . . .	An t-aonaċ mór, . .	The great cliff, ...	V.
Aonaidh nan sruth, .	Aonaċ na ṡruṫ, . . .	Cliff of the streams, . . .	VI.
Ard an dorain, . .	Aird an doḃarṙon, . .	Otter's[b] point, ...	IV.
Ard annraidh, . .	Aṙd annraiḋ, ...	Height of the storm, . .	I.
Bealach mor, an, .	An bealaċ mor, . . .	The great pass, ...	V.
Bealach nam ban, .	bealaċ na m-ban, . .	Pass of the women, . . .	V.
Bealach nan luirgean,	bealaċ na luirġen, . .	Pass of the legs, or shins, .	V.
Beul builg, . . .	beul builg, ...	Mouth of the bag, . . .	IV.
Beul mor, ...	beul mór, ...	Big mouth, ...	VI.

tion is more an accident than a property. Thus in an ancient Scotch charter *Scleuemingorne* [ṙliaḃ nan ġaḃraiṁ] is interpreted *Mora caprarum* (Collect. of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 172); and a *Slamannan* [ṙliaḃ Mannaiṁ] in Stirling, is a moor. O'Brien explains the word: "any heathland, whether mountain or plain"—Dict. voc. Sliaḃ; and in his Preface observes: "The word ṙliaḃ is made synonymous to móin, or muin, a mountain, though it rather means a heathy ground, whether it be low and flat, or in the shape of a hill."—p. xxix. (ed. 1832).

[a] *Cliff.*—Alt, *ab Altitudine.*—Cormac.

[b] *Otter's.*—Doḃar-cu, 'water-hound.' See p. 63.

Blar buidhe, . . .	Blar buiḋe, ...	Yellow field, ...	I.
Blar nam manach, .	Blar na manaċ, . . .	Field of the monks, . . .	V.
Buaile nan cailleach,	Buailiḋ na cailleaċ, .	Fold of the women, . . .	V.
Caibeal Muire, . .	Caipeal Muire, . . .	Mary's chapel, ...	I.
Cam leoib, an, . .	An cam leaḃḃ, . . .	The crooked shed, . . .	I.
Caolis annraidh, . .	Caolar annraiḋ, . . .	Stormy channel, ...	I.
Carnan buidhe, . .	Carnan buiḋe, . . .	Yellow hill, ...	V.
Carn cul-ri Eirin[b], .	Carn cul ri Éirinn, . .	Carn-back-to-Ireland, . .	VI.
Carraig a chaolis, .	Carraiġ an ċaolair, .	Rock of the channel, . .	VI.
Carraig a mhoiltein, .	Carraiġ a ṁoiltín, . .	Rock of the wether, . .	VI.
Carraig an daimh, .	Carraiġ an daiṁ, . .	Rock of the ox, ...	II.
Carraig ard annraidh,	Carraiġ ard annraiḋ, .	Rock of stormy height, . .	I.
Carraig fada, a, . .	An ċarraiġ ḟaḋa, . .	The long rock, ...	I.
Carraig na fionaig, .	Carraiġ na fionnoiġe,	Rock of the scald-crow, .	I.
Ceann an uird, . .	Ceann an uird, . . .	Head of the mallet, . . .	VI.
Ceann na creige, . .	Ceann na creiġe, . .	Head of the rock, . . .	V.
Ceann t-sear, . . .	Ceann t-fair, . . .	East head, ...	I.
Cheapach[c], *a,* . . .	An ceapach, ...	Plot of tillage, ...	III.
Chorrag, a, . . .	An charráġ, ...	The finger, ...	I.
Clacha Dubh, . .	Clocha duḃa, ...	Black stones, ...	II.
Clachanach, . . .	Clochanach, ...	Rocky ground, ...	I.
Clach staoin, a, . .	An cloch ṡtaoin, . . .	Inclining stone, ...	VI.
Cladh an Diseart[d], .	Claḋ an Ḋiseart, . . .	Cemetery of the Desert, .	I.
Cladh Chaoinich, .	Claḋ Chainniġ, . . .	Cainnech's cemetery, . .	I.
Cladh Iain, . . .	Claḋ Iain, ...	Cemetery of John, . . .	I.
Cladh nan Druineach,	Claḋ na nDruiḋnec, .	Cemetery of the Druids, .	III.
Cladh Ronain, . .	Claḋ Ronain, ...	Cemetery of Ronan, . . .	I.

[b] *Carn-cul-ri-Eirin.*—See note [c], p. 293, *supra.*

[c] *Cheapach.*—See Colton's Visitation, page 4.

[d] *Cladh-an-Diseart.*—Claḋ primarily signifies a 'bank,' 'mound,' 'dyke.' Thus Severus's wall was called Claḋ na muice (Irish Nennius, p. 64); and among the earthworks of Tara were Naí cluiḋ, no cluiḋeaḋ ġairṫeenn, 'Nine cluids, or rough, strong dykes' (Keneth O'Hartigan, in Petrie's Tara, p. 165). It is translated *cacumen* in the Book of Armagh; thus where the Irish authority states, ocur ro ruiḋiġeḋ Ḷaeġairi ro a ṡciaḋ ġairdiuḃ ḟrir in cloḃ n-imeḋṫraḋ n-airṫher ḃerceṫach na ṡiġ naḋa Ḷoeġairi i Temraiġ, 'Laeghaire was interred with his shield of valour, in the external *rampart*, in the south-east of the royal rath of Laeghaire at Tara' (Petrie's Tara, p. 113); the Latin reads: "Neel pater meus non sinivit mihi credere sed ut sepeliar in *cacuminibus* Temro" (fol. 10 *a b*). In another place, referring to the earthen vallum of a primitive church, it says: "Et sepelierunt eam in *cacuminibus* ecclesiæ desuper" (*ib.* fol. 14 *bb*). So "*Cacuminibus* Aisse" (*ib.* fol. 10 *aa*). In the secondary meaning of 'a grave,' or 'burying-ground,' it is very generally employed by the native Highlanders, but in this sense it is rarely used in Ireland.

Cnoc a chnu,	Cnoc a ċno,	Hill of the nut,	II.
Cnocan an aiteil,	Cnoc an aiteil,	Little knoll of the prospect,	III.
Cnoc an fhiona,	Cnoc an ḟiona,	Hill of the wine,	V.
Cnoc an tobair,	Cnoc an tobair,	Hill of the well,	III.
Cnoc an t-suidhe,	Cnoc an t-ṡuiḋe,	Hill of the seat,	I.
Cnoc aobhrain[e],	Cnoc oiffinn,	Hill of the Mass,	III.
Cnoc beul moir,	Cnoc beil moir,	Hill of the big mouth,	VI.
Cnoc druidean,	Cnoc ḋruidean,	Hill of the starlings,	V.
Cnoc fada,	Cnoc ḟaḋa,	Long hill,	II.
Cnoc liathan,	Cnoc leaṫan,	Broad hill,	III.
Cnoc mor[f],	Cnoc mor,	Great hill,	I.
Cnoc na carcuil,	Cnoc na carcraċ,	Hill of the prison,	I.
Cnoc na cridhe,	Cnoc na criḋe, *or* craoi,	Hill of the heart, or fold,	I
Cnoc na faire,	Cnoc na ḟaire,	Hill of the watching,	VI.
Cnoc na hanalach,	Cnoc na hanalach,	Hill of the panting,	IV.
Cnoc na h-uineig,	Cnoc na ḟuinneoige,	Hill of the window,	III.
Cnoc naingel,	Cnoc na nAingeal,	Hill of the angels,	IV.
Cnoc nam brathan,	Cnoc na m-bróin,	Hill of the querns,	II.
Cnoc na meirghe,	Cnoc na meirge,	Hill of the standard,	II.
Cnoc nan carnan,	Cnoc na carnan,	Hill of the heaps,	I.
Cnoc Odhrain,	Cnoc Oḋrain,	Oran's hill,	II., IV.
Cnoc urrais,	Cnoc urraḋair,	Hill of surety,	II.
Corr eilean,	Corr oilean,	Heron island,	II.
Creag ghrugaig,	Creag ġrugach,	Frowning rock,	V.
Crois Aodhannan,	Croir Aḋamnain,	Adamnan's cross,	I.
Crois Brendain,	Croir ḃrenḋain,	Brendan's cross,	I.
Crois Eoin,	Croir Eoin,	John's cross,	I.
Crois Mhairtin,	Croir Mairtein,	Martin's cross,	I.
Crois Mic-Gilleoin,	Croir Mic-ġilla-Eoin,	Maclean's cross,	I.
Crossan mor, na,	Crorrana mora,	The great crosses,	I.
Cul bhuirg,	Cul ḃuirg,	Back of the burgh,	II.
Currachan, an,	An curraċan,	The little curach,	VI.
Dathach[g],	Ḋaḋach,	The vat,	I.
Draoinean,	Ḋraoiġnean,	Black-thorn ground,	I.

[e] *Cnoc aobhrain.*—Aiffinn is from the Latin *offertorium.* Inchaffray, in the parish of Madderty, in Perthshire, which derives its name from this word, is latinized *Insula Missarum.* See oifrenn, p. 305, and coileach n-aiffinn, p. 358, *supra.*

[f] *Cnoc-mor.*—By a common exchange of liquids, perhaps to give more expression to the initial letter, the word *cnoc* is locally pronounced *crock.*

[g] *Dathach.*—See *Dabhach Adhamnain* in Introduction; and ḋaḋaċ, p. 358.

Druim an aonaidh, .	Druim an aonaiġ, . .	Ridge of the cliff, . . .	VI.
Druim Dhugail, . .	Druim Duġġaill, . . .	Dugald's ridge, ...	V.
Dun Bhuirg, . . .	Dun Buirġ, ...	Dun of the Burgh, . . .	II.
Dun Chalbha, . . .	Dun Chalbaiġ, . . .	Dun of Calbha, ...	II.
Dun laithrichian, .	Dun laiṫreċan, . . .	Fort of the ruins, . . .	VI.
Dun Mhannanain, .	Dun Manannain, . .	Fort of Manannan, . . .	II.
Dusgeir, ...	Dub ṡgeir, ...	Black rock, ...	VI.
Eaglus mor, . . .	Eclair mor, ...	Great church, ...	I.
Eala, ...	Ealatrom, ...	Bier, ...	III.
Eilean a' chlarsair[h],	Oilean a ċláṙṙair, . .	Harper's island, ...	II.
Eilean annraidh, . .	Oileann annṙaiḋ, . .	Island of storm, ...	I.
Eilean breac, . . .	Oilean bṙeac, . . .	Speckled island, ...	V.
Eilean carrach, . .	Oilean carraċ, . . .	Rough-faced island, . . .	V.
Eilean chairbid, . .	Oilean ċarḃaiḋ, . . .	Chariot island, ...	I.
Eilean chalbha, . .	Oilean Ċhalbaiġ, . .	Calbha's island, ...	II.
Eilean didil, . . .	Oilean ḋiḋil, ...	Island of affection, . . .	II.
Eilean dubh, . . .	Oilean duḃ, ...	Black island, ...	VI.
Eilean dunagan, . .	Oilean dunagan, . . .	Island of knolls, ...	III.
Eilean Lucais, . .	Oilean Lucair, . . .	Luke's island, ...	VI.
Eilean mhic an Ebb[i],	Oilean mic an aba, . .	Island of the Abbot's son, .	II.
Eilean mor[k], . . .	Oilean mor, ...	Great island, ...	III.
Eilean nan con, . .	Oilean na conn, . . .	Island of the hounds, . .	II.
Eilean nan slat, . .	Oilean nan ṡlat, . . .	Island of the rods, . . .	IV.
Eilean phort a churraich	Oilean puirt a' curraiġ,	Island of Port-a-Curach, .	VI.
Fang Mhaolain, . .	Fanġ Mhaolain, . . .	Moylan's enclosure, . . .	V.
Farr bheann, . . .	Far ḃeann, ...	Front peak, ...	V.
Garadh Eachainn, .	Ġaraḋ Eachain, . . .	Hector's garden, ...	VI.
Gara geal, . . .	Ġarḋa ġeal, ...	White garden, ...	III.
Gart na liana, . .	Ġort na leana, . . .	Meadow field, ...	III.
Glac a phubuil, . .	Ġlac an phobail, . .	Dell of the people, or tent,	I.
Glas eilean, . . .	Ġlar oilean, ...	Green island, ...	III.
Gleann an Teampull,	Ġleann an teampull, .	Glen of the church, . . .	II.
Goirtean dubh, an, .	An ġoirtean duḃ, . .	The black little field, . .	VI.
Goirtean Iomhair, .	Ġoirtean lomhair, . .	Ivar's little field, ...	VI.
Iomaire an achd, . .	Iomaire an acta, . . .	Ridge of the act, ...	I.

[h] *Chlarsair.*—A round knoll in Culbhuirg.

[i] *Ebb.*—A round hillock in Culbhuirg.

[k] *Eilean mor.*—In Ireland there are some old compounds of oilean, as Ard-Oilenn, but it is of rare use when compared with Inir. The reverse is the case in Scotland, where there is a tendency to turn *Eilean* into *Elach*, as *Elach-nave* (127). Inir seems more akin to *insula*, and oileann to *island*.

Iomaire nan righ[1], .	Iomaire na rig, . . .	Ridge of the kings, . . .	I.
Iomaire tachair, . .	Iomaire tachair, . . .	Ridge of the causeway, . .	I.
Lag an dorain, . .	Lag an doḃarḋon, . .	Otter's hollow, ...	I.
Lag odhar, ...	Lag oḃar, ...	Pale hollow, ...	VI.
Laithrichean, . . .	Laiṫreaḋan, ...	Ruins, Sites, ...	VI.
Lamh odhar, . . .	Lamh oḃar, ...	Pale hand, ...	I.
Liana mhor, . . .	Leana mhor, ...	Great meadow, ...	I.
Liochd laithrichean, .	Leaḋt laiṫreaḋan, . .	Flag of the ruins, . . .	VI.
Lochan a mhanaich, .	Loḋan a mhanaiġ, . . .	Monks lakelet, ...	III.
Lochan mor, . . .	Loḋan mor, ...	Great lakelet, ...	I.
Loch Staonaig, . .	Loḋ staonaiġ, ...	Lake of Staonag, ...	VI.
Machar, ...	Maḋair, ...	Plain, ...	IV.
Maol, ...	Maol, ...	Brow of hill, ...	IV.
Maol an aonaidh, . .	Maol an aonaiġ, . . .	Brow of the cliff, ...	VI.
Maol buidhe, a, . .	An mhaol buiḋe, . . .	The yellow hill-brow, . .	V.
Maol na ciche, . . .	Maol na ciḋe, ...	Brow of the pass, ...	VI.
Maol nam manach, .	Maol na manaḋ, . . .	Brow of the monks, . . .	V.
Maol nan uain, . .	Maol na n-uan, . . .	Brow of the lambs, . . .	VI.
Murlugh, ...	Murbolc, ...	Inlet of the sea, ...	V.
Poll dunain, . . .	Poll dunain, ...	Pool of the knoll, ...	I.
Polleirinn, ...	Poll Eireann, ...	Pool of Ere, ...	II.
Port a chrossain, . .	Port an ḋroprain, . .	Port of the little cross, . .	I.
Port a churraich, . .	Port an ḋurraiġ, . .	Port of the curach, . . .	VI.
Port a mhuilinn, . .	Port a mhuilinn, . . .	Port of the mill, ...	I.
Port an aonaidh, . .	Port an aonaiġ, . . .	Port of the cliff, ...	VI.
Port an Diseart, . .	Port an diriṙt, . . .	Port of the Desert, . . .	I.
Port an duine marbh,	Port an duine mharḃ, .	Port of the dead man, . .	II.
Port an fhir bhreig, .	Port an fir ḃreiġe, .	Port of the false man[m], . .	VI.
Port ban, ...	Port ban, ...	White port, ...	II.
Port beag na Sliginnech,	Port beag na Sliġineach,	Little port of Sligineach, .	III.
Port beul mor, . . .	Port beul mor, . . .	Port of little mouth, . . .	VI.
Port charraig an daimh,	Port ḋarraiġ an daimh,	Port of the ox's rock, . .	II.
Port cheann Aindrea,	Port chinn Andriu, . .	Port of Andrew's head, . .	IV.
Port chinn an uird, .	Port ḋinn an uird, . .	Port of the mallet head, .	VI.
Port chlacha geal, . .	Port na cloḋ ġeal, . .	Port of the white stones, .	IV.

[1] *Iomaire nan righ.*—This name is now an *alias* for *Iomaire an tochair*, the causeway across the Lochan, but Graham applies it to the supposed ridge of royal graves in the Reilig Orain.

[m] *False man.*—So called from a tall rock supposed to resemble a man's figure.

Port dunagan, . . .	Porc dunagain, . . .	Rocky port, ...	III.
Port geiltein, . . .	Porc ġeilcean, . . .	Coward's port, ...	IV.
Port goirtein Iomhair,	Porc ġoirtean Iomair,	Port of Ivor's gort, . , .	VI.
Port Laithrichean, .	Porc laiṫreaḋain, . .	Port of the ruins, ...	VI.
Port Loth, ...	Porc loḃḋa, ...	Rotten port, ...	III.
Port na cloiche, . .	Porc na cloiḋ, . . .	Port of the stones, . . .	IV.
Port na Frang, . .	Porc na ḃ-Fhrancaḋ, .	Port of the French, . . .	I.
Port na marbh, . .	Porc na marḃ, . . .	Port of the dead, ...	II.
Port nam Mairtear, .	Porc na mairtir, . .	Martyrs' port, ...	III.
Port na muintir, . .	Porc na muinntear, . .	Port of the people, . . .	I.
Port Ronain, . . .	Porc Ronain, ...	Ronan's port, ...	I.
Reilig Odhrain, . .	Reilig Oḋrain, ...	Oran's burial-ground, . .	I.
Ru a bheoil mhoir, .	Ruḃa an ḃeil moir, . .	Point of the big-mouth, .	I.
Ru an eisg mhoir, .	Ruḃa an eisc moir, . .	Point of the big fish, . .	VI.
Ru na clachanach, .	Ruḃa na claḋanaiġe, .	Point of the stony ground, .	IV.
Ru na h-aird[n], . .	Ruḃa an aird, ...	Point of the height, . . .	I.
Ru na sliginnich, . .	Ruḃa na sligineaḋ, . .	Point of Sligineach, . . .	III.
Ru phort na Frang, .	Ruḃa poirt na ḃ-Fhrancaḋ	Point of Frenchmen's port,	I.
Ru phort nam Mairtear,	Ruḃa poirt na mairtir,	Point of Martyrs' port, . .	III.
Sgeir bheag, . . .	Sgeir beag, ...	Little rock, ...	V.
Sgeir bhun an uisg, .	Sgeir bona an uisge, .	Rock of water-foot, . . .	IV.
Sgeir fir Thireidh, .	Sgeir fir Tire-eḋa, . .	Rock of Tiree-man, . . .	IV.
Sgeir mhor, . . .	Sgeir mor, ...	Great rock, ...	V.
Sgeir nam mairt, . .	Sgeir na mairt, . . .	Rock of the cows, . . .	I.
Sgeir ruadh, . . .	Sgeir ruaḋ, ...	Red rock, ...	V.
Sithean beag, . . .	Siṫean beag, ...	Little fairy-mound, . . .	IV.
Sithean mor, . . .	Siṫean mor, ...	Great fairy-mound, . . .	IV.
Sithean mor na hAird,	Siṫean mor na haird, .	Great fairy-m. of the height,	VI.
Sliabh meanach, . .	Sliaḃ meaḋonaḋ, . . .	Middle mountain, . . .	II.
Sliabh siar, . . .	Sliaḃ siar, ...	The west mountain, . . .	II.
Sliginach, ...	Sligineach, ...	Shelly ground, ...	III.
Sloc dubh, ...	Sloc duḃ, ...	Black gully, ...	V.
Sloc na bo duibh, . .	Sloc bo duiḃe, ...	Gully of the black cow, . .	II.
Sron iolaire, . . .	Sron iolair, ...	Eagle's nose, ...	V.

[n] *Ru na h-aird.*—The word ruḃa, signifying 'a point of land,' is much more frequent in Scottish than Irish topography. *Rubha Mena* was the ancient name of a point on Loch Neagh, in the county of Antrim, where the Main Water flows into that lake, now included in Shane's Castle park. There was also a *Rubha* in the Ards of the county of Down. See Reeves's Eccl. Ant. pp. 21, 379.

Sruth a mhuilinn, .	Sruṫ a ṁuilinn, . . .	Stream of the mill, . . .	I.
Stac a chorr, . . .	Stac a ċorr, ...	Stack of the raven, . . .	II.
Stac an aonaidh, . .	Stac an aonaiġ, . . .	Stack of the cliff, ...	VI.
Stac liadh, ...	Stac liaṫ, ...	Grey stack, ...	IV.
Stac mhic Laomain, .	Stac mic Laomain, . .	Mac Laomon's stack, . .	I.
Staonaig, ...	Staonaiġ, ...	Inclining ground, . . .	VI.
Straid na marbh, . .	Straid na marḃ, . . .	Street of the dead, . . .	I.
Teampull Ronaig, .	Teampull Ronaiġ, . .	Ronan's church, ...	I.
Teanga mheanaich, an,	An teanga meaḋonaċ, .	The middle tongue, . . .	V.
Tigh an Easbuig, . .	Tiġ an easbuiġ, . . .	Bishop's house, ...	I.
Tobar a cheathain, .	Tobar a ċeaṫain, . .	Well of the showers, . .	I.
Tobar mhagh Lunga, .	Tobar Maiġe lunga, .	Well of Moy-lunga, . . .	I.
Tobar na h-aois, . .	Tobar na h-aoise, . .	Well of the age, ...	II.
Tobar Odhrain, . .	Tobar Oḋrain, . . .	Oran's well, ...	I.
Tonn a mhanaich, . .	Tonn an manaiġ, . . .	Wave of the monk, . . .	V.
Torr Abb, ...	Tor aba, ...	Abbot's pinnacle, ...	I.
Tra ban nam manach,	Traiġ ban na manaċ, .	White strand of the monks,	I.
Tra mor, ...	Traiġ mor, ...	Great strand, ...	III.
Tra na criche, . . .	Traiġ na criċe, . . .	Strand of the boundary, .	I.
Tra na siolaig, . .	Traiġ na siolaiġ, . . .	Strand of the sand-eel, . .	III.
Tra an t-suidhe, . .	Traiġ an tsuiḋe, . . .	Shore of the seat, ...	I.
Uamh a bhodaich, .	Uaṁ an ḃoḋaiġ, . . .	Old man's, or clown's, cave,	V.
Uamh an t-seididh, .	Uaṁ an t-seiḋiḋ, . . .	Cave of the puffing[o], . . .	V.
Uamh chrossain, . .	Uaṁ an ċrosain, . . .	Cave of the little cross, . .	V.
Uamh na Caisg, . .	Uaṁ na Caisg, . . .	Cave of Easter, ...	VI.
Uamh nan calmam, .	Uaṁ na colman, . . .	Cave of the pigeons, . . .	V.
Uamh nan sgarbh, .	Uaṁ na sgarḃ, . . .	Cave of the cormorants, . .	V.
Uiridh riomhach, an,	An uiriḋ riomaċ, . . .	The fine dell, ...	VI.

Dependent Islands.

Buchanan, speaking of Hy, says: "Circa eam sex proximæ insulæ, exiguæ nec tamen infœcundæ, ab antiquis regibus, et insulanorum regulis cœnobio Columbæ donatæ fuerunt." These islands[p] were among the following:—

[o] *Puffing.*—See the description of the Spouting Cave in Graham's Iona, p. 26, and plate 51. Mac Swyne's Gun on the coast of Donegal presents a similar, but much more powerful, action.

[p] *Islands.*—The minister of the united parish in 1843, speaking of Soa, Naban, Moroan, Reringe, Inch Kenzie, Eorsay, and Kannay (the modern Canna) says: "Three of these seven have changed

1. *Eilean na mBan*, 'Island of the women,' so called from the tradition, as Martin states, "that *Columbus* suffered no Women to stay in the Isle [Hy] except the Nuns; and that all the Tradesmen who wrought in it, were oblig'd to keep their Wives and Daughters in the opposite little Isle, called on that account *Womens-Isle*" (p. 264). It is situate in the sound nearly east of the Cathedral, but so near to Mull that its insular character cannot be distinguished when viewed from Hy. A few years ago the traces of a building called *the Nunnery* were distinguishable here. Red granite used to be quarried on this islet (Pennant, iii. p. 254). Archdeacon Monro mentions it under the name *Naban*, adding that it was "callit in Erishe Ellan Naban, that is the Woemens ile. It pertains to Colmkill" (No. 90). *Nuns' Island* of Dr. Johnson's Journey.

2. *Soay*, due south of Hy, called *Soa* by Monro, who states that "it is half ane myle in lenthe, verey guid for sheepe," and "it pertains to Colmkill" (No. 89).

3. *Moroan*. Monro says: "On the north northest end of Columkill, lyes ane little ile, by the Erishe namit Ellan Moroan, ane little laiche maine sandie ile, full of bent and guid for sheepe. It pertains to Colmkill" (No. 91). This is probably the island on the northern extremity, now called *Eilean Annraidh*.

4. *Reringe*. "On the north syde of Colmkill layes ther ane litel iyle, by the Erishe namit Ellan Reringe, ane profitable ile, yielding verey grate plentey of wyld fowls eggs, and guid for fishing, perteining to Colmkill" (No. 92). This island remains to be identified.

5. *Inch Kenneth*, called by Monro *Inche Kenzie*, who states that "it pertains to the prioress of Colmkill" (No. 93). It once was the head of a little parish including Eorsa, and an adjacent part of Mull called Ardmanach (Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 316). The roofless walls of the church[q], measuring sixty by thirty feet, are standing, and the cemetery continues to be used. "Insula Sancti Kennethi, cujus et ibidem est ecclesia parochialis."—Fordun (Scotichr. ii. 10). Kilchenzie in Cantyre, Kilchnich in Tiree (207), and Kilchainnech in Hy, are named from St. Cainnech of Aghaboe (417).

6. *Eorsa*. A small island, N. E. of Inch Kenneth in Loch na Keal, formerly *Loch Seafort*. Monro calls it *Eorsay*, "pertaining to the prioress of Colmkill" (No. 94).

7. *Halmin Island*, called *Ellenecalmene* in law records and Blaeu. Thus described by Monro: "At the southwest shore of the ile of Mull, lyes ane little ile, by the Erische namit Ellan-chane, that is the Dow illyand, inhabit, half a myle lange, fruitfull for corne and gressing, with ane havin for Heighland bottis" (No. 86). An islet off Erraid on the west is marked *Dow Island* in Thomson's map, but its situation does not suit the Archdeacon's description.

their appellations, so that it is now impossible to guess at them" (New Stat. Acct. vii. pt. 2, p. 329). All, except one, however, are not only guessed at, but surely determined in the present list.

[q] *Church*.—See the account of it in Johnson's Journey, p. 335; New Stat. Acct. vii. pt. 2, p. 301.

8. *Erraid Isle*, "namit by the Erische Ellan Erray, ane iyle of halffe myle lange and halffe myle braid, guid main land, inhabit and manurit, fruitfull of corne and pastorage, with abundance of fisching" (Monro, No. 87). This seems to be the island referred to in Adamnan (78) as the place where St. Columba's seals used to breed.

Q.

Origines Dalriadicæ.

WITHOUT entering into the question of previous colonization[a], it is generally agreed that about the year 506 a portion of the family of Eirc, son of Muinreamhar, part possessors of Dalriada, now known as the northern half of the county of Antrim, and the senior representatives of Cairbre Righfada (92), called Reuda by Bede[b], and Riada[c] by later writers, passed over with a considerable body of followers to the nearest part of Argyleshire, where they permanently settled, and founded the kingdom of British Scotia or Dalriada. The statement in Tighernach[d] is, *Feargus Mor mac Earca cum gente Dal-Riada partem Britanniæ tenuit, et ibi mortuus est.* This Fergus is said in the Tripartite Life[e] of St. Patrick to have been the youngest son, and in the most ancient records of the tribe does not appear as king until the death of his elder brother Loarn. The subsequent importance of his family, however, made him the most remarkable member of the colony, and he is put forward as the leader, because the sovereignty, when once attained, existed in his family for nearly two hundred years. According to the Irish Tract on the Men of Alba, "Three times fifty men were the emigrants that went forth with the sons of Erc." The commencement was comparatively weak, and the territory occupied of very limited extent. From the fact, that after Loarn's death

[a] *Colonization.*—Some consider the colony of 506 as the first, and that which is intended by Bede; as Ussher, Wks. vi. p. 147; O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 464; Vardeus, Rumold. p. 366; Chalmers, Caledon. i. p. 269. Others, again, assert that Cairbre Riada led over a colony about the middle of the third century; as O'Conor, Dissert. pp. 297, 307 (Dubl. 1812); Ogygia Vindicated, p. 162; Pinkerton, Enquiry, vol. ii. pp. 61–87. See Giraldus Cambrensis, Topogr. Hib. iii. 16 (p. 742, ed. Camden); Stillingfleet, Orig. Britann. p. 287 (Lond. 1840); Reeves, Eccl. Antiqq. p. 319.

[b] *Bede.*—Brittania "Scottorum nationem recepit; qui duce Reuda de Hibernia progressi."—H. E. i. 1.

[c] *Riada.*—It is very remarkable that Dalriada is always written by the Irish, even in the oldest MSS. Dal Riada, instead of Dal Riogfada. Irish orthography is distinguished from that in the other branches of the Celtic family by its resistance to phonetic spelling; and in this case it is difficult to account for the exception, unless by supposing that the compound was created outside Ireland, and then adopted as pronounced.

[d] *Tighernach.*—O'Conor places the number 502 opposite the entry in the printed text. Ussher assigns 503 as the date (Ind. Chronol.); but see O'Donovan on Four Mast. 498.

[e] *Life.*—Lib. ii. c. 135 (Tr. Th. p. 147 *b*). Fergus is said to have granted the lands of *Airther-magia*, now Armoy in the N. E. of Antrim, to St. Patrick.

the sovereignty was enjoyed for so long a period by the family whose settlements lay next Ireland, one would naturally conclude that the nucleus of the colony was originally planted there, and that the accession of territory northwards was the result of subsequent increase in population, rather than the original occupation of the chiefs, whose names the several districts afterwards came to bear. Cantyre[f] and Knapdale seem to have been the cradle of the race (377), and though Lorne bears the name of the first ruler after the emigration, it seems to have received it in after times rather from his descendants than himself, the *Genus Loarni*, who extended themselves in a northerly direction when the settlements of the ruling family became too narrow for all. The Irish tract says that six sons of Earc removed to Britain: Loarn Mor and Loarn Beg, Mac Nisi Mor and Mac Nisi Beg, Fergus Mor and Fergus Beg; adding, in reference to Aongus, who remained behind, *cujus tamen semen in Albania est.* Now these duplicate names are partly a device to multiply the number and make it square with other statements. Besides, *Mac Nisi* was not peculiar to any one, it was a family title derived, according to the custom of the day, from their mother, whose name was Nisi, and Fergus Mor is as often called Mac Nisi as he is Mac Eirc. The pedigrees of the race recognise only five sons whose posterity became known in Britain, namely, Loarn Mor, Aongus Mor, Aongus Beg, Fergus Beg, and Fergus Mor; of these, the first, fourth, and fifth became the most distinguished, and founded what the Irish tract calls "the *Three Powerfuls of Dalriada*, namely, the Cinel Gabhrain, Cinel Aengusa, and Cinel Loairn Mor." Loarn Mor was the founder of the Cinel Loairn, or *Genus Loerni;* Aongus Beg was the founder of the Cinel Aengusa, *Genus Ænguſii*, who settled in Islay; and the family of Fergus Mor separated in his two grandsons, Comgall and Gabhran, into the two house of Cinel Comgaill, *Genus Comgalli*, who gave name to Cowal, and Cinel Gabrain, *Genus Gabhrani*, who retained the original settlement in Cantyre and Knapdale. Fergus Mor was succeeded by his son Domhangart, who was married to a daughter of Brian, a descendant of Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin, who was sovereign of Ireland from 358 to 365. Their sons were Comghall and Gabhran, already mentioned. Comghall's son was Conall, the sixth king of British Dalriada, the *Conallus rex filius Comgill* of Adamnan (32); and in his reign the monastery of Hy was founded. Here arises the old question (151), Who granted that island to St. Columba? Bede says: "Venit autem Brittaniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus, gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit: unde et præfatam insulam *ab eis* in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit"[g]. And, in the preceding chapter: "Quæ videlicet insula ad jus quidem Brittaniæ pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed *donatione Pictorum*, qui illas Brit-

[f] *Cantyre*—From Torr Point in Culfeightrin parish, in the county of Antrim, to the Mull of Cantyre, is a distance of only twelve miles.

[g] *Accepit.*—Bede, H. E. iii. 4. See p. 150, *supra*.

taniæ plagas incolunt, jamdudum monachis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis prædicantibus fidem Christi perceperint." On the other hand, Tighernach the annalist, in recording the death of the above Conall, adds, *qui obtulit insulam Ia Colaim-cille;* and the same assertion is in the Annals of Ulster. Irish authorities, however, are not unanimous: the Liber Hymnorum, a most venerable witness (17, 260), when treating of St. Columba's mission to Alba, states: *Bruidi autem filius Melchon regebat Pictos tunc, et ipse immolavit*[h] *Columbo* hl, *ubi Columb cum esset annorum* lxxvii. *sepultus est* (p. 21). It is a thousand years since those words were written in that book! Now, in weighing this evidence, there are collateral considerations to be taken into account:—1. The Fergusian colony was only fifty-seven years settled in Britain when St. Columba arrived, and therefore was not likely either to have acquired much strength, or to have pushed its dominions much beyond its original bounds; but Hy lies far to the north, and is, moreover, at the remote side of a large, independent, island. 2. A very valiant prince, and, as Bede designates him, *rex potentissimus*, now governed the Picts, and that the Scots had not been uniformly successful, even in their own side of the country, appears from the entry in Tighernach at 560: bapp Gabpain mac Domangairc pi Alban. Teicheoh do Albanchaib pia mbpuidi mac Maelchoñ, pi Cpuichnechaib, 'The death of Gabhran, son of Domhangart. Flight of the Albanians before Bruidhe, son of Maelcon, king of the Picts.' Which two occurrences the Dublin copy of the Annals of Ulster brings into close connexion, *Mors Gabrain mic Domangairt,* immipge pe mac Maelcon [expulsion by the son of Maelcon]. 3. Further, that the rank of Conall as a prince was of a subordinate nature, appears from the term coipeach applied to him by the Four Masters at 565: which word denotes in Irish only *lord*[i], in the fourth grade of authority. Further, in evidence of the limited rule of Conall, may be mentioned his pechc, or predatory expedition, with Colman Beg, to the Western Isles (Chron. Hyens. 568), an exploit which he would hardly have undertaken in his own dominions. 4. Finally, if Hy were at this time inside the Dalriadic territory, the donation of it would rest rather with the chief of the house of Lorn, who were the nearest neighbours, than with the chief of the house of Comghall, whose district lay at a considerable distance to the south-east. Of the previous occupation of Hy, whether by two bishops, according to the Irish Life[k]; or by Gouran, according to Fordun (418);

[h] *Immolavit.*—That is, *obtulit in perpetuum.* It is often used in this sense in the Book of Armagh (fol. 9 *aa*, 10 *bb*, 11 *ba*, 16 *aa*, 17 *aa*); so also, in the Chron. Pictor., "immolavit Nechtonius Aburnethige [Abernethy] Deo et S. Brigidæ" (Pinkert. Enq. i. 493; Ir. Nennius, p. 162). This use of the word seems peculiar to Celtic Latin, for Du Cange has but one authority for it, and that from a Welsh charter in the Monast. Anglican. See Ussher, Ind. Chr. 604.

[i] *Lord.*—See O'Flaherty, Ogyg. Parsi. (p. 27.) In more modern times, the Scotch had an officer in the territory called *Tossachdoir* (Orig. Paroch. ii. p. 5), which is interpreted 'crowner' (*ib.* p. 97), and whose office was termed *Toseachdeora* (*ib.* p. 172; Chalmers, Caledon. i. p. 451).

[k] *Irish Life.*—Tancucap di eppcop bacap

or by Convallanus, according to Boece[l]; or by the never-failing Druids[m], according to the natives, every statement that is written is perfect fiction, or, rather, imperfect fiction, for it is nonsense. Columba probably found Hy unoccupied and unclaimed, Conall kindly promised not to disturb him, and when the Picts were converted, Brudeus, the supreme lord, of course gave to the infant institution all the right and title which the weight of his sanction could confer.

Conall was succeeded by his cousin Aedhan, the *Aidanus* of Adamnan. This prince was the first of the Dalriadian rulers who evinced any great ability; he exchanged the rank of a toiſech, or *lord*, for that of a ꝓiꝛ, or king, and under him it was that the real foundation of the Scottish monarchy was laid. He procured for himself a solemn inauguration, and when the monarch of Ireland, who hitherto looked upon the Dalriads as a tributary colony, required his submission, he boldly refused to act as a subordinate, and at the convention of Drumceatt obtained a formal recognition of his independence (92). The coincidence of the date of this convention in the Ann. Ult. with the first year of Aedhan's reign is a very significant fact. He was closely connected with the Strathclyde Britons, and his wife[n] seems to have been one of that people. Welsh writers call him Aeddan, son, by Lleian, daughter of Brychan, of Gafran ap Dyfnwal Hên, giving him the epithet Vradog, or false (44). According to Ængus the Culdee, Mathgemm, wife of Caireall, and mother of St. Molaissi of Leighlin and Lamlash, was his daughter, who was styled, from the regal seat of the Dalriads, "Maithgemm[o] of Monadh[p]." In 603 he went against king Ædilfrid, "cum immenso

ꝓuꝛ tiꝛ do ꝛaḃail a laṁa aꝛꝛ. Ad̀t ꝓo ꝑollꝓiꝝ tꝛa ḋia do Colum cille naꝛtaꝛ eꝛꝛcuiꝛ iaꝛ ꝑiꝛ, comiḋ aiꝛe ꝓuꝛ ꝑoꝛ ꝑacꝛat an innꝛi laiꝛ, o ꝓo inḋiꝛ ꝑoꝛꝛu a tuiꝛṫeóta acaꝛ a tinḋꝛium n-ḋileꝛ, 'Two bishops, who were in the island, came to lead him by the hand out of it. But God now revealed to Columcille that they were not true bishops: whereupon they left the island to him; when he told of them their history and their true adventures.'

[l] *Boece.*—He represents the Scotic exiles under Maximus as taking refuge in Iona, and founding a monastery there. See Ussher, Ind. Chr. 379.

[m] *Druids.*—The writer in the Old Stat. Acct. is very decided: "The Druids undoubtedly possessed I, before the introduction of Christianity" (xiv. p. 199). To the Highlanders of the present day Iona is known as *Innis-nan-Druidhneach*, or 'Island of the Druids' (New Stat. Acct. vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 313). "It is said that the Druids had possession of Iona before the birth of our Saviour, and that they had there a college or school of theology, and continued to flourish until their expulsion by Columba" (*ib.* p. 320). This is believed as firmly by the natives as that St. Columcille existed, and is a standing dish for the tourists.

[n] *Wife.*—The Life of St. Lasreanus or Molaisi, speaking of his birth, says: "mater ejus virtutum meritis et nomine Gemma, Aedani regis Scotiæ filia, regisque Britanniæ neptis fuit" (Act. SS. April. tom. ii. p. 454 *b*).

[o] *Maithgemm.*—Maiꝛhꝝemm inꝝen Aeḋain meo Ꝝaḃꝛain ꝓiꝝ Alban maṫaiꝛ Molaiꝛi meo Caiꝛill, ut ḋicitur,

Molaiꝛi ꝛaꝛaiꝛ tſneḋ,
Cona chlaꝛaiḃ comaiḋ,
Abb Raiꝛchilli, acuꝛ ꝓi in tſnaiḋ,
Mac Maiꝛchꝝemme Monaiḋ.

Maithgemm [i. e. *bona gemma*], daughter of Aedan,

ac forti exercitu[r]," but received a complete overthrow. He died in 606. See Chron. at 580, 582, 590, 596, 600, 606. His successor was his younger son, Eochaidh Buidhe, the *Echodius Buide* of Adamnan (36). Six kings of the family of Eochaidh successively occupied the throne. But the battle of Magh Rath, which was fought in 637, by Domhnall Breac, greatly weakened the kingdom, and the power of the family declined until 689, when the sceptre passed to the house of Loarn, in the person of Ferchar Fada (203). The supremacy remained with the house of Loarn for some time, but eventually was resumed by the race of Gabhran, from which the genealogies derive the descent of Kenneth Mac Alpin, the annexer of Pictland, and his line, down to Alexander mac Alexander, the last male representative. On the other hand, from Ferchar Fada were descended the ancient Mormaors, or Stewards, of Moray, the senior representatives of the race. From him also came the powerful families of the *Clann Guaire* or Macquarries, and *Clann Fionnguin* or Mackinnons, and of whom there were such numerous monuments in Hy and Tiree. From Ferchar Fada came also the great family of *Mac Coinnigh* or Mackenzie[s], in whom the lordships of Seaforth and Kintal were afterwards vested. From him also came the

son of Gabhran, king of Alba, was the mother of Mo-Laise, son of Cairill: *ut dicitur*,

> 'Molaise, a flame of fire,
> With his comely choristers,
> Abbot of Rath-cille, and king of the fire,
> Son of Mathgemm of Monad.'

[p] *Monadh.*—Dun Monaidh, or 'Fort of Monad,' derived its name, according to the ancient pedigree of Mac Leod, from Monach Mor, son of Balbuadh Innse Tile [of Thule, or Iceland], Monach mor o raiser Dun Monaiḋ, 'Monach Mor, from whom Dun Monaigh is named' (Mac Firbis, Geneal. MS. p. 776). With this agrees the modern Scotch account. "In Argyleshire, a tradition prevails that a Danish or Norwegian prince of the name of Moni, having landed in the district of Crinan, (still known as the Pass of Moni,) and laid waste the country, was afterwards attacked by the native inhabitants, who routed his troops, and pursued him and a few of his followers, who with difficulty regained their ships, and fled northwards toward Lochaber. Having reached Craigmoni [a rocky hill near Glen Urquhart in Inverness, encircled on the top with rude walls of stone], and established himself in the adjoining valley, still called Dalmoni, this son of the king of Lochlin or Norway, as he is styled in the country, seems afterwards to have been driven farther up into the interior, and to have perished at Corrymony or Coiramhoni, the valley of Moni, where his grave [cave?] (*Uai Mhoni*) is still to be seen" (New Stat. Acct. vol. xiv. pt. i. p. 45). The Tale of Deirdri calls the Sons of Uisnech, Tri draegain Duna Monaiḋ, 'Three dragons from Dun Monaidh, in reference to their sojourn in Alba, and speaks of Dun Treoin, now Duntroon, as near their abode (Transact. Gael. Soc. pp. 109, 119). Duntroon is on the north side of Loch Crinan, and, near that Loch, Dun-Monaidh, the seat of the Dalriadic monarchs, is undoubtedly situate. See pp. 201, 377, *supra*.

[r] *Exercitu.*—Mr. Skene, who has devoted more consideration to this part of history, and is, perhaps, better qualified to pronounce an opinion on the subject, than any person living, believes that Ædan was the then *Gwledig*, or 'Dux bellator,' of the confederate Scots and Britons against the Saxons, whose official seat was at Eiddyn, or Etin (202), and that he thus came to have the command of so large an army (Letter, Apr. 19, 1853).

[s] *Mackenzie.*—The tradition in Rosshire is that the family derives its name from a Kenneth Fitz-Gerald, but the Gaelic pedigree is opposed to it.

family of *Mac Neachtain* or Mac Naghten, the *Clann Gillacatan* or *an Tbisig*, commonly called Mackintosh, and the *Clann Grigoir* or Mac Gregors. From his brother Ferchar Abradhruaidh were descended the powerful family of *Mac Gillaeoin* or Maclean, whose possessions lay in Mull and Tiree, and who were so closely connected with the administration of Hy. From him also came the *Clann mic an Abhane* or Mac Nabs. Thus, in the history of the Dalriadic dynasty, we find the two houses of Fergus and Loarn attracting to themselves, all through, the entire importance of the race, that of Fergus furnishing most provincial kings, and finally the royal line of all Scotland; while the house of Loarn furnished a few provincial kings, produced a powerful race of thanes (among whom was the ever-famous Macbeth), and finally became represented by a group of great highland chieftains, whose descendants still abound in those isles, the historical vestiges of a thirteen-hundred years' succession.

GLOSSARY, AND INDEX OF LATIN WORDS.

ABBAS, i. 1 (16), 2 (20); abbatis monachus, i. 3 (25), 6 (30). See pp. 339, 364.
Abdico, *to reject*, ii. 40 (165).
Absolutio, ii. 39 (158), 40 (163); ii. 33 (147).
Accola, i. 33 (63), 35 (66), ii. 27 (140).
Acervus lapidum, *a carn*, i. 33 (63).
Aculeus, *a little horn*, ii. 42 (170).
Adhæreo, *to adjoin*, iii. 19 (224); i. 30 (60).
Adjuratio, *an adjuration*, iii. 23 (242).
Adminiculum, *aid*, iii. 8 (206), 10 (209).
Aegrimonia, *sickness*, i. 45 (87), ii. 31 (144).
Aegrotatio, *illness*, ii. 39 (153).
Aemulus, *hostile*, i. 1 (17), 34 (64), iii. 8 (206).
Aequor oceani, i. 48 (91); —eus campus, i. 49 (91).
Aesteus, *for* aestivus, ii. 3 (106), 23 (135), 42 (168), 45 (178), iii. 19 (224).
Affabilis, *courteous*, i. 2 (20).
Agellulus, *doub. dim.* P. 2 (7), i. 3 (24), ii. 3 (106). In *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 21, ii. 10.
Agellus, i. 34 (64).
Agninus sanguis, iii. 24 (240).
Agonotheta, ἀγωνοθίτης, *an assessor*, iii. 6 (203).
Albatus, iii. 12 (211), 16 (218), 23 (240).
Alnus, *a boat*, ii. 27 (141). *For* alveus?
Altare, ii. 1 (104), 45 (176), iii. 17 (222), 23 (234); altaris ministri, ii. 1 (104).
Altarium, *id.* i. 44 (85), ii. 39 (158), 42 (171), iii. 13 (214), 23 (235).
Altisonus, iii. 23 (237).
Alumnus, *Hib.* ᵭalɫa, *a pupil*, i. 2 (19), iii. 18 (223) iii. 21 *bis* (226, 342).
Amara aqua, *brine*, ii. 12 (120).
Ambis, *for* ambabus, ii. 22 (133). Ambis manibus, De Loc. Sanct. i. 15.
Amphibalus, *a kind of cowl*, i. 3 (25), ii. 6 (113), where see Notes. Forcellinus derives it from ἀμφίβολος, as if *a wrapper* or *over-all*; but the vowel *a* in the penult. syll., and the interpr. in the old glossaries, *birrum villosum*, *vestis ex utraque parte villosa*, indicate ἀμφίμαλλος, *friezed on both sides*, and identify it with the *amphimallum* of Pliny. The Life of S. Baithene uses *birrhus* instead (cap. 3, Act. SS. Jun. i. p. 237 *a*); and Bede, *caracalla* (H. E. i. 7). In the Gallican Church the word was also used to denote *a chasuble*, "casula quam amphibalum vocant" (German. de Missa, in Martene, Thes. Anecd. v. p. 99). See p. 356.
Anachoreta, ii. 23 (237); —icus, i. 49 (95), iii. 23 (237). See 365, 366.
Ancillula, *dim.* ancilla, ii. 33 (147).
Angustia, ii. 40 (163); —iæ, (164), 42 (170).
Animadversio, *denunciation*, iii. 16 (217).
Annales cycli, ii. 39 (163).
Annuum, *for* annona, iii. 23 (230).
Anterior, *eastern*, i. 43 (82 and note), iii. 7 (204).
Apparitio, *a vision*, Pr. 2 (8), iii. 1 (190), *visio* in titul. iii. 1 (190).
Appetibilis peregrinis, i. 2 (20).
Appropio, *to draw near*, iii. 22 (228), explained in sequel *propius accedere*. *Beda*, sibi adpropiare, H. E. iv. 3; *Vulg.*, ne appropies huc, Exod. iii. 5.

Approximo, ii. 16 (126), 39 (161).
*Apud, *by*, An. Ult., 700 (378), 709 (379), 710, 711 (380), 712, 713 (381), 725 (382), 730 (384).
Aquarium vas, i. 24 (53).
Aquatilis bestia, ii. 27 (140) *bis*.
Armatura, *equipment*, iii. 8 (208).
Arundinetum, *rush-ground*, ii. 39 (163).
Ascella, *for* axilla, i. 24 (54), ii. 8 (115).
*Asciciput, *a tonsured person*, 351.
Atramentum, *ink*, i. 25 (54).
Avicula, *dim.* avis, Pr. 2 (5).
Axion, ἄξων, *an axle*, ii. 43 (172).

Baculus, *abbot's staff*, Columbæ, i. 33 (62), Cainnechi, ii. 14 (123). Hence Ir. bacall.
Baptisma, baptizatio, i. 33 (62, 63).
Baptizo, i. 1 (15), 33 (62), ii. 10 (118), 32 (145), iii. 14 (215).
Barbari, i. 8 (34), 46 (89), ii. 27 (141); gentiles b. ii. 27 (142); b. gentes, iii. 23 (232).
Barca, *a merchant-ship*, i. 28 (57). A post-classical word, probably of Celtic origin. Cormac derives barc from *barca* (Glossar.), but the converse is more likely. *Anglice*, bark, barge, embark.
Bellua, *applied to* cetus, i. 19 (49).
Belluinus, i. 19 (49), ii. 39 (158).
Benedico, ii. 37 (154), iii. 23 (230), with the hand (235); aqua b. ii. 5, 6 (113), 17 (127); currus b. ii. 43 (171): panis b. ii. 4 (110); petra salis b. ii. 7 (114).
Benedictio, *a blessing*, ii. 39 (159) *bis*; *a charm*, ii. 5 (112), 6 (113), 33 (148). Equivalent to *eulogia*, ii. 7 (114).
Bestia aquatilis, ii. 17 (140). Hence the old Irish term beirc (Cormac's Gloss.), now piarc.
Bestiola, ii. 42 (169).
Bibera, *a goblet*, ii. 33 (147). Accipiant singulos biberes, Reg. Ben. c. 35. To Du Cange's examples under *biber* or *biberis*, may be added Vit. S. Popponis, c. 31, Act. SS. Jan. tom. ii. p. 648 *b*; Vit. S. Lamberti, Act. SS. Sept. tom. v. p. 555.
*Bibliotheca, *a bible, case*, 359.
Binales, *for* bini, ii. 7 (114).
Bocetum, *a booley*, iii. 23 (230), where see note. The Irish form of the rare class. word *bucetum*. The equiv. in the Cod. Salmant. is *bostarium* (Tr. Th. 329 *b*). *Bostare* occurs in Vit. Cadoci, c. 18 (Rees, p. 50); Cœlan's Life of S. Brigid has, Nam mihi nullo modo servatur bostare vacca, xvii. 19 (Tr. Th. 585 *a*).
Bocula, *for* bucula, ii. 20 (130), 21 (131).
Brumalis dies, i. 29 (57).
Busta, iii. 23 (239). See *ratabusta*.

Caballus, *a work-horse*, iii. 23 (230). Cognate to καβάλλης, capall, and Welsh *keffyl*. The Germ. *gawl* and the Irish capall convey the idea of inferiority, but the French *cheval*, the Ital. *cavallo*, and the Engl. *cavalry*, superiority.
Cacumen, i. 30 (58). See note, p. 426.
Cadaverinus truncus, i. 49 (96).
Calamus, *a reed-pen*, ii. 29 (143).
Calceamentum, calceus, ii. 13 (122).
Calceo, *to shoe*, iii. 12 (210).
*Calix, *Hib.* coilech, *a chalice*, 358.
*Cambuta, cambo, *a pastoral staff*, 324.
Campulus, i. 37 (71), 41 (77), ii. 28 (142) *ter*, iii. 16 (217, 218). It represents the Ir. achad in *Achedbou*, elsewhere rendered by *ager* (121).
Campus, ii. 25 (137) *bis*, iii. 3 (194). It is used by Adamnan as the equiv. of mad in proper names. See *Campus* in Gen. Index. Campus æquoreus, i. 49 (91), like the Ir. Mad Lir (184).
Canaba, *a kiln*, i. 45 (88) (362). Du Cange and the Boll. have mistaken the meaning here, in *penus, vel cella vinaria*. The Irish acceptation is shown in the note, p. 88, *supra*. Facere canabas, Vit. Cainnechi, c. 33. S. Augustin uses *canavus* of a kind of store, multa enim sunt quæ de horreo, canauo, vel cellario, aliquotiens proferre non possumus. De Temp. Serm. 61 (Opp. x. p. 255 *a*).
Canis, i. 43 (82). *Hib.* cu, see note.
Canticum, i. 1 (17), 42 (80), iii. 23 (237).
Cantores, *choristers*, iii. 12 (211).
Capsella, ii. 5 (112); capsa, *ib.* (113).
Capsellula, *doub. dim.* ii. 5 (112).
Captivus, ii. 39 (159);—a, ii. 33 (146).
Caraxo, χαράσσω, *to scratch*, in a secondary sense denotes the action of the stylus in wax, hence *to write*, Pr. 1 (4) *bis*, 2 (8), i. 50 (99), ii. 9 (117),

ii. 1 (190), 16 (219), 19 (225), 23 (229, 242). Adamnan's form of the word was probably *craxo*, for so it is written ten times in cod. A, and in his *De Loc. Sanct.* we find craxanda (Prol.), craxamus (i. 10), craxasse (ii. 10), and craxator (Coloph.) (242). Mabillon suggests *exaramus* in the margin (p. 459), but Colgan and Boll., in nine places of the Vita, substitute in the text, *exaro*, *tracto*, or *traho*. In one place (ii. 9) Colgan has *craxatis*, and Boll. *caraxatis*.

Cardinalis auster, i. e. notus, ii. 45 (181).

Carmina Scoticæ linguæ, i. 1 (17); lætitiæ, i. 42 (80); spiritualia, iii. 18 (223).

Carminale, *for* carmen, iii. 23 (237).

Carnalis, i. 27 (55), ii. 39 (158).

Carnaliter amans, i. 36 (69).

*Cassula, *a cabin*, 360.

*Casula, *a cowl*, 356.

Caupallus, *a coble*, ii. 27 (141), see note. *Navicula* is the equiv. in same chap., and *cymba* in Vit. 2 (Tr. Th. 326 *a*). *Caupulus* was the usual form, hence, in the French laws cited by Du Cange, navis caupulus means a *ship's boat*. Du Cange's *caupaltus* has no authority, being drawn from a faulty reading of the present word in Boll. Cowel's Interpreter (ed. 1701) voc. *Coggle*, supposes *cobble* to be a corruption of this word, and derives both from the old Teutonic *kogge*, a ship, whence the Latin *coggo*, and the English *cockboat*, *cockswain*. See *Cogo* in Du Cange. Caupulus occurs in Aulus Gellius (x. 25).

Cella, *Hib.* ceall, *a church*, i. 31 (60); *a cell*, 360.

*Cellarius, *a butler*, 46, 367.

Cellula, i. 20 (50). Common in the Book of Armagh.

Centenarius numerus, ii. 21 (131).

Centeni, *for* centum, ii. 21 (132), 45 (182).

*Ceraculum, *a waxed tablet*, 358. See *Tabula*.

Cespes, i. 22 (51), ii. 14 (123). Root *cædo*: so conversely ꝓoꝺ, *fodio*.

Cetus, *a whale*, i. 19 (48, 49).

Chorus fratrum, iii. 16 (218), 23 (235).

*Chrismale, *a box for sacred bread*, 332, 356, 360.

Christi corpus, i. 44 (85), see note.

Christi miles, i. 22 (22), 20 (50), 36 (66), 43 (83), 49 (95), ii. 4 (111), 42 (166), iii. 23 (236, 7).

Christianus, ii. 27 (142); c. miles, iii. 23 (236); c. militia, i. 32 (61), ii. 10 (118).

Cibatio, i. 29 (58), ii. 37 (154).

Cibo, *to feed*, i. 48 (90), ii. 37 (154).

Cingulum resolvere, ii. 39 (159).

Claritudo, Pr. 2 (8), iii. 11 (210), 19 (223), 23 (236).

Clavis, ii. 36 (153), iii. 18 (223), 21 (226).

Clericatûs habitus, i. 36 (67), ii. 39 (156, 349).

Clericus, i. 2 (19), 38 (74), iii. 7 (204).

Clocca, Hib. cloꝯ, Ger. *glocke*, *a bell*, i. 8 (33), iii. 23 (234).

Codex vitreus, iii. 5 (198).

Cœnobialis cœtus, i. 1 (12).

Cœnobium, i. 3 (24, 26), iii. 23 (232).

Cognatio, *kindred*, i. 49 (93).

Cognationalis, i. 49 (93), ii. 39 (158), 40 (163).

Collectio, *a congregation*, iii. 8 (207).

Colliculus, Hib. cnocan, ii. 44 (175), iii. 16 (218).

Collum, i. 17 (46). Prob. the same as *colum*, *a colander*. It is also applied to a fish-pound: Cum baculo meo ad collum perge. Et cum baculum Sancti in collum intinxisset, statim piscis miræ magnitudinis super illum irruit. Vit. S. Cainnechi.

Commeatus, *going in and out*, iii. 4 (196).

Commembris, ii. 42 (170, 171).

Commendo, ii. 42 (167), iii. 5 (197), 23 (234).

Commigro, i. 30 (59), iii. 14 (215).

Commilito, i. 40 (77), ii. 27 (142), 31 (144), iii. 4 (196).

Commoratio, *lodging*, ii. 28 (142).

Communitio, ii. 43 (171, 172).

*Commutatio, *a disinterring and enshrining*, 313.

Compareo, *for* comparo, iii. 9 (208).

Complosis manibus, i. 28 (56).

Computresco, *to rot off*, i. 36 (70).

Concremo, i. 34 (64), ii. 7 (114).

Condictum, *an appointment*, *interview*, *convention*, i. 49 (91), 50 (98), ii. 6 (113), 44 (175), 45 (178), iii. 16 (217, 218); *an injunction*, juxta suum condictum (Bede, H. E. iv. 25 *bis*), so in Concil. Cloveshoe, capp. 4, 7, 10, 11, 13, 18; *a meeting*, ad condictum conveniunt; pervenit ad condictum, reperit ibi promissos fratres (Ricemarch, Vit. S. Dav., Rees, p. 135). Adamnan, in the first three reff. applies it to the Convention of Drum-

ceatt, and as equivalent to ꝺail, whence monꝺail (179), glossed in An. Ult. 574, on *Magna Conventio.* One MS. of Cummian omits the word, but two have *condictio*, a forensic term. In the hymn *Altus* (Tr. Th. 475 *a*) is—

> Quis ad condictum Domini
> Montem conscendit Sinai.

Conditor, *the Creator*, iii. 23 (232). *De Loc. SS.* i. 1.
*Confessarius, Hib. anmóapa, 305, 401, 402.
Conficere (*vid.* Consecrare) eucharistiæ mysteria, i. 40 (77); c. Christi corpus, i. 44 (85), see note. Sacra mundo corde atque ore conficiunt.—*Bede* (H. E. i. 8).
Congregatio, i. 3 (25), iii. 3 (193), 8 (207).
Consecrare eucharistiæ mysteria, iii. 17 (221); c. sacram oblationem, *ib.* (222).
Consolatiuncula, i. 21 (51), ii. 4 (110).
Constipatio, *a crowding*, i. 3 (24).
Constringo, i. 3 (24), ii. 18 (128).
Consuetudinarius, i. 26 (55).
Conterminus, i. 46 (88), ii. 20 (120), 37 (153).
Contulus, *dim.* of contus, *a stake*, 37 (154); *a pole* ii. 27 (141). Not in any dictionary.
Corniculum, *a horn*, i. 25 (54) *quater.*
Coxa, ii. 5 (112), coxale os (113).
Criniosus, *for* crinitus, iii. 17 (222).
Cristilia, *rust*, *bark*, i. 47 (90). This is the sole recorded instance of the word, so that the context must be the guide to the meaning, and *eradebat* shows that Colg. Boll. and Du Cange have mistaken it.
Cruciatus dolorum, i. 36 (70).
Crux, *a cross*, i. 45 (88) *bis*, iii. 23 (231); with pingere, *the sign of the cross*, ii. 16 (126), 27 (141), 29 (143), 35 (151); c. dominica, ii. 16 (126), 29 (143); crucis instar, ii. 45 (178).
Cubiculum, i. 39 (75), iii. 19 (224).
Cuculla, *a cowl*, ii. 24 (136), 356.
Culmen monasterii rotundi, iii. 15 *tit.* (215); c. magnæ domus, (216). ꝺennóoḃaṗ ċloiccéaó, *cap of belfry*, Four Mast. 1121, 1147; or cenn, 1135.
Cultellus, i. 47 (90).
Curriculum, *a car*, ii. 43 (172).
Currilis, *of a car*, ii. 43 *ter* (171, 172).
Currus, i. 7 (33), 38 (74), ii. 43 (171) *bis.*
Curuca, *a curach*, ii. 45 (176, 177), 363. See Spelman, Glossar. voc. *Carrocium;* Cowel, Interpr. voc. *Coracle;* Blount, Law Dict. voc. *Carrick;* Harris's Ware's Works, i. p. 178.
Cyclus, Pr. 2 (6), ii. 39 (163).
Cymbula, cymba, ii. 34 (150).

Dæmon, i. 1 (12), 35 (65), 39 (75), ii. 11 (119), 16 (125), 34 (149), iii. 8 (205), 10 (209), 13 (214). Dæmonium, ii. 34 (149), iii. 8 (206).
Dæmoniacus, ii. 11 (119).
Decanto, i. 1 (17), 37 (73, 74), 42 (80), iii. 12 (211, 212), 18 (223).
Decapito, i. 12 (40), 39 (75).
Decessor, *a predecessor*, i. 3 (26), iii. 23 (233).
Decoloratus sanguis, ii. 17 (127).
*Dehonoro, *to violate* (of a sanctuary or relic), 384.
Delere peccamina, ii. 39 (157).
Dentosus, i. 19 (49).
Deo auctore, i. 36 (68), iii. 8 (206), 19 *tit.* (223). Cui Deo auctore deservio, *Bede* (H. E. i. 29).
Deprecatio, *a prayer*, iii. 12 (211).
Desertum in oceano, i. 6 (30), 20 (49, 50), in pelago, ii. 42 (167). See *Eremus.* Also, a monastic term, Hib. ꝺiṗeṅc, 366, 418.
Desiderio desidero, iii. 23 (228).
*Dextralis, *southern*, 83. Dextralis pars, *Loc. SS.* ii. 11, 15.
Diabolus, ii. 11 (119), 21 (136), 37 (154).
Diaconatus gradus, ii. 1 (104).
Diaconus, i. 1 (13), ii. 1 (104), 25 (137, 138).
Dialis, *divine*, *sacred*, i. 1 (18), 2 (18), 50 *tit.* (97), ii. 1 (105), 43 (173), iii. 23 (241). In the hymn *Altus* (Tr. Th. 474 *b*), we meet with—

> Magni Dei virtutibus
> Appenditur dialibus;

where the gloss has *divinis.* The orig. pagan signification *of Jove*, *ætherial*, seems to have been transferred (like *divus*) into Christian use.
Diecula, i. 37 (72), ii. 19 (130), 32 (145), 43 (172).
Digitulus, ii. 8 (116), 18 (128).
*Diminutiva. See *Agellus*, *Agellulus*, *Ancillula*, *Avicula*, *Bestiola*, *Bocula*, *Calceamentum*, *Campulus*, *Capsella*, *Capsellula*, *Cellula*, *Colliculus*, *Consolatiuncula*, *Contulus*,

Corniculum,	*Cultellus,*	*Curriculum,*
Cymbula,	*Diecula,*	*Digitulus,*
Domuncula,	*Exedriola,*	*Familiola,*
Filiola,	*Filiolus,*	*Fonticulus,*
Fossula,	*Furunculus,*	*Genicula,*
Homuncio,	*Homunculus,*	*Horula,*
Hospitiolum,	*Humerulus,*	*Juvenculus,*
Lapillus,	*Lectulus,*	*Legatiuncula,*
Libellus,	*Literula,*	*Mendiculus,*
Mensula,	*Misellulus,*	*Misellus,*
Momentiolum,	*Monasteriolum,*	*Monticellulus,*
Monticellus,	*Monticulus,*	*Morula,*
Muliercula,	*Navicella,*	*Navicula,*
Ovicula,	*Opusculum,*	*Palmula,*
Parvullus,	*Pauculus,*	*Pecuscula,*
Perula,	*Plebecula,*	*Plumatiuncula,*
Præfatiuncula,	*Prandiolum,*	*Promissiuncula,*
Provinciola,	*Puerulus,*	*Pulvillus,*
Retiaculum,	*Rivulus,*	*Sacculus,*
Scriniolum,	*Sepiscula,*	*Sermusculum,*
Servula,	*Signaculum,*	*Terrula,*
Tuguriolum,	*Vaccula,*	*Vasculum,*
Versiculus,	*Viculus,*	*Virgula.*

Diœcesis, *a province*, i. 35 (65) *bis*.

Discessor, *that departs*, i. 6 (30).

Discretio, *separation*, i. 50 (97).

Discursio, ii. 42 (170). See *Excursus*.

*Discus, Hib. mıar, *a paten*, 358.

Dispensator operum, i. 37 (72).

Distermino, Pr. 2 (7), ii. 46 (183, 184).

Divisio, *discernment*, i. 4 (28).

Dolo, *to hew*, of timber, ii. 45 (176), of ivory, ii. 39 (158), in the latter ref. it denotes the sawing up of the tusk (probably, of a marine animal, see note °, 159) into small pieces to make ornamental work for the sword hilt. The examples in *De Loc. SS.* refer to stone: dolata ferramentis, i. 4; circumdolata, *ib.*; dolatores sive excisores, *ib.*; dolatas de singulis lapidibus, ii. 10. Bede has it of *chiselling*, H. E. iv. 11; and of *fashioning*, v. 17. The sense *unpolished*, given in the Orig. Par. (ii. 299), is as opposed to the real meaning as the prefix *un* can make it.

Dominicus, *Lord's-day*, absol. iii. 12 (211); dies, i. 32 (64), 40 (76), 44 (85), iii. 12 (211), 17 (221), 23 (229); nox, iii. 23 (230, 233); crucis signum, ii. 16 (126); panis, i. 44 (85).

Domuncula, i. 34 (64).

Domus magna, iii. 15 (216); major, i. 29 (58); regia, ii. 33 (146).

Dorsum, with *Britanniæ*, *Cette*, *Tommæ* (see Gen. Index), is used for Ir. ɔɲuim. Adamnan, *De Loc. Sanct.* (ii. 1), says of Bethlehem, quæ civitas in dorso sita est angusto [Hib. ı n-ɔɲuim ɔaol], where Mabillon's *supple montis* is unnecessary. Virgil's *dorsum* (Æn. i. 110, x. 303) corresponds to the descriptive name of an island in Strangford Lough, Oenɔɲuim, which the gloss in the Feilire explains oen ɔulɔoh an ımıɲ uıle, *a single hill* is *the whole island* (Reeves's Eccl. Ant. p. 190).

Duodecim anni, i. 22 (52), 26 (55), iii. 23 (237); curucæ, ii. 45 (177); viri, i. 1 (15), iii. 4 (196). A favourite number (299–303).

Duum, ii. 36 (152), *duorum* is the equiv. in the titulus. In *De Loc. Sanct.* (i. 10), duum exercituum.

Ecclesia, i. 37 (73), ii. 13 (122), 24 (135), 40 (164), 42 (170), iii. 12 (211), 17 (221), 19 (223), 20 (225), 22 (228), 23 (233, 234).

Ecclesiasticum jus, i. 36 (70).

Edax, i. 41 (78).

Egressio, iii. 16 (218), 23 (237).

Electus, i. 38 (75), iii. 23 (241); a Deo, i. 2 (21); homo, i. 4 (28); monachus, ii. 39 (162, 163); suus, iii. 3 (194); electi, i. 43 (84), ii. 22 (133), iii. 23 (229).

Eleemosina, ii. 21 (132), 37 (154), iii. 9 (207).

Elementum, ii. 8 (114), 9 (118).

Emax, *desirous to buy*, iii. 9 (208).

Emigratio navalis, *a flotilla*, ii. 45 (176).

Eminentior, ii. 22 (133), 28 (142), iii. 22 (227). In eminentiore loco posita, *De Loc. SS.* i. 16.

Episcopalis ritus, i. 44 (86).

Episcopus, Pr. 2 (6), i. 1 (13), 5 *tit.* (29), 36 (68, 69), 44 (85, 86), 50 (97), ii. 1 (103), 34 (149), iii. 4 (195), 12 (210, 214). See Gen. Index at *Colmanus*, *Columbanus*, *Conallus*, *Cronanus*, *Findbarrus*, *Germanus*, *Lagenensis*, *Patricius*.

Eremus, ἔρημος, i. 6 (30), 20 (49, 50), ii. 42 (166).

Esoces, *a salmon*, ii. 19 (129, 130), 37 (155). To note (129) add: The common Irish word is bṗaḋán, but ıaḋ, apparently cognate to *esoces*, has the same meaning; thus, in the ancient poem, the *Sea-wanderings of Snedgus* (Trin. Coll. H. 2, 16, fol. 391), lach ċṗuım, *a heavy salmon*.

Eucharistia, ii. 39 (158), eucharistiæ ministeria, ii. 1 (104), iii. 11 (210); mysteria, i. 40 (77), iii. 12 (211), 17 (221).

Eulogia, *consecrated food*, ii. 13 (121); *a charm*, ii. 7 (114). See notes.

Evangelii lectio, iii. 17 (221); -a, Pr. 2 (5).

*Evangelium, *a sacramentary*, 325.

Evectio, ii. 14 (123), 43 (171), 45 (178).

Exacumino, ii. 37 (154).

Exaudibilis, ii. 30 (144); exaudio, *ib.*

Excommunico, ii. 24 (135), iii. 3 (193, 194).

Excursus, *journeying*, ii. 42 (169); annorum, i. 47 (90).

Excussorium, *a threshing-floor*, ii. 20 (131).

Exedra, ἐξέδρα, *a side chamber*, *chapel*, iii. 19 (224). The Gr. word is of frequent occurrence in Josephus in reference to the temple, Antiqq. viii. 5, 2, xx. 8. 11; Bell. i. 21, 11, v. 1, 5, v. 5, 3, vi. 2, 7, vi. 4, 1. So in Eusebius, H. E. x. 4 (p. 312), Vit. Const. iii. 50 (p. 419). It is strange that Walafr. Strabus should say of *Exedra*, dicta inde quod *extra hæreat* (De Reb. Eccles. c. 6). Hib. uṅḋom (358). *De Loc. SS.* i. 2, 8.

Exedriola, iii. 19 (224).

Exequiæ, i. 41 (78), ii. 32 (145), iii. 23 (239, 40).

Exequialia officia, iii. 23 (240); — es. dies, *ib.*

Exhalare spiritum, iii. 23 (235).

Exhaurio, i. 4 (27), ii. 12 (120).

Exinanio, *to empty out*, ii. 12 (120), *semet ipsum exinanivit* (Phil. ii. 7, Vulg.) is ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε.

Exintero, *to eviscerate*, ii. 23 (135).

Exitiabilis, iii. 8 (206).

Exorabilis, ii. 30 (144); exoro, ii. 40 (164).

Exosculor, i. 3 (24), 31 (61), 32 (61), 45 (87), iii. 3 (193, 194). See *Osculor*.

Expertus, Pr. 2 (7, 8), i. 38 (75), ii. 29 (143), iii. 23 (239).

Explorative, *tentatively*, iii. 1 (190).

Extasis mentis, iii. 5 (197).

Exteræ gentes, iii. 23 (232).

Extraneus, iii. 5 (201). *Hib.* eaȯṫṗann.

Faber ferrarius, iii. 9 (207) *ter*.

Fabrica, *for* fabricatio, i. 29 (58).

Fabulator, ii. 22 (133).

Facio, *to cause*, i. 14 (42), 25 (54), 47 (90).

Famen, *a saying*, iii. 15 (217). For *tamen*, iii. 3 (194 *lin. ult.*), cod. A. reads *famen*. Hesych. has φῆμα for *a word*, but the above is rather from *fari*, according to the usual formation of Latin words ending in *-amen*.

*Familia, Hib. muınṫıṙ, 285, 304, 342.

Familiares monachi, iii. 23 (229, 240); pueri, i. 3 (25).

Familiola, i. 46 (88), ii. 37 (155).

Fatigatio itineris, ii. 35 (150).

Fatuus, ii. 37 (154).

Favonius, qui et Zephyrus, ii. 45 (178).

Feria, i. 16 (45), 26 (54, 55).

Ferramentum, *an iron tool*, ii. 29 (143).

Ferventissimum vinum, i. 50 (99).

Festiva nox, *eve of a festival*, ii. 45 (179).

Festivitas, *a festival*, ii. 45 (180).

Festus dies, ii. 45 (182).

*Fico, *a shoe*, 123, 356. Colg. A. SS. 209 *b*, 216 *b*.

Fiducialiter, i. 28 (56).

Filiola, ii. 25 (137).

Filiolus, i. 12 (40), 29 (57), 33 (62), 43 (82), ii. 28 (142), iii. 19 (225), 23 (240).

Filius, Hib. mac. See under *Mocu* in Gen. Index.

Fimbria amphibali, i. 3 (25), ii. 6 (113).

Flabrum, ii. 34 (150), 45 (178).

Flagellum, iii. 5 (198).

Flamina, ii. 39 (161), 45 (176), iii. 23 (240).

Flebilis (actively), iii. 23 (232, 235). Thus *lamentable*, Dan. vi. 20 (Auth. Vers.).

Floridus, rubor, iii. 23 (229); filius f. iii. 1 (191); benedictio, ii. 21 (132). Herbosus et f. *De Loc. SS.*

Florulentia fidei, Pr. i. (3).

Fluctuatio, i. 19 (49).

Fluminalis, ii. 19 (130), iii. 23 (239).

Focus in monasterio, i. 24 (53).

Fontana aqua, ii. 1 (104); unda, i. 49 (93).

Fonticulus, i. 49 (91–97), ii. 10 (118), 11 (119).

Foramina, clavium, iii. 21 (226), oculorum, *ib.*

Fortitudo benedictionis, ii. 29 (143).
Fossula excussorii, ii. 20 (131).
Fragores bellorum, i. 1 (13).
Fratricidium, i. 22 (52).
Fretum insulæ, i. 4 (28), iii. 22 (228), ultra fretum clamitare, i. 25 (54), 26, 27 (55), 32 (61), 43 (82).
Fulguralis lux, iii. 20 (225).
Fulgurea celeritas, iii. 15 (217).
Fulminalis, iii. 19 (224).
Fundator monasterii, i. 36 (66), ii. 31 (144), iii. 3 (193), 17 (219).
Furax, i. 21 (51), 41 (77, 78).
Furunculus, cap. i. 41 (11).

Gaudenter, i. 30 (59), 38 (74).
Genibus flexis, i. 2 (20), 30 (59), 32 (61), 37 (72), 50 (98), ii. 10 (118), 14 (123), 32 (146), 39 (157), iii. 6 (203), 16 (218), 23 (230). See *Ingeniculo.*
Genicula, *the knee*, i. 47 (90). De geniculis adorare, *Tertull.* (Cor. Mil. c. 3).
Genitalia, *parentage*, Pr. 2 (8).
Gens, *a clan*, i. 14 (42), 20 (50). Hib. cenel.
Gentilicus, ii. 34 (150), iii. 14 (214).
Gentilis, i. 33 (62), 37 (73), ii. 11 (119), 27 (142), 33 (147).
Gergenna, a *cross-bar*, ii. 16 (126). This is the only recorded instance of the word.
Globus igneus, iii. 2 (192), 17 (222).
Gradus, Hib. gnáth, *orders*, ii. 1 (104).
*Græcismi. See *Agonotheta*, *Axion*, *Carazo*, *Eremus*, *Guberneta*, *Homonymus*, *Lithus*, *Onoma*, *Pira*, *Proselytus*, *Protus*, *Sophia*, *Trigonus.*
*Graphium, Hib. gnaib, 205, 359.
Gravitudo, *oppression*, ii. 4 (109). Lib. Armac. 23 *ba.*
Grus hospita, i. 48 (90).
Gubernatrix, ii. 42 (271).
Guberneta, κυβερνήτης, *a pilot*, ii. 41 (164).

*Hæres, comarba, *a successor*, 364, 385, 390.
Hastile, i. 47 (90).
Hauritorium, i. 17 (46). The nearest approach to the meaning is *instrumentum hauriendi.*
Hebdomas, i. 16 (45), 27 (56), 31 (60), 32 (62), 43 (82), iii. 23 (230). See *Septimana.*
Hebraice, Pr. 2 (5).
Hi, the Irish præp. hi, *in*, iii. 3 (194).
Hic (in first person), ii. 40 (163).
Hininglas, *the green water*, ii. 12 (120), formed from in, *the*, and anglar, which is compounded of an, *water*, and glar, *green.* *Anglash* is common in Ireland to denote milk-and-water (348).
Homonymus, Pr. 2 (4).
Homuncio, i. 20 (51), 38 (71), 42 (80), 49 (93), ii. 22 (133), 23 (135), 37 (154), 39 (157), iii. 10 (209).
Homunculus, i. 46 (89), ii. 27 (140), 23 (135).
Honorificator, i. 1 (13).
Honorificentia, i. 1 (13), iii. 16 (218), 23 (241). In *De Loc. SS.* i. 1, 10, 25.
Hora, prima, ii. 5 (111), tertia, ii. 15 (124), 45 (181), sexta, ii. 45 (181), nona, ii. 38 (156), decima, ii. 42 (169).
Horreum, iii. 23 (230) *bis*, 362.
Hortulanus, Capit. (10), i. 18 (47).
Horula, ii. 28 (142).
Hospita grus, i. 48 (90).
Hospitiolum, ii. 32 (145), iii. 2 (191), 21 (226) *ter*, 23 (233).
Hospitium, i. 31 (61), 32 (61), ii. 37 (154), 39 (157), iii. 23 (239); e virgis, ii. 3 (106).
Hostia viva, i. 32 (61).
Humerulus, *the collar of an axle*, ii. 43 (172).
Hydria, *a water-pot*, Capit. (10), i. 24 (54).
Hyemalis, iii. 19 (223).
Hymnus, i. 3 (24), iii. 23 (239); hymnorum liber, ii. 9 (116, 319).

I. vocalis litera, i. 23 (53).
Ictus oculi, *the twinkling of an eye*, iii. 15 (217).
Igitur (at opening of nar.), Pr. 2 (8).
Ignicoma, iii. 3 (194).
Immaculatus, iii. 23 (240).
*Immolo, *to mortify*, *grant in perpetuity*, applied to lands, goods, and even persons, 435.
Immundus homo, i. 40 (77).
Imperator, *ruler*, i. 1 (16).
Impinguo, *to fatten*, ii. 23 (135).
Importunus, *untoward*, ii. 45 (178).
Improprie, *not specially*, iii. 1 (190).

Impulsio, ii. 29 (143).
In, ponere in, with accus. i. 34 (64).
Inæstimabilis, *incomprehensible*, iii. 19 (225).
Inaniter effusus, i. 25 (54).
Incassum, *to no purpose*, ii. 2 (105), iii. 9 (208).
Inclamito, ii. 13 (120).
Inclino, *to upset*, i. 25 (54).
Includo sub ascella, i. 24 (54).
Incomparabilis, i. 37 (72, 73), iii. 11 (210), 18 (223), 21 (227).
Incomparabiliter, iii. 18 (222).
Incolatus, *earthly dwelling*, iii. 22 (227).
Inculpabiliter, ii. 39 (161).
Indebite, *unduly*, i. 36 (70).
Indicibilis, ii. 42 (170), iii. 15 (217).
Indissociabiliter, ii. 41 (166).
Indubitanter, iii. 5 (199), discere, i. 1 (17), 2 (22), 37 (73), 43 (85), ii. 9 (117).
Infantem baptizare, ii. 10 (118).
Infernalia loca, ii. 23 (135).
Infero, vaticinium, i. 45 (86), verbum, ii. 10 (118), iii. 5 (198), 7 (204), hoc *with sequel*, ii. 33 (147), *absolut.* ii. 33 (147), 41 (165), 42 (168).
Infitialis, *dissembling*, iii. 21 (226).
Ingemino, iii. 19 (225), 23 (235).
Ingeniculatio, ii. 32 (146). *De Loc. SS.* iii. 4.
Ingeniculo, i. 30 (59), 37 (72), 50 (99), iii. 16 (218), 22 (227). See *Genibus flexis.*
Injuriosus, *ill-behaved*, i. 3 (25).
Inlinio, for illino, ii. 29 (143).
Innocentes, *innocents*, as applied to women and children, ii. 25 (137, 138). In the present instance it applies to a woman. Adamnan, in 697, *dedit legem innocentium populis* (179), i. e. he procured an enactment excusing women from hostings, which Mac Firbis's MS. Annals express thus: *Adamnanus* venit in Hiberniam, et induit legem innocentium populis Hiberniæ, .i. gan maca gan mna do marbad [i. e. to slay neither children nor women]. A. D. 813, A hosting was made against Hy-Many, ubi plurimi sunt interfecti innocentes.—*An. Ult.* Innocens chori, *a choir boy*, Bull. Innoc. VIII. cit. Du Cange.
Inspiro, *to blow*, ii. 42 (171), *to inspire*, iii. 23 (229).
Insuadibilis, ii. 22 (133).
Insula, nostra (of Hy), ii. 45 (178), primaria, i. 1 (12), insulæ nostræ, i. 2 (21).
Insulanus, habitator, iii. 23 (229), miles, Pr. 2 (9); insulanum monasterium, ii. 39 (157).
Insum, *for* sum, i. 3 (26), 4 (28), 27 (56), 29 (48), 30 (59), 32 (61), 43 (81), 44 (86), iii. 12 (212).
Insustentabilis, ii. 42 (169), iii. 7 (205).
Integritas corporis, Pr. 2 (9).
Integro, *to complete*, ii. 24 (136).
Intente, i. 3 (26), i. 19 (48).
Intentio, ii. 42 (170).
Interdictum, *a prohibition*, iii. 21 (226).
Interjectus, *interposition*, ii. 45 (183).
Interpres, *an interpreter*, i. 33 (62); —tator, ii. 32 (145).
Intimo, *to make known*, Pr. 1 (4), 22 (51), 27 (57), 31 (60), 36 (70).
Intingo, i. 1 (12), ii. 4 (109), 5 (113), 33 (147).
Intolerabilis, i. 4 (27), 37 (74).
Intransmeabilis, ii. 42 (167).
Intuitu orationis, ii. 26 (138).
Invisus, *never so seen*, ii. 42 (169).
Irremeabilis, ii. 42 (169).
Irreprehensibiliter, i. 49 (95), iii. 23 (237).
Irreverberatis oculis, iii. 19 (224). See *Reverbero.*
Irruo super, i. 9 (35),

Jejunatio, Pr. 2 (9), ii. 45 (176); solvere, i. 26 (55).
Jejunium, capit. (11), i. 26 (55), iii. 8 (207).
Jejuno, i. 26 (54), ii. 41 (165).
Judicialis, *condign*, i. 22 (51).
Jugulo, i. 36 (70), ii. 24 (136).
Juramentum, ii. 39 (157).
Jussio, i. 8 (47), 37 (72), iii. 5 (198), 17 (221).
Juvenculus, *a youth*, ii. 16 (126), 31 (144).
Juvenis, iii. 4 (196).

Labefactio, *an upset*, ii. 43 (172).
Lacrimabilitas, ii. 22, (228).
Lactarius uter, ii. 38 (155); vasculum, ii. 16 (125), iii. 23 (230).
Lætamen, iii. 22 (227, 228), where it is equiv. to lætatio, and lætificatio.
Lætatio, iii. 22 (227).
Lætificatio, i. 37 (72), iii. 22 (227).

Lætificus dies, ii. 45 (179), iii. 1 (191), 22 (227).
Laica conversatio, i. 1 (17).
Lancea, i. 1 (17), 36 (71), ii. 25 (138). Hastile lanceæ, *De Loc. SS.* i. 9, iii. 4.
Lapillus, ii. 33 (147).
Lapis candidus, i. 1 (12), ii. 33 (147), benedictus, *ib.*
Laudes vespertinales, i. 37 (73). See *Missa vesp.*
Lavatio manuum, ii. 45 (181).
Lectio sacra, i. 2 (20).
Lectulus, i. 38, 39 (75), ii. 30 (144), iii. 6 (203), 23 (233).
Legatiuncula, i. 31 (60).
Legatus, i. 18 (47), 31 (60), ii. 4 (111), 33 (147).
Libellus, i. 1 (11), 24 (54), 50 (99) ii. 1 (105), 42 (166), iii. 1 (190), 23 (229, 241, 242).
Liber, i. 24 (53), ii. 44 (175); vitreus, iii. 5 (197).
Librarium folium, ii. 8 (114).
Lignum, *a boat*, i. 36 (70).
Literula, i. 37 (71). Literulæ Lat. *De Loc. SS.* ii. 27.
Lithus, λίθος, *a stone*, ii. 33 (147).
Livorosus, *black and blue*, iii. 5 (198).
Longævus, i. 43 (82), ii. 10 (118).
Longinquitas, i. 37 (73).
Lucerna, ii. 1 (105), iii. 23 (235).
Luminare, iii. 23 (235).
Luminosus, iii. 11 (210), 16 (219), 17 (222), 23 (239).

Maceria, *a walled enclosure*, i. 38 (75). Videntes pecora nec inclusa maceria, nec sepe munita, nec circumdata vallo, Vit. Niniani, c. 8 (Pink. Vit. p. 13). The tract *De Loc. Sanct.* has *maceriola* (i. 2).
Machera, μάχαιρα, *a dagger, sword*, ii. 39 (158).
Magister, ii. 25 (137), iii. 4 (195).
*Magisterium, *instruction*, 196, 350.
Magus, *a druid*, i. 1 (12), 37 (73), ii. 11 (119), 32 (145), 33 (146), 34 (148).
Majores, Pr. 2 (8).
Malefactor, ii. 22 (132), 24 (136).
Maleficus, ii. 17 (126) *bis*; -ium, i. 47 (89).
Malignus, ii. 22 (133), aqua, ii. 11 (119).
Mancipo, ii. 10 (118).
Manum imponere, iii. 5 (198); manus dextra, iii. 23 (235), *Hib.* lam ɒeɼɼ, i. 36 (69, 70)
Marita, i. 47 (89), ii. 3 (106), 40 (165).
Maritalis, ii. 40 (165, 166).
*Martyres, *relics*, 313, 314. See *Reliquiæ.*
Materia, ii. 3 (106), 27 (154), 45 (176, 177).
Materiale opus, ii. 28 (142).
Matrimoniale fœdus, iii. 1 (191).
Matrix ecclesia, i. 5 (29).
Matutinales hymni, iii. 23 (239).
Medicamentum, i. 27 (55).
Mediterraneus, i 3 (23), iii. 9 (207). *De Loc. SS.* i. 12.
Mendiculus, ii. 37 (154).
Mensis, Martius, ii. 44 (175); April. ii. 44 (175), iii. 23 (228); Mai. iii. 22 (228); Jun. ii. 3 (107), 44 (175); August. ii. 3 (107).
Mensula, ii. 13 (122).
Mensura, *quantity*, ii. 16 (126).
Mereo habere, i. 1 (13).
Meretrix, i. 38, 39 (75).
Messio, i. 37 (71); messis, *ib.*
Messor operarius, i. 37 (72).
Migrare ad Dominum, i. 31 (61).
Miles. See *Christi miles.*
Milito, *a soldier*, iii. 7 (204). See *Commilito.*
Ministeria, eucharistiæ, ii. 1 (104), iii. 11 (210); sacra, iii. 12 (211); sepulturæ, iii. 23 (240).
Ministrator, i. 8 (33), 12 (40), ii. 39 (159), iii. 23 (232).
Mino, *to drive*, i. 20 (50). Hence the play on the word, Pastor oves baculo minat: lupus ore minatur. Puer parvulus minabit eos (Isai. xi. 6). Agricolæ et minantes greges (Jer. xxxi. 24). Solus non potuit vaccam minare (Vita S. Brigid, Tr. Th. 558 *a*); minaverunt duas vaccas (*ib.*) The following pass. from the Vit. S. Coemgheni give the rationale of the word: Pastores altisonis vocibus pecora minantes (Act. SS. Jun. tom. i. p. 313 *b*); et minantes inde vaccam aspere (*ib.* p. 314 *a*).
Misellus, i. 41 (79), ii. 23 (135), 27 (140), 37 (154), 40 (164).
Misellulus, ii. 40 (163).
Misericorditer, i. 48 (90).
Missa, nocturna, ii. 5 (112), iii. 2 (191); vespertinalis, iii. 23 (233); missarum solemnia, i. 40 (77), ii. 45 (181, 182), iii. 11 (210), 17 (221), 23

Parricidalis, *murderous*, i. 14 (42). Auisle parricidio a fratribus suis jugulatus est, *An. Ul.* 866.
Pars, *a province*, i. 43 (82), ii. 9 (116), 25 (137).
Particula, *a piece*, i. 38 (75), ii. 7 (114), 23 (135).
Parturitio, ii. 40 (163) *bis*.
Parvipendo, i. 19 (48), 27 (56), 39 (75).
Parvulus, i. 20 (50), ii. 37 (154).
Paschæ solemnitas, ii. 39 (158).
Paschalis, dies, ii. 9 (117); discordia, i. 3 (26); solemnitas, ii. 39 (158), iii. 23 (228).
Pater monasteriorum, Pr. 2 (4).
Paternitatis regio, i. 48 (90).
Patria, quam amas, i. 17 (46), 350.
Patronus, Pr. 1 (3), 2 (6), i. 2 (19), ii. 46 (185), iii. 23 (230, 234, 239, 240).
Patrum via, iii. 23 (230).
Pauculus, ii. 20 (120), 22 (133).
Pauso, *to rest*, iii. 23 (241). In the old Irish Annals, the death of an ecclesiastic is generally expressed by *dormivit*, *quievit*, *pausavit*, or *obiit*; that of a layman by *mortuus*, *jugulatus*, or *occisus*, *est*, as the case might be. *Loc. Sanct.* ii. 10.
Peccamina, delenda, ii. 39 (157); dimissa, i. 30 (59).
Peccantia, i. 30 (59).
Pecusculum, i. 46 (89).
Pedica, *a snare*, ii. 37 (155).
Pelliceus, sacculus, ii. 8 (115), 9 (116); tectum navis, ii. 42 (169). To notes (115, 116) add, The Vit. Tripart. S. Patric. speaks of Macnissius, afterwards bishop of Connor, as—in quadam pellicea pera codices gestantem (ii. 134, Trias Th. 147 *b*). St. Gall had a capsella de corio facta (Messingham, Florileg. p. 275 *b*. His Life in Pertz reads *ligneam* (Monum. ii. p. 18).
Penetralis, *piercing*, ii. 42 (169). Digitos impenetrabiles penetrabiles fecit. *Loc. Sanct.* iii. 4. Penetrabile frigus, telum, *Virg.* (G. i. 93; Æn. x. 481).
Penetro, ii. 42 (169).
Peplum, πέπλος, iii. 1 (190).
Per, *across*, i. 20 (50).
Percussura, ii. 42 (169).
Perditionis filius, i. 22 (52), 36 (70).
Peregrinatio, ii. 10 (118). 39 (157), iii. 22 (227).
Peregrinor, Pr. 2 (9), i. 7 (31), 32 (61), 36 (67).
Peregrinus, i. 32 (61), 44 (86), 48 (91), iii. 6 (203).
Perfecti viri, ii. 9 (117).
Peristera, περιστερά, Pr. 2 (5).
Permolestus, ii. 42 (170).
Pernox, *during the night*, iii. 23 (233).
Perpendo, Pr. 1 (3), ii. 42 (171), iii. 23 (240).
Persecutor ecclesiarum, ii. 24 (135).
Personante signo, ii. 42 (170), clocca, iii. 23 (234).
Perspicio, *to witness*, ii. 45 (176).
Perula, *a wallet*, ii. 20 (131).
Perventio, i. 45 (87).
Pervideo, *to discern*, i. 1 (18).
Pessulus, *a bolt*, ii. 36 (153).
Pestilentia, i. 46 (183, 185).
Petra, πέτρα, ii. 10 (118); nuda, iii. 23 (233); salis, ii. 7 (114).
Phoca, *a seal*, i. 41 (78), *equiv.* vitulus marinus, *ib.*
Pincerna, i. 17 (46), 367.
Pinea capsella, ii. 5 (112); pineæ dolatæ, *hewn fir*, ii. 45 (176).
Piscator, i. 19 (128), iii. 23 (239).
Piscina fluminalis, iii. 23 (239). *Hib.* poll, thus, Pollum Ruodani, now Poleroan, is interpreted piscina Rodani (Vit. S. Rodani, c. 3, Act. SS. Apr. ii. p. 385 *b*).
Piscosus, ii. 19 (128), iii. 23 (238).
Pius et opportunus, ii. 42 (170).
Platea monasterii, i. 50 (98); plateola, iii. 6 (203). Inter Anastasim et basilicam Constantini quædam patet plateola usque ad ecclesiam Golgothanam, in qua videlicet plateola die et nocte semper lampades ardent. De Loc. Sanct. i. 7 (Mabill. p. 459). The ꝓaiṫċe of a dun (360) is thus alluded to in Vit. S. Carthaci: cum vir sanctus ad cujusdam ducis castrum pergeret, in ejusdem platea quosdam ludentes adinvenit (Act. SS. Mai. iii. p. 377 *a*).
Plaustrum, *a cart*, ii. 28 (142), iii. 23 (228).
Plebecula, i. 20 (50).
Plebeius, i. 16 (45), 46 (88), 47 (89), ii. 3 (106), 17 (126), 20 (130), 21 (131), 32 (145), 37 (153), 41 (164), 45 (180), iii. 10 (209).
Pleba, ii. 45 (178), iii. 23 (232).
Plumatiuncula, *a pillow*, i. 15 (44).
Pluvia, iii. 23 (240).
Pluvialis, ii. 4 (108).

Poculum, *or* bibera, ii. 33 (147).
Pœnalis, i. 37 (72).
Pœnitens, i. 21 (50), 30 (58).
Pœnitentia, i. 30 (59); septennis, ii. 39 (157), — leges, i. 22 (52), ii. 39 (157), agere, i. 50 (98).
Pœnitudo, i. 22 (52), ii. 39 (157), agere, i. 17 (46), i. 50 (98), iii. 21 (226), gerere, i. 27 (56), 30 (58), 50 (99).
Poeta Scoticus, i. 42 (79, 80).
* Pollex, oṗḃan, 272. To note [h], add: Sanctus autem vir Kannechus suam promissionem implens digitum suum ibi reliquit. *Vit. S. Cainnechi*, c. 7; si prodest extremum digitum meum manualem tibi ac Domino ymolabo, *ib.* c. 8.
Pomosa arbor, ii. 2 (105).
Pons, ii. 9 (116).
Porrectis oculis, iii. 6 (203).
Portus insulæ, i. 22 (52), 30 (58), 45 (87), ii. 15 (124), 45 (181), 363.
Præceptio, i. 43 (84).
Prædestinatus, i. 2 (21), 14 (42), iii. 1 (191).
Prædicabilis, Pr. 2 (8), i. 28 (57), 37 (71), ii. 1 (104), 6 (113), 12 (120), 19 (128), 27 (141), ii. 43 (174), iii. 5 (197), 19 (225), 23 (239, 240). Prædicabilis capsa, *De Loc. Sanct.* iii. 3.
Præfatiuncula, Pr. 1 (4).
Prægusto, Pr. 2 (7), ii. 23 (135).
Præmissis diebus, ii. 3 (107).
Præordinatus, iii. 3 (194).
Præpositura, *presidency*, i. 45 (86).
Præpositus, i. 30 (59), 31 (60), 35 (65), 41 (78), ii. 18 (127), 339. See *Dominus*, *Primarius*.
Præscientia, i. 48 (90), iii. 8 (206).
Præscitus, i. 48 (91).
Præsul, *an abbot*, Pr. 1 (4), 2 (6), i. 8 (34), iii. 23 (241).
Prætersorium, *a stray animal*, i. 38 (75) *bis*.
Prandeo, ii. 13 (122).
Prandiolum, iii. 12 (211).
Presbyter, i. 20 (50), 36 (66, 68, 71), 40 (76), 44 (85), 45 (86), iii. 2 (191), 19 (225). Applied to a bishop, 7, 242. See *Sacerdos*.
Primarius, *principal*, p. insula, i. 1 (12); *a chief officer*, i. 33 (62); *a superior*, i. 17 (46), 35 (65). The ancient Ir. Annals and Canons frequently used *princeps* to denote a religious superior, as equiv. to *abbas*, or aipcinnech (364). Saran, who is styled aipcinnech in Tigh. 605, is termed *comes* in the Vit. S. Maidoci, c. 47 (Colg. Act. SS p. 213). Thus *dominus*, i. 20 (50). See *Præpositus*.
Primordia libelli, i. 1 (11), nativitatis, iii. 1 (190).
Primule, i. 17 (46). *De Loc. Sanct.* iii. 4.
* Princeps, *a superior*, 298, 307, 364, 389.
Procinctus belli, i. 1 (14). *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 10.
Proclivus, in proclivo, iii. 5 (201).
Proferre verbum, i. 20 (50), 42 (80), ii. 30 (144).
Profluvium sanguinis, ii. 18 (128).
Promere verba, 1, 3 (25), i. 13 (41), 18 (47), vocem, iii. 15 (215).
Promissiuncula, i. 1 (11).
Pronepotes, iii. 5 (198).
Pronuntiatio rerum, Pr. i. (4).
Prophetalis præscientia, i. 50 (100).
Prophetatio, Pr. 2 (6), i. 32 (61), iii. 1 (190).
Prophetizatio, i. 48 (90).
Prophetizo, ii. 40 (164).
Proprie, *specially*, iii. 1 (190).
Proselytus, προσήλυτος, *a stranger*, Pr. 2 (6), i. 26 (55), 30 (59), 32 (61), 44 (85). See note (61). Dominus pepercit proselyto et peregrino, *S. Patr. Confess.* (Villanueva, p. 195); inter barbaras gentes proselytus et perfuga ob amorem Dei, *Ep. ad Corot.* (*ib.* p. 240).
Protensio, *a stretching forth*, ii. 6 (113).
Protestatio, iii. 16 (218).
Protestor, *to declare*, i. 1 (16), 49 (96).
Protus, πρῶτος, *first*, ii. 1 (105).
Providentia divina, Pr. 2 (5).
Provincia, *a region* (*large*), Galliarum provinciæ, i. 28 (57), Cisalpinæ Galliarum provinciæ, ii. 46 (183), Lagenica, iii. 12 (213), Muminensium, i. 44 (85), Pictorum, i. 1 (13), ii. 11 (119), 27 (140), 32 (145), 33 (146), regis Domnill, iii. 5 (201); *a territory* (*small*), insularum provinciæ, Pr. 2 (7). Anteriorum, iii. 7 (204). Maugdornorum, i. 43 (81), multæ Scotiæ provinciæ, ii. 25 (138), harum [quo ad Hy] provinciarum populus, iii. 23 (240), de gente et provincia, i. 2 (20). See Vit. S. Moluæ, c. 26 (Flem. Coll. 373 *a*). It is equiv. to *regio* in i. 1 (12, 13), ii. 11 (119 *tit.*) In the case of the Maugdorni the term is applied

to a district represented by a modern barony in the county of Monaghan.

Provincialis, iii. 7 (204).

Provinciola, i. 46 (89).

Prudens, i. 2 (19), ii. 37 (154).

Psalmodia, i. 37 (73), iii. 23 (239).

Psalmus, i. 37 (74), ii. 45 (176), iii. 23 (233).

Psalterium, i. 23 (53), iii. 23 (233).

Puellarum monasterium, ii. 41 (165).

Puer, *a lad*, ii. 25 (138); *servant*, ii. 30 (144).

Puerulus, ii. 10 (118), iii. 2 (192).

Pugio, *a butcher's knife*, ii. 29 (143).

Pugnus, i. 36 (70).

Pulvillus, *a pillow*, i. 1 (14), iii. 23 (233).

Punitiones, *pangs*, ii. 40 (163).

Purulentus, ii. 4 (109).

Purum pectus, i. 3 (25), ii. 13 (122), iii. 15 (215).

Putrefactus, i. 36 (70).

Pyra, πυρά, *fervour*, i. 29 (58).

Pyramis, *a canopy*, i. 3 (24). Used by Cicero and Pliny in the sense *pyramid* or *cone*. Adamnan says of David's sepulchre: humilem lapideam habens pyramidem, *De Loc. SS.* (ii. 4); and of Rachel's: nullam habens adornationem, lapides circumdatum pyramide (ii. 7). The Vita S. Rodani: aper suo dente tuam pyramidem perfodiet (Act. SS. Apr. ii. 385 *a*). In these instances it means a square fence, and in the text it probably signifies a *square barrier*.

Quadragesima, ii. 39 (158), — alis dies, *ib.*

Querimonium, ii. 2 (105).

Quinalis, *for* quinque, ii. 21 (131).

Radius, *a ray*, i. 43 (84), iii. 2 (191).

Raptor, *a plunderer*, i. 46 (89).

Ratabusta, iii. 23 (239). This unique compound may be derived from ratus, *firm*, and busta, *a box*. Du Cange has Busta, *a little box*. *Provenc.* bostia, *old Fr.* boiste, *mod. Fr.* boîte, *Breton* boest, *mod. Lat.* buxis, buxida [corrupt. from pyxis, pyxida, *Gr.* πυξίδα] *Germ.* büchse, *Angl.* box; and bustare, *to bury*, but the latter comes from the class-word bustum. The Lib. Armac. has grabatus (κράβατος, *a couch*) in sense of *bier* (fol. 15 *bb*), and bustum for *a grave* (fol. 7 *bb*), also, ad sargifagum [*recte* sarcophagum] martirum, which the Ir. gloss renders ꝺu ꝑeꝛꞇi maꝛꞇaꝛ, *at the tomb of the relics* (fol. 21 *bb*). Bede uses *sarcofagus*, *loculus* (H. E. iv. 11, 19, 30), *locellus* (iv. 19), *theca* (iv. 30), *tumba* (iv. 31). The Vit. S. Cadoci has: in cujus cœnobii porticu quodam corpora trium discipulorum ejus marmoreis bustis condita jacent: sed nullus audet eorundem sarcophagos inspicere, c. 33 (Rees, 69).

Ratis, ii. 39 (161).

Reclusio, ii. 36 (152).

Refectio, i. 21 (51).

Refectorium, ii. 13 (121), 358.

Refragatio, ii. 34 (148).

Refrigeratio æterna, iii. 10 (209).

Refuto, *to bid begone*, ii. 39 (161).

Regium genus, i. 36 (66), 43 (81).

Regnator, i. 1 (13), 12 (40), 36 (68), ii. 35 (152).

* Regula, *a rule, discipline*, 336, 337.

Regulus Orcadum, ii. 42 (167).

Reinvito, *to recall*, i. 1 (39).

Religiosus, i. 17 (45), 26 (55), 40 (77), iii. 10 (208).

Reliquiæ, iii. 23 (238). Martyres, *hinc* maꝛꞇꞇa, was the technical term among the Irish for a saint's relics (314). From *reliquiæ* comes the Ir. ꝑeilig, *sepulchretum*, and from *martyres*, the Maꝛꞇaꝛ-ꞇeach of the Annals (*Ult.* 721, 754, 1055), latinized *Domus-martirum* by Tirechan (Lib. Armac. fol. 15 *b a*), *Martira* of the old Taxations, and now *Martry*, a parish in Meath. *Martorthige*, or *Marthor-theach*, in Gowran, was so called, because the founder *reliquit diversas sanctorum reliquias* there (Lib. Arm. fol. 15 *bb*; Vit. Trip. iii. 27, Tr. Th. p. 155 *b*). Kilnamartry in Cork has doubtless the same origin, and so has *Merthyr* of the Welsh. A church at Jerusalem, which was built by Constantine, was called *Martyrium*. *De Loc. SS.* i. 7.

Remendico, ii. 37 (155).

Remex, i. 19 (49).

Remigo (for remigro, the *r* being suppressed, as in *susum* for *sursum*), cap. (10), i. 2 (19), iii. 23 (237, 240).

Repedo, i. 41 (78), 48 (91), ii. 24 (136), iii. 16 (218), 22 (228).

Repromissionis filius, Pr. 2 (6). The Terra repromissionis, tir tairngire of the Irish, was St. Brendan's insula quæ dicitur Terra repromissionis Sanctorum, described in his Legend (Cod. Marsh. fol. 62 *b a*; Jubinal, pp. 2, 50, 51, 53).

Resurgo, ii. 39 (162).

Resurrectio, ii. 39 (163), iii. 23 (238). S. Ruadanus locum suæ resurrectionis apud Lothra elegit, *Vit.* c. 24 (Colg. Act. SS. 395 *b*). *Loc. Sanct.* i. 13.

Retiaculum, ii. 19 (129).

Retrotrudo, i. 1 (12).

Reverbero, *to dazzle*, iii. 19 (224). See *Irreverbero.*

Rex, i. 7 (32), i. 12 (40).

Rimula, i. 50 (99), iii. 18 (223).

Rivulus, i. 34 (64), ii. 4 (108).

Roboretum, an equiv. for daire, in the prop. names *Roboretum Calgachi*, *Roboreti Campus*, q. v. in General Index.

Roboreus, used to express daire. See *Roboreus Campus* in Gen. Ind.

Robur, daire, hence *Roboris Campus*, an equiv. for dair-magh. See General Index.

* Roseta, *the cap of an axle*, 172.

Rota, *a wheel*, ii. 43 (172), *a round sieve* (note 88).

Rudentes, ii. 39 (161).

Rusticani, ii. 17 (126).

Sabbatizo, *to rest*, iii. 23 (230).

Sabbatum, *Saturday*, i. 16 (45), iii. 23 (230) *ter*, i. e. requies, *ib.*

Sacculus pelliceus, ii. 8 (115, 116), 9 (117).

Sacerdos, i. 20 (50); *a bishop*, 365; *De Loc. Sanct.* ii. 5. See *Presbyter.*

Saginatus, *fattened*, ii. 23 (135).

Sagum, iii. 1 (191), i. e. peplum, pallium, *ib.* 356.

Sal, ii. 6 (113), salis petra, ii. 7 (114).

Salacia unda, *the ebbing tide*, ii. 38 (155, 156).

Salutare signum, ii. 16 (125), 351: thus salutare lignum of *the Cross*, in *De Loc. SS.* iii. 3.

Sanctus, Baitheneus, i. 37 (72), presbyter, ii. 15 (124), alii sancti, i. 43 (84).

Sanguilentus, i. 36 (70).

Sanguinarius homo, i. 36 (67).

Sapida, lætificatio, iii. 22 (227), sapidæ laudes, iii. 23 (239, 241). Cæteri relegiossi laudes sapidas offerunt.—*Lib. Armac.* (fol. 21 *a b*).

Sapiens, i. 30 (58), 50 (98) *bis.*

Sapientia, ii. 2 (103), 25 (137), iii. 21 (226).

Satis satiatus, ii. 44 (176).

Scandalizo, σκανδαλίζω, ii. 3 (106).

Scaphus, σκάφος, ii. 45 (176).

Scelerator, *a criminal*, ii. 25 (138).

*Scetha, *a book-satchel*, 116, 117, 359.

* Scriba, scribneóir, 365.

Scriniolum, ii. 8 (116). Illius scrinioli ubi reconditus [calix Domini] habetur operculi foramen. —*De Loc. Sanct.* (i. 8).

Scrinium, *a case*, ii. 9 (117). *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 10.

Scriptura sacra, i. 22 (52), ii. 1 (103), iii. 18 (223).

Securus, *resigned*, iii. 14 (215).

Semisopor, i. 34 (64).

Senatus, Brudei, ii. 35 (152), Oswaldi, i. 1 (15).

Senior, i. 2 (19, 20), 3 (24), 37 (72), seniores, ii. 4 (111), 44 (175), iii. 3 (194), 9 (208).

Sentina navis, *bilge water*, ii. 12 (120). The only marg. gloss in cod. A is on this word: Sentina est fervida aqua navis. See Plate II. 6.

Sepiscula (*for* sepicula), *a little fence*, Pr. 2 (7).

Septem anni, ii. 39 (158, 160, 161, 162); dies, i. 16 (45), 32 (61), ii. 40 (163).

Septennales anni, ii. 39 (157).

Septennis pœnitentia, ii. 39 (157).

Septimana, *a week*, Cap. (10), i. 16 (45), 27 (56), 31 (61), 32 (61), ii. 39 (159, 162).

*Septimanarii coquinæ (367).

Septimanii hymni, ii. 9 (116). *Hib.* immund na sechtmaine (319). Nimis iners devotionis suæ servitium ostendunt monachi, qui minus psalterio cum canticis consuetudinariis per septimanæ circulum psallunt.—Reg. S. Bened. (c. 18).

Sepulcralia officia, iii. 23 (240).

Sepulcrum, i. 20 (50).

Sepultio (quarta die post obitum), iii. 23 (240), 352, tertia die, i. 16 (45).

Sequestratus, *threshed*, *winnowed*, iii. 23 (230).

Sermocinatio, *conversation*, i. 42 (79), iii. 16 (218).

Sermocinor, i. 12 (40), ii. 42 (168).

Sermusculum, iii. 23 (230).

Servitor obediens, iii. 23 (231).
Servula, ii. 33 (147).
Siccitas, *drought*, ii. 44 (174).
Siderea spatia, iii. 12 (211).
Signaculum crucis, ii. 29 (143).
Signum personans, ii. 42 (170), iii. 13 (213), see *Clocca;* salutare, ii. 16 (125), 351, see *Crux.*
Sindon, σινδών, *a linen cloth*, iii. 23 (239). This is the term in Matt. xxvii. 59, and the par. places, and Mark, xiv. 51, 52. *Linteamen* is the equiv. word in *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 2, 4, 10; also *Linteolum*, i. 10. See Vit. S. Kierani, c. 19 (Colg. Act. SS. p. 460 *b*).
* Sinistralis, *north*, 83.
Sinus, i. e. gremium, i. 9 (36); mentis, i. 1 (18), 43 (84).
Solamen, i. 37 (71, 72), ii. 37 (155).
Sophia, σοφία, i. 2 (18). Johannes Scotus styles himself *extremus sophiæ studentium*. Ussh. Syll. (Wks. iv. 476).
Sparsim, iii. 23 (239).
Spiramen sanctum, iii. 18 (222).
Stadia iv., i. e. D passus, i. 37 (73).
Stagnum, i. 31 (60), 34 (64); stagnea aqua, i. 36 (71). It is the equiv. of loch. *De Loc. Sanct.* ii. 25, 27; Bede, *H. E.* iv. 29. See Gen. Index.
Statio, *a standing posture*, ii. 32 (146).
Stillicidium, i. 50 (99).
Sto, for existo, ii. 7 (114), 27 (141).
Stolas lavare, iii. 24 (240).
Stramen, iii. 23 (233), 357.
Stylus, i. 37 (72), ii. 44 (175), 358.
Subitatio, i. 47 (90), ii. 25 (137), iii. 13 (213), 16 (218), 23 (239).
Sublevatio vocis, i. 37 (73).
Sublimo, i. 49 (94), iii. 23 (241); *De Loc. SS.* ii. 27, iii. 3.
Subrideo, i. 5 (29), ii. 40 (163).
Subsanno, *to deride*, i. 39 (75), ii. 22 (133).
Subtilis res, i. 43 (84); sensus, i. 25 (54).
Sudes, ii. 7 (114), 37 (153), iii. 8 (206).
Suffultus tabulis, i. 25 (54); *Loc. SS.* i. 18, ii. 16, 26.
Suilla carno, ii. 23 (135).
Sulfureus ignis, i. 28 (56).
Superemineo, i. 30 (58), iii. 16 (218); *L. SS.* i. 1, ii. 16.
Superfusus, *overspread*, i. 28 (56).
Superpluo, ii. 4 (111).
Syllaba, i. 37 (73).
Synodus, ii. 45 (178), iii. 3 (193).

Tabernaculum corporis, iii. 23 (235).
Tabula, *a board*, i. 25 (54); *a tablet*, i. 35 (66). Cujus mihi formam in tabula cerata ipse depinxit. *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 2. Mihi Adamnano hæc universa quæ infra craxanda sunt experimenta diligentius perscrutanti, et *primo in tabulas describenti*, fideli et indubitabili narratione dictavit, quæ *nunc in membranis* brevi textu scribuntur. *De Loc. Sanct. Prolog.* See 358.
Tedialis, iii. 23 (234).
Tegoriolum. See *Tuguriolum.*
Tempora, *years*, iii. 3 (192).
Tenacitas, *niggardliness*, i. 50 (98).
Territorium, iii. 7 (204).
Terrula, i. 33 (62), 49 (91), ii. 14 (123), 25 (138), 28 (142), 37 (154), iii. 8 (206).
Testes centeni, i. 1 (17), ii. 45 (182).
Testificatio, iii. 19 (225), 23 (238).
Textus, Pr. 2 (7). See under *Tabula*, supra.
Thesaurus regis, ii. 33 (148).
Thronus excelsus, iii. 22 (228).
Tigernus, *Hib.* tiġeṗna, *a lord*, i. 43 (80).
Timoro, *to terrify*, iii. 19 (225).
Titulus monumenti, iii. 23 (234). *De Loc. SS.* ii. 7.
Torpentes terræ, ii. 44 (174).
Tortio, *a pang*, ii. 40 (163).
Transcursus annorum, i. 8 (33).
Transfreto, i. 32 (61), 41 (77), iii. 23 (240).
Transmeo, i. 18 (47), 19 (48), ii. 15 (124), 40 (164), iii. 17 (219), 23 (234).
Transmuto, *to shift*, i. 34 (64). The reading in Cod. A. is *transmoto*, and *transmotio* in cap. (11), which is according to the Ir. orthography, and probably to that used by Adamnan. Quodcunque Domino consecratur nullo modo redimi possit aut motari; nam si quis motaverit, et quod motatum est, et pro quo motatum, sanctificabitur Domino. *De Loc. Sanct.* (iii. 4). *Commoto* occurs in some old Ir. canons, but the *moto* there seems to be for *moveo* (Martene, Anecd. iv. cols. 6, 8).

Transvado, i. 5 (29), 48 (91).
Trecenti, i. 8 (34). This was a favourite military number, as sixty and thirty in prophecies (6), twelve in discipleship (299). Percusserunt trecentos viros, excepto uno, qui nunciavit regi quæ facta fuerant. Vit. S. Cadoci, c. 65 (Rees, 94). See *Commutatio.*
Tremefactus, i. 3 (25), 40 (77), ii. 23 (135).
Trigonus, τρίγωνος, *triangular*, iii. 23 (241).
Trinalis, i. 48 (91), iii. 18 (223), 23 (241). Trinalium lignorum, *De Loc. SS.* iii. 3.
Tristificatio, iii. 22 (227).
Tristificatus, ii. 45 (179).
Trisulca lingua, iii. 23 (229). Quamvis trisulcus arcuato vulnere scorpius insurgat, *Ep. Columbani ad Bonifac.* iv. (Flem. Coll. p. 143 *b*).
Trituratio frugum, i. 28 (56).
Trucidatio, ii. 39 (157).
Trucidator, i. 36 (67).
Truncus cadaverinus, i. 49 (96).
Tuguriolum, i. 25 (54), 35 (65), ii. 16 (125), iii. 15 (215), 22 (227). The Irish orthography is *tegoriolum*, which appears in Cod. A. at all these reff. Thus, hujus tegorioli introitus.—*De Loc. SS.* (i. 2). Tegoriolum ubi hospitabam.—*Confess. S. Patr.* (Lib. Armac. *f.* 23 *ab*).
Tugurium, iii. 23 (233). Cod. A. reads *tegorium:* thus, petra excisum tegorium, *De Loc. SS.* (i. 2); ante ostium tegorii, *ib.* (i. 4).

Ulcera, ii. 4 (109).
Ultra, *across*, i. 34 (64).
Uncina, ii. 27 (141).
Unigenitus, Pr. 2 (5). *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 1.
Urceus, ii. 1 (104).
Uter lactarius, ii. 38 (155).

Vaccula, ii. 20 (130), 21 (131).
Vadum, *Hib.* ad, see *Vadum Clied* in Gen. Ind.
Valde (with compar.), ii. 40 (163); (with superl.), i. 3 (25). Valde summa columna, *De Loc. SS.* (i. 12).
Vallum monasterii, i. 3 (24), ii. 29 (143).
Valvæ portarum, ii. 35 (151), iii. 18 (223).
Vas electionis, i. 43 (84); navis, ii. 12 (119).
Vasculum, i. 24 (53), 49 (93), ii. 5 (113), 16 (125), 17 (126).
Vaticinatio, i. 11 (39), 14 (42), 43 (80), 47 (90), 49 (94), ii. 39 (163); vaticinium, i. 45 (87).
Vehiculum, iii. 23 (229). Vehiculo is the read. in Cod. A. i. 34 (64) for *viculo.*
Velum, i. 18 (47), 19 (49), ii. 34 (150), 39 (162), 42 (168).
Venatici canes, ii. 26 (139).
Veniabilis, *venial*, iii. 3 (192).
Venilia unda, *the flow-tide*, ii. 38 (155, 156).
Verbum Dei, i. 33 (62), iii. 14 (215); vitæ, ii. 32 (145).
Versiculus, i. 37 (73), iii. 23 (233).
Veru, ii. 37 (154), iii. 8 (205).
Vervex, i. 41 (78).
Vespertinalis missa, iii. 23 (233), laudes, i. 37 (73).
Vespertinus, i. 37 (72).
Victorialis, i. 1 (13), iii. 13 (214). Victoriale lignum, *De Loc. Sanct.* iii. 3.
Viculus, i. 34 (64), ii. 7 (114).
Vinum, i. 1 (13), ii. 1 (103).
Viperarum venena, ii. 28 (142), iii. 23 (229).
Vita comite, ii. 4 (109), ii. 34 (148). Thus S. Gregory, Si vita comes fuerit. *Bede* (H. E. i. 29).
Vitreus, *of glass*, ii. 33 (147), iii. 5 (197); *like glass*, ii. 22 (133).
Vitulus marinus, i. 41 (78), *equiv.* phoca.
Vocamen, Pr. 1 (4), 2 (5). *De Loc. SS.* iii. 2.
Vocito, Pr. 2 (5), i. 12 (40), 31 (60), 33 (63), 38 (74), 40 (76).
Volumina sacra, iii. 18 (223), 23 (230).
Vulturnus, ii. 45 (178). Qui et Calcias, *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 2.

Xenium, ξένιον, *a present*, i. 41 (79), 50 (97–99) *sæpe.* Ξένιον τὸ δῶρον τὸ πεμπόμενον ξένῳ. —Gloss. Cyrill.

*Zabulum, *a barn*, 88, 362.
Zelum, i. 32 (145).

VARIÆ LECTIONES CODICIS COTTONIANI.

[*Prior numerus paginam, secundus lineam hujus libri denotat.*]

3. 2, Incipit prefacio in vitam sancti patris columbe episcopi. 11, scocie.
4. 8, plurimos fama. 13, secunda orditur prefacio. 15, omonimon. nomine.
5. 2, ΠΕΡΥCΤΗΡΑ. 4, indutum. 7, sanctis. 9, simplicitate.
6. 6, britto. pacricii. macteus.
7. 5, et ille homo. ipso erit.
8. 4, cognovi. 10, fergosi. athneam.
9. 1, scocia. 9, aut scr. 10, laborationibus.
10. 1, 2, *omit.* 3, *om.* abbate. talcani. 5, crasseni. 6, cainnechi. 7, columbani. 8, lethani. *om.* prophet.-ejus. 9, Prophetationes ejus de bellis de regibus. 11, pueris quorum unus. mortuus est. 13, *om.* proph. a. Columbæ. 14, Prophetia sancti columbe de laisrano hortulano. 18, furtive. 21, ydriam.
11. 4, laistrano. feradachi. monachus. 5, bivi. 7, peregrinis sancti viri prophetia. 9, transmutatione. locdéé. 10, fachni. 12, gruthriche. 13, trioita. 16, colgen. columbano. *om.* cane. 18, 19, Incipit liber de vita et miraculis beati patris columbe. 20, *om.* De-narratio.
12. 11, religione. 17, instinctus.
13. 2, 3, *om.* quod-miraculi. 4, fendbarrum. 12, ferre. 14, et aliorum. 15, imprecavit. 20, oswaldo.
14. 2, oswaldus. 3, sua.
15. 3, josue. num.
16. 3, adamnano.
17. 2, scottie. 6, paucis. 9, aut eo. 10, non enim. 11, *om.* in.
18. 8, hinc ideo. 13, fenteno. talchani. 14, fentenus.
19. 4, vocabatur. columcrach. 10, sospesne. columcrach. 13, fentenus. columba (*sic passim in capitulo*). 18, baithenium.
20. 5, internuncium. 8, terram. 14, deo nostro. 25, fentenus. mocumoye. talcanus.
22. 2, ait grates. 3, hisdem. *Tria folia codicis, sc. a lin.* 3, diebus *ad* p. 52, *lin.* 9, genibus, *desunt.*
53. 10, filii.
54. 3, fossam aqua repletam. 4, diffuso.
55. 3, clamabat. 4, anni. mucuanti.
56. 18, in terra italie.
57. 5, adventantes. *om.* illa. 6, audivit.
58. 1, displicent. 9, monachum. 10, fectno.
59. 3, fechnaus. 6, culpas confitetur. 8, deus contritum non aspernit et humiliatum cor.
60. 1, *om.* sancti. 4, dium. ab aé fluminis. 7, ionunini.
61. 4, *om.* provida. 20, 21, *om.* in pace.
62. 10, 11, primarius geone cohortis. 13, misteria.
64. 1, naviculi. 3, viculo. 6, domo. 7, *om.* eis.

65. 1, fachni. diocesi. 2, cellachi. 3, colgio.
66. 2, factni. 5, *om.* beati—viri. 6, ardchaun. 8, crutinium.
68. 1, cerbubulis. 3, findcanum.
69. 2, suas.
Folia tria, sc. a. p. 70, 1, viro, *ad* p. 97, 4, quæ, *desunt.*
97. 6, cethirin. prænunciaverant.
98. 5, exenium. diu comitatur.
99. 18, seculorum. amen.
100. 1, *om.* hic. 1–3, *om.* nunc—comitatur. 6, factum est de aqua. 12, mauguina.
101. 7, sanguinis latitabat. 10, vocitatu. 12, uígeno. 27, ioue. (ioua *passim in hoc cod.*)
102, 12, parturitiones. 15, chormacho. letani. 26, *om.* expliciunt—libri.
103. 1, Incipit liber secundus. 3, *om.* alio in tempore. vir sanctus columba. fendbarrum.
104. 3, *om.* pergit. sacra. 7, galéé. 13, refert.
105. 1, promptum. 2, galee. 10, haberentur. 11, *om.* sanctus. ad eandem.
106. 9, *om.* in. 10, findcanum. 12, estivum.
107. 3, quindecim. 8, mortifera. 10, munitio nuni magna.
108. 3, nemaido mocusogin.
109. 1, clééth.
110. 5, quo ad illam. 6, ardcenacte.
111. 14, *add.* transeamus ad alia. 15, mauguina. 16, loco qui scottie dicitur clocher. 21, filium.
112. 1, *om.* casu. mauguina. 6, mauguinam.
113. 2, 3, coxalis conjunctura solidabitur et sancta. 10, *om.* secundum. 12, cete. 16, cete. 18, anfibali.
114. 3, accepit. 8, combustam. 16, bofend.
117. 3, ioienanum. 9, aquas. 11, *om.* veracibus.
118. 5, apud deum. 6 ad 9, peregit, *titulus rubrica scriptus, ut in B.* 14, infantulum. 17, usque ad. 19, 20, lugucen calath. 20, ardaib muircol.
119. 7, levantes. demonica.
120. 4, híninglas. parcem. 9, deum. 11, periculo in vortice bercaynni.
121. 2, scottie. acheth bou.
122. 4, ipse ejus. 10, cainneche.
123. 1, cainnechi. 3, *om.* est. 10, ouidchae.
124. 1, beognoi. 2, deo. 7, *om.* mane.
125. 1, propera. 2, *om.* in. 4, *om.* vir.
126. 1, depinxit et invocato dei nomine vas benedixit quod (*sic B quoque*).
128. 5, esoce magno in fluvio sale juxta verbum sancti invento.
129. 4, *capit. et titulus ut in B.*
130. 3, b66. 9, sic nesanus.
131. 4–11, *ut in B.* 21, nasani.
132. 6, excedebat. 12, *titulus ut in B.* 16, iohannes. domnalli.
133. 8, subsannavit. 10, ambabus. 13, aidcambas ardmuircoll. 19, immensa (*sic B*). 22, predixerat.
134. 3, manente toto (*sic B*). 5, *titulus ut in B.* 8, ilia.
135. 3, qui in mane (qui immane *B*). 5, nobis sed (*sic B*). 6, estivo. 7, arborum. 9, nunciaretur (*sic B*). 11, *om.* jugulatur–viri. 18, *om.* quodam—ecclesiarum.
136. 7, dextera dicebatur. 8, *om.* ex. 10, laudes.
137. 1, cromani filii baetani. 4, *titulus ut in B.*
138. 5, sanctum columbam. 16, *titulus ut in B.* 17, in sua insula.
139. 4, loco hoc. 5, quantotius morere.
140. 6, nessamius. 9, *om.* præripiens. raptu.
141. 14, fugit retractatione factaque. 15, et inter bestiam. 16, *om.* contuli.
142. 2, christum. 5, 6, *titulus ut in B.* 14, omnia.
143. 9, quod. 12, necnon.
144. 9, oratio (*sic B*). 13, fenteni. 16, fentenus. 22, kailli anfinde.
145. 1, *om.* domini. 6, aliquantum. 7, filius. 13, deflere prolis.
146. 5, et corpus. 6, et stabiliens. 15, bricano. 22, brudeno.
147. 12, facta. enarres. 23, lapis (*sic B*).
148. 2, briochanus. 7, *om.* ubi.
150. 4, factum. 7, appulsa est.
152. 8, rivulorum.

153. 2, conquerenter.
154. 11, *om.* primo. 23, amans.
156. 5, *om.* in terram. 10, ex æquor.
157. 2, residens.
159. 26, retentare oportet.
162. 15, libranus. hisdem.
163. 13, vocatus.
164. 10, gubernatore. tudica.
167. 1, rege.
170. 8, *om.* signo.
171. 2, nos (*sic B*).
174. 5, 6, *titulus ut in B.*
176. 4, *add.* ad alia veniamus. 10, *om.* per—pineæ. 18, ventis.
178. 3, airtago. 6, *om.* nostrorum.
182. 5, *add.* veniamus ad alia.
183. 1, cis alpinas (*sic B*). 2, provinciam. hispanias. disterminatas.
184. 4, alio (*sic B*).
186. 1, *om.* nos.
187. 3, explicit liber secundus.
189. 10, moculigse. 12, 13, *om.* De—descenderant. 24, cubilibus.
190. 1, 2, *om.* Hic—visionibus. *add. titulum* De angelo domini qui ejus genitrici in somnis post ipsius in utero conceptionem apparuit. 4, juvante (*sic B*). 10, copula es. *om.* fœdere.
192. 8, venerabilibus. *om.* tam (*sic B*).
194. 1, *om.* ceteris. 14, *om.* Hoc—teilte (*sic B*).
195. 1, fennio. 3, fennionem. 4, fennio.
197. 1, hymba. 3, himba. 8, *om.* quia—diligeret.
198. 1, livosum (*sic B*).
199. *om.* Cummeneus *usque ad finem cap.* p. 201, 3.
204. 2, diormicii. 4, *om.* menses. 5, comprovincialibus. 7, de vita. ondairtir.
205. 10, apertumque.
206. 6, quo timore. 11, monasteriola.
207. 2, defendantur.
211. 7, albati.
214. 8, emchati. 10, nesae (*sic B*).
215. 3, aircardan.
216. 1, colgius. 2, mocumlea.
218. 6, permissu (*sic B*).
219. 12, himba.
220. 1, cainichus. 2, letani.
222. 9, imba.
223. 14, virgnous. 15, ecclesie, cui ego indignus licet deservio.
225. 3, *om.* O. 10, a domnano. 16, fecreh.
226. 3, mesloen. 18, hibernali.
227. 10, *om.* erat (*sic B*).
228. 1, lucentie. 17, *titulus ut in B.*
229. 13, voluntatem. 17, leticie.
230. 1, requirit. 3, sanctam (*sic B*). 4, inveni-entibus. 11, habebitis panem.
232. 7, *om.* nuper. 14, *om.* barbararum.
233. 11, noctis officium.
234. 8, observatoribus mandatorum.
235. 20, scotia nuncupatur (*sic B*).
236. 1, talcani.
237. 3, 4, ascendentis (*sic B*). 6, himba. 9, muirbule máár. 15. aernene.
238. 1, dorso come. 2, a domnano.
239. 3, quem. 12, deo. 16, *om.* sapidis.
240. 3, exequias ut putatur. 23, militum.
241. 7, sanctissime. 9, pausent. 15, penninas. 17, uocibilis.
242. *titulus* [obsecra]tio sancti adamnani ad s[criptore]m *rubrica.* 5, 6, *om.* quicunque—possideam.
245. *catalogus sequitur immediate post* subscribant, p. 242, 4.
246. 1, mocutheimne. thocannu. 3, sancti—parentes *rubrica.* Fedilmith. Æithne.
247. 1, consobrini–columbæ *rubrica.* sancte. 2, colmaan. sineth. 4, conrii mocucein 5, ioua.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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5, note [h], line 2, *for* churches, which is the common interpretation, *read* church, which is more in accordance with the Irish *Colum-cille;* and see note [l], p. lxx.

14, note [p], line 19, *for* 1263 *read* 1249.

16, note [d], line 3, *for* March 2 *read* March 22.

22, note [l], line 11, *for* Survey *read* Account.

30, note [b], line 5, *for* south-east *read* east.

32, note [c], line 24, *for* belligerants *read* belligerents.

33, note [c], line 5, *for* Aibhe *read* Ailbhe.

36, note [e], line 4, *before* in 595 *insert* according to the Annalist.

41, note [b], line 3, *for* Surv. *read* Account.

50, note [e], line 1, *add* Possibly it is the parish in the north of Inishowen now called Culdaff, of which, according to local tradition, S. Baetan, whose bell is still preserved, was the patron saint.

54, line 3, *for* repletum *read* repletam.

57, note [a], line 6, *for* 598 *read* 600.

62, note [b], line 8, *add* Sgaðaiʒ seems rather to belong to the compound Dunskaigh, called Dunskahay in 1505, the name of a fort in the parish of Sleat, in the south of Skye.

— *ib.*, line 12, *for* C. Innes *read* Archdeacon Munro, who writes concerning Skye, "This iyle is callit by the Erishe Ellan Skyane, that is to say in Englishe the Wingitt ile."—Descript. of West. Isles, p. 133.

63, note [f], line 3, *for* Survey *read* Account.

69, note [m], line 6, *for* par. *read* Par.

74, line 4, *note*, Clodus, that is claudus, according to the orthography of cod. A. Claudus is the equivalent in the capitulat. p. 11.

78, note [e], line 5, *observe*, The statement that Little Colonsay is not inhabited is an error. The writer in the New Statistical Account, in 1843, observes that the "island of Collonsa has a population of six souls," vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 351.

80, line 9, *for* duobis *read* duobus.

88, note [a], line 17, *for the last sentence substitute*, Of these, Sallachan in Morvern is most probably the place mentioned in the text, for in 1509 we find it called *Sallochancorry*, a compound containing the same elements, only transposed. See Orig. Paroch. vol. ii. p. 191.

92, col. 2, line 18, *add* Colman mac Comgellain was one of the Irish Dalriada, and for this reason it probably was that St. Columba left the decision to him.

94, col. 2 line 9, *for* Kilken. *read* Marsh; and see note [l], p. xxv.

107, note [c], *add*, The writer in the New Stat. Acct. states that "such is the heat of the summer and the warm nature of the soil, that Iona produces more early crops than most parts of Great Britain; for although the inhabitants do not conclude their barley-sowing until after the middle of June, they have harvest in August." Upon which there is the note, where, in reference to the present anecdote, he adds: "Although this fact is regarded by Adomnan with admiration, and recorded by him as one of Columba's miracles, yet it is not surprising that it happened in Iona, considering the nature of its climate and soil" (vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 317).

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117, line 12, *after* craxatis *add* A.

120, note [a], line 28, *for* n-ꝷlaiꝓ *read* an-ꝷlaiꝓ, and see Glossary voc. *Hininglas.*

121, note [c], line 33, *for* Surv. *read* Account.

123, note [a], line 3, *for* places *read* passages.

—— *ib.*, line 19, *for* Dowry *read* Deowry.

—— note [b], line 6, *for* Dean *read* Archdeacon.

—— *ib.*, line 12, *for* portum *read* portu.

—— to note [b], *add:* The crozier of St. Mochaoi, of Aendruim, now Mahee Island, in Strangford Lough, was called *Eteach Mochai*, that is '[baculus] volans Mochaii,' from the belief that it was 'cœlitus missus.' Vit. Tripart. S. Patricii, i. 53 (Trias Th. p. 125); Jocelin, c. 37 (*ib.* p. 73 *a*).

125, line 20, *after* nunquam, *for* E. *read* F.

128, line 7, *for* iterato *read* Iterato.

137, line 1, *on* Cronani filii Baithani, *note*, This Cronan was probably son of the Baotan who appears in the genealogy of the Scottish Dalriads as son of Fergus Salach, son of Loarn-Mor, or else Baodan, son of Eochaidh, son of Muiredhach, son of Loarn Mor, from one of whom Kinelbadon, or Kinelbathyn, a sub-territory in Lorne, now represented by Morvern, derived its name. See pp. 180, 292. The encounter which is mentioned in the text was probably the result of a descent made by Lam-dess, who was of the house of Gabhran, on the territory of the house of Lorne. The *insula Longa* where it took place may have been Lismore, which lies off Morvern on the S. E., and geographically answers to the name *Longa*, being ten miles long, and averaging only a mile and a half in breadth.

137, note [c], *substitute*, Meath, though now included in Leinster, was not so in early times, but formed a province in itself. And, in note [d], 3rd line from end, *for* Meath *read* Leinster.

141, to note [c] *add:* The curious concerning the legends of river and lake monsters will find their curiosity gratified in the Transactions of the Ossianic Society, vol. ii. pp. 57, 62, 68; Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 367, note.

145, col. 1, line 10, *for* Survey *read* Account.

150, note [g], line 2, *for* Lough *read* Loch.

151, note [b], line 41, *for* Survey *read* Account.

152, note [d], line 8, *for* Maelchu *read* Maelcon.

166, note [a], line 24, *add:* So Giraldus Cambrensis states where he writes: "Philippus Barrensis Stephanidæ nepos, tam ad auunculi subventionem quam terræ suæ, sc. Olethan sibi a Stephanidæ collatæ, et a Stephanidæ filio Radulpho postmodum injuriose sublatæ tuitionem."—Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 18 (p. 797, ed. Camden).

—— *ib.*, line 34, *for* south-east *read* east.

169, note [k], line 8, *at* gunwales *add* or ribs.

179, col. 1, lines 7–10, *correct this statement by the account of these canons in p. li.*

191, note [c], line 8, *add:* Possibly Carnbulg, the extreme north-eastern point of Aberdeenshire, may be intended by *Caer na-mBrocc.* About a mile N. E. of Carnbulg lie the dangerous rocks called Carnburg Heads, a name which suggests Carnburg as probably an earlier form than Cairnbulg. See Historical Collections of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club), vol. i. p. 452. There is also a Carnburgh among the Treshnish Islands off Mull, on the north of Hy; but this point is not so geographically suitable as the former, which is situate at the extremity of the longest north-eastern diameter that can be drawn from Clew Bay.

191, note [c], line 1, *for* Cillmicnenain *and* filii *read* Cillmacnenain *and* filiorum.

194, line 17, after [24-26] *om.*, *add the signature* B.

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195, col. 2, line 6, *for* would seem referable *read* is certainly referable, inasmuch as St. Finnian, of Clonard, died in 549, whereas the present occurrence belongs to circ. 562.

201, note [n], *at end add*, See the able article in the Ulster Journal of Archæology (vol. iv. p. 53), by Mr. J. W. Hanna, of Downpatrick.

206, note [d], line 6, *add*, Boswell calls it *Tiryi*.

—— note [e], line 27, *for* Croagh Patrick *read* Nephin.

208, note [c], line 12, *add*, but his Life says, because "igne Spiritus Sancti puer ille multum ardebit."

211, note [c], *add* Thus Bede, "Statim egressus requisivit in annali suo, et invenit eadem ipsa die Osualdum regem fuisse peremptum: vocatisque fratribus, parari prandium, missas fieri, atque omnes communicare more solito præcepit" (H. E. iv. 14).

221, note [d], *before the note on* Brendenus Mocu Alti *supply the reference* [d].

223, line 24, *for* the note *om.* B. read *hæc verba* ecclesiæ *supra subsequuntur.*

235, col. 1 to note [d], *add:* Of the custom of using the left hand in cursing, we have an early instance in the case of St. Patrick, recorded in the Book of Armagh: "Elevavit manum sinistram Deo cœli, et maledixit magum, et cecidit mortuus in medio magorum ejus (fol. 14 *b a*).

236, note [b], *to* line 5 *add* but in a very different sense, for aṫlaeḋ means *quondam miles*, denoting one who renounced the secular *militia*. The converse was aṫcleireḋ *quondam clericus.*

238, note [k], line 24, *for* Toraigh *read* Torach.

239, line 18, *on* "humatur" *add* the following note:

We have an early testimony of the practice of turning the feet to the east in burial, in the following passage of Adamnan's work, *De Locis Sanctis*, where, speaking of the sepulchres of the four patriarchs, he observes: "Quorum plantæ sunt, non sicut in aliis orbis regionibus ad Orientem humatorum converti moris est, sed ad meridiem versæ, et capita contra septentrionalem plagam conversa" (ii. 10).

245, note [c], line 7, *for* Cod. B. *read* Cod. Cotton, and see note [y] p. xxviii.

251, Geneal. Table, *observe:* The line at the extreme right is introduced merely for chronological comparison. Brian, the head of this Connacian race, is believed to have been the elder son of Eochaidh by Mongfinn, while Niall was the issue of a later alliance with Carinna Casdub. See O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 374.

277, *after* line 8 *add:* Among the poems ascribed to St. Columba is one which refers to certain mounds and boundary fences erected in the termon of Durrow by three Pictish abbots, Tiughulbh, Erolbh, and Torulbh. It commences thus:

Tiuġulbh in tiġe abad.

'Tiughulbh of the abbot's house.'

(Bodl. Libr., Laud 615, p. 106, l. 9.) These names have, however, more of a Danish appearance.

—— *ib*, line 10, *for* 150 *read* 160.

280, *between* lines 5 and 6 *insert:*

ARDPATRICK.—Ard Patraic, a townland on the east side of the parish of Louth, in the barony and county of the same name (Ord. Survey, sheet 11). Abp. Ussher has left the following notice of its ruined church: "Ad occidentalem vero partem Louthianæ ecclesiæ S. Motti capella (ut vulgus appellat) adhuc superest; et non multo amplius quam milliari inde distans Ard-Patrick, ubi et sacræ ædiculæ conspiciuntur rudera, septemdecim latitudinis, viginti septem vero pedum longitudinis."—Brit. Eccl. Ant. c. 17 (Wks. vol. vi. p. 415). The relation of this church to St. Mochta's answers admirably to the statement in Adamnan at p. 7 *supra;* and the apparent difficulty arising from the local commemoration of St. Patrick's instead of St. Columba's name is emoved by two of

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the ancient poems in the MS. collection, Bodleian Library, Laud 615, in one of which St. Columba is represented as calling upon his kinsmen to protect his churches of Doire-Eithne (p. 281, *supra*), *Ard-Patraic*, and Sengleann (*ib.*); and in the other, which records several tributes and offerings due to his churches of Doire-Eithne, *Ard-Patraic*, Glenn-Gairge (p. 281, *supra*), Cenannus, Druim-cliabh, and Dearmach (Laud 615, pp. 59, 60).

281, line 6, *for* Cill-mic-Nenain *read* Cill-mac-Nenain.

282, last line, *add*, and county of Sligo.

283, *before* line 1, *add:*

INISHKEA NORTH.—Inip Ꝺeiḋe, an island off the Mullet, in the parish of Kilmore, barony of Erris, county of Mayo. It is in the diocese of Killala, and contains 664 acres. On the south is Ꝺempull Choluim-cille, which is marked *St. Columbkille's Church* in the Ord. Surv. (sheet 23).

INISHTURK.—Inip Ꝺuipc, an island off the parish of Kilgeever, barony of Murrisk, county of Mayo. It is in the diocese of Tuam, and contains 1450 acres. On the S. E. side is *Tempull-Choluim-cille.* See O'Donovan's Hy-Fiachrach, p. 498.

ILLAN COLUMBKILLE.—Oilen Choluimcille, an island in the parish of Ballyovey, barony of Carra, county of Mayo, containing rather less than two acres. It is situate in the diocese of Tuam.

—— *ib.*, between lines 5 and 6 *insert:*

INISTIOGE.—Inip Ꝺeoc, a parish of the diocese of Ossory, situate on the Nore, in the county of Kilkenny, barony of Gowran. It would seem that St. Columba was the patron saint of the ancient church of the place, for when the Augustinian Priory was founded here, circ. 1210, it was styled *Cœnobium S. Columbæ de Inistiock.* See Dugdale, Monasticon, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 1142.

287, note [w], *for* Gaeil *read* Gaedhil.

295, *between* lines 24 and 25 *insert:*

GLENMORISTON.—A parish on the north side of Loch Ness, and west of Urquhart, to which it is now united. About two hundred yards from Loch Ness is a burying-ground called *St. Columba's;* and, further up, a little more than half a mile from the shore, near the house of James Murray Grant, Esq., is *St. Columba's Well.*

296, *between* lines 15 and 16 *insert:*

BIRSE.—A parish south of the Dee, in the southern part of Aberdeenshire. The writer of the memoir in the Old Statistical Account says: "On mount Ganiach there is a well, called St. Com's well, in honour, probably, of the celebrated saint of Icolumkill; but concerning this well there is no tradition" (vol. ix. p. 108).

298, *between* lines 26 and 27 *insert:*

CRAMOND.—A parish in the north-east angle of Edinburghshire. The writer in the New Statistical Account states that "Before the Reformation there was a mensal church here, under the bishoprick of Dunkeld, with two altars; the one dedicated to St. Columba, the patron saint of the see, and the other to the Virgin Mary" (vol. i. p. 604).

299, line 7, *for* convoy *read* flotilla.

313, line 7, *on* "Downpatrick" *read* the following note:

St. Berchan (of whom see note [n], p. 314) is cited by O'Donnell as the authority for the burial of St. Columba at Downpatrick, and he adduces from him, as does Keating also, the following lines in proof:

A oṙḋan in h-I ꝑan ċoiṙe,	'His dignity in crime-less Hy;
Iṙ a annṙa ḟoṙ Ꝺoiṙe;	And his love upon Derry;
A ċoṙṙan ḟo an liꝑ	His body beneath the stone,
Ḟo ḃ-ṫa Ꝑaṫṙaic iṙ ḃṙiꝑiṫ.	Under which are Patrick and Bridget.'

See the citation from Keating in Reeves's Ecclesiastical Antiquities, p. 227.

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320, line 20, *add:* The Four Masters, at 1567, relate that Magrabhartaigh, who had the custody of the Cathach of Columcille, was slain in that year in the battle of Fersat Swilly.

334, note [h], *add:* The occurrence is thus recorded in British authorities: 913, "Otter venit" (Annal. Cambr. in Monument. Hist. Brit. p. 836). "Nine hundred and ten was the year of Christ, when Other came to the isle of Britain."—Brut y Tywysog. (*ib.* p. 847). "Anno 912, Reingwald rex et Oter comes et Osvul Cracabam irruperunt et vastaverunt Dunbline."—Simeon Dunelmens. (*ib.* p. 686).

355, note [f], *add:* This Maelumha was son of Baedan, and brother of Fiachna Lurgan, king of Dalaraidhe. His obit is thus recorded by the Annals of Ulster, at 609: *Mors Maelehumai mic Baotain.*

362, note [a], line 16, *add:* The Life of St. Berach makes mention of the mill which belonged to St. Dega's monastery of Inishkeen, cap. 4 (Colgan, Act. SS. p. 344 *b*).

367, line 12, *for* cellarius *read* cellerarius.

372, line 33, *add:* It would seem from the Life of St. Baithene, that Fergna was in part, possibly by his mother, of British descent: "Alio quoque tempore cum Fedgenus frater Virgnoi abbatis, *ad cognatos suos in Britannia* pergeret."—cap. 3 (Acta Sanctor. Jun. tom. ii. p. 237 *a*).

385, note [l], *add:* On this name Ussher observes, "Hæc vero ea est, quæ sancti Andreæ urbis nomine hodie nota est, prius Regmund, Reymonth et Remunt, id est, Mons regis, non Mons Reguli, et voce decomposita Kil-re-mont et Cen-ri-munt appellata," giving, as the references for the last form of the name, "Ædmer, histor. Novor. lib. 5, p. 132. Florent. Wigorniens. et Rog. Hoveden, in eadem anni 1109 historia."—Brit. Ec. Antiqq. cap. 15 (Wks. vol. vi. p. 196).

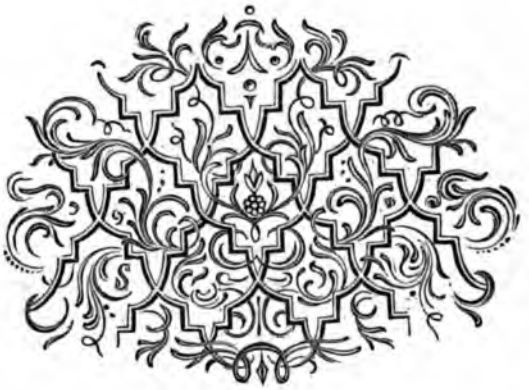
389, note [w], line 7, *for* an Irish foundation *read* much resorted to by the Irish. Pirminius was the founder, circ. 724. See Mabillon, Annal. Bened. tom. ii. pp. 73, 188.

——*ib. ib.* line 10, *add:* But it is more likely that his church of Rheinau was the depository of this relique.

396, note [m], line 6, *insert:* To this use of *Airer*, Giraldus Cambrensis seems to refer in the passage: "Hic quoque notandum videtur, prædicto Nello Hiberniæ monarchiam obtinente, sex filios Muredi regis Ultoniæ in classe non modica boreales Britanniæ partes occupasse. Unde et gens ab iis propagata, et specificato vocabulo Scotica vocata, usque in hodiernum *Angulum illum* inhabitant."—Topogr. Hib. iii. 16 (ed. Camden, p. 742).

400, line 3, and 404, line 18, *for* Albanach *read* Albanenses.

432, line 26, *for* Kilchnich *read* Kilchenich.



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